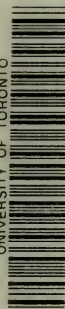
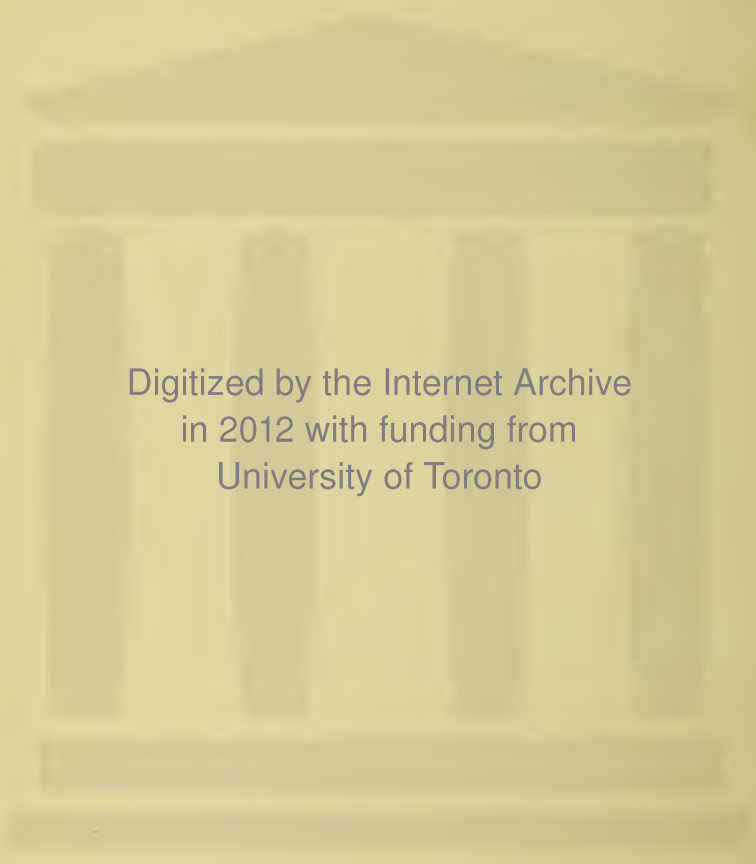


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



3 1761 01509447 7





Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2012 with funding from
University of Toronto

ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

VOLUME III

PART II

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON: BENTLEY HOUSE
NEW YORK, TORONTO, BOMBAY
CALCUTTA, MADRAS: MACMILLAN
TOKYO: MARUZEN COMPANY LTD

All rights reserved

ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

BY

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK, LITT.D.

VICE-PRESIDENT OF QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

VOLUME III

ZEUS GOD OF THE DARK SKY
(EARTHQUAKES, CLOUDS, WIND,
DEW, RAIN, METEORITES)

χω̑ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἶθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὕει

THEOKRITOS 4. 43

PART II

APPENDIXES AND INDEX

Cambridge:
at the University Press

1940

381647
11.6.40

BL
820
J3C66
1914
v. 3
pt. 2

APPENDIX P.

FLOATING ISLANDS.

Floating islands have not yet been made the subject of any monograph¹. But examples of them are given by Sen. *nat. quaest.* 3. 25. 7 ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, and the anonymous author *de aquis mirabilibus* 37 ff. (formerly identified with Sotion (Phot. *bibl.* p. 145 b 28 ff. Bekker) and printed under that name by A. Westermann ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΟΓΡΑΦΟΙ Brunsvigae 1839 p. 183 ff., but better edited as *Paradoxographi Florentini anonymi opusculum de aquis mirabilibus* by H. Oehler Tübingae 1913 and cited as such in W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁶ München 1920 ii. 420 f.). Fact and fable are so blended in their accounts that individual cases call for separate consideration :

(1) Aiolos Hippotades lived on a floating island (*Od.* 10. 3 πλωτῇ ἐνὶ νήσῳ as explained by Aristarchos *ap. schol.* H.M.Q.T.V. *Od.* 10. 3, Apollon. *lex. Hom.* p. 132, 18 f., Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1644, 51 ff., cp. Hesych. *s.v.* πλωτή, Phot. *lex. s.v.* πλωτόν, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1523, 18 f., Soud. *s.v.* πλωτῇ νήσος, Zonar. *lex. s.v.* πλωτή, and W. W. Merry *ad loc.*), which was perhaps originally regarded as an island of souls (*supra* p. 109). On it see further K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1032 ff.

(2) The Homeric Planktai were beetling rocks against which the waves broke. No birds could pass them in safety. Even the doves that brought ambrosia to Zeus always lost one of their number, and another had to be sent by him in its stead. Never yet had any ship escaped these rocks, for billows of salt water and blasts of destructive fire overwhelmed ships and crews alike. The Argo alone, on its voyage from Aietes, had passed them, being sent past in safety by Hera for Iason's sake (*Od.* 12. 59—72, 23. 327). There is no question here of clashing rocks, between which Odysseus must go (*schol.* Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 370). The poet, anxious to eliminate incredible marvels (*supra* ii. 989), has substituted παρά for διά (62 παρέρχεται, 69 παρέπλω, 72 παρέπεμψεν) and left us to suppose that the danger lay in being dashed against the rocks, not in being crushed between them. Nevertheless the name Πλαγκταί used of them by the blessed gods (61) implies that they were originally conceived as 'Wandering' rocks, and the sinister phrase ἀλλά τε καὶ τῶν αἰὲν ἀφαιρείται λῖς πέτρῃ (64) looks like a reminiscence of the clashing *motif*.

The Kyaneai (first in Soph. *Ant.* 966 or Hdt. 4. 85) or Symplegades (first in Eur. *Med.* 431) of the Argonauts' adventure were two living rocks which rushed together, rolling faster than the winds (Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 208 ff.). As early as *s. v* B.C., if not earlier, they were located on the Thracian Bosporos (Soph. *Ant.* 966 f. and Hdt. 4. 85) at the entrance to the Euxine (Eur. *I.T.* 124 f.), where they formed

¹ Unless we concede the name to such articles as those by Mary Johnston 'Floating islands, ancient and modern' in the *Classical Weekly* 1925—1926 xix. 58, L. R. Shero 'The Vadimonian Lake and floating islands of Equatorial Africa' *ib.* 1933—1934 xxvii. 51 f., J. W. Spaeth 'More floating islands' *ib.* p. 78, R. M. Geer 'Floating islands once more' *ib.* p. 152 or to such chapters as those of A. Breusing 'Nautisches zu Homeros. 6. ΠΛΩΤΗΙ ΕΝΙ ΝΗCΩΙ' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1886 xxxii. 85—92 and E. Hawks *The Book of Natural Wonders* London 1932 pp. 192—198 ('Disappearing Islands').

the mouth of the Pontos (Theokr. 22. 27 f., Nikeph. Greg. *hist. Byz.* 5. 4 (i. 134 Schopen)). Apollonios of Rhodes tells how the Argonauts on their outward voyage were warned by Phineus of the two Kyaneai, which were not firmly fixed with roots beneath but constantly clashed together amid boiling surf, and advised by him to send a dove in advance (Ap. Rhod. 2. 317 ff.); how they acted on his advice and saw the rocks shear off the tail-feathers of the bird; how they themselves making a desperate dash just got through, thanks to the helpful hands of Athena, with the loss of the tip of their stern-ornament; and how the rocks thenceforward were rooted fast and remained motionless (*ib.* 2. 549 ff.—a fine piece of writing). It should be observed that Apollonios is careful to distinguish the Kyaneai or Plegades, as he terms them (Ap. Rhod. 2. 596, 2. 645, and *Καύνου κτίρις frag.* 5. 4 Powell *ap.* Cramer *anecd. Par.* iv. 16, 1 ff. and Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1285), from the Homeric Planktai. For it is only on the return voyage that he works in an allusion to the Planktai, which are described as having surge at their bases and flame at their tops (Ap. Rhod. 4. 786 ff., 924 ff.) in obvious reference to the Lipari Islands (cp. Ap. Rhod. 3. 41 f. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν (sc. Hephaistos) ἐς χαλκεῶνα καὶ ἄκμονας ἦρι βεβήκει, | νήσοιο πλαγκτῆς εὐρὺν μυχὸν with schol. *ad loc.*).

Many of the Greeks, however, identified the Kyaneai or Symplegades of the Bosphoros with the Planktai (so first, perhaps, Hdt. 4. 85, then Asklepiades (? of Myrleia: see G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1629) *ap.* schol. *Od.* 12. 69 and other νεώτεροι (schol. Eur. *Med.* 2) listed by O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2546). And sundry Roman poets, placing Scylla in Sicilian waters, associate her with clashing rocks (Ov. *met.* 7. 62 ff.) called Symplegades (Ov. *her.* 12. 121) or Cyaneae (Iuv. 15. 19 f.).

The right conclusion is drawn by O. Jessen *loc. cit.*, *viz.* that both the Planktai and the Kyaneai or Symplegades presuppose the ancient popular belief in a doorway to the Otherworld formed by clashing mountain-walls (T. Waitz *Anthropologie der Naturvölker* Leipzig 1864 iv. 166 the Mexican dead 'hatte aneinander schlagende Berge...zu passiren,' Jürg 'über die griechische Heldensage im Widerscheine bei den Mongolen' in the *Verh. d. 26. Philologen-versamml. in Würzburg* 1869 p. 64 in the Mongolian saga of Gesser Chan bk 4 'Von da weiterhin kommst du zu einer andern Verwandlung, nämlich zu zwei an einander schlagenden Felswänden; um zwischen denselben durchzukommen, musst du selbst ein Mittel ausfindig machen,' E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*³ London 1891 i. 347 f. the Karens of Burma 'say that in the west there are two massive strata of rocks which are continually opening and shutting, and between these strata the sun descends at sunset,' *ib.* i. 348 f. in an Ottawa tale Iosco and his friends after travelling eastward for years reached the chasm that led to the land of the Sun and Moon; as the sky rose, Iosco and one friend leapt through, but the other two were caught by the sky as it struck the earth, A. Leskien—K. Brugman *Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen* Strassburg 1882 p. 550 in a Slovenian tale the hero's mother 'stellt sich krank und will Wasser von zwei zusammenschlagenden Felsen, die aber keine Felsen, sondern Teufel sind, und nur um Mitternacht zwei Minuten schlafen,' *ib.* p. 551 in a similar Slovak tale the mother 'stellt sich krank und verlangt...das Wasser des Lebens und des Todes, das unter zwei Bergen ist, von denen der eine um Mittag, der andere um Mitternacht sich erhebt und gleich wieder zufällt,' *ib.* in a similar tale from Little Russia the mother 'stellt sich krank und schickt den Sohn...nach heilendem und belebendem Wasser zu den zusammenschlagenden Bergen,' W. R. S. Ralston *Russian Folk-tales* London 1873 p. 235 f. cites stories of the

same type. In one 'the hero is sent in search of "a healing and a vivifying water," preserved between two lofty mountains which cleave closely together, except during "two or three minutes" of each day.... "Prince Ivan spurred his heroic steed, flew like a dart between the mountains, dipped two flasks in the waters, and instantly turned back." He himself escapes safe and sound, but the hind legs of his horse are caught between the closing cliffs, and smashed to pieces. The magic waters, of course, soon remedy this temporary inconvenience.... In a similar story from the Ukraine, mention is made of two springs of healing and life-giving water, which are guarded by iron-beaked ravens, and the way to which lies between grinding hills. The Fox and the Hare are sent in quest of the magic fluid. The Fox goes and returns in safety, but the Hare, on her way back, is not in time quite to clear the meeting cliffs, and her tail is jammed in between them. Since that time, hares have had no tails,' M. Gaster *Rumanian Bird and Beast Stories* London 1915 p. 263 ff. in a Rumanian tale Floria, sent to fetch the Water of Life and the Water of Death, was helped by a lame stork, which went straight to the mountains that knock against one another, waited—at the advice of a swallow—till noon when they rest for half an hour, then plunged into their depth and filled two bottles, but lost his tail as the mountains closed furiously upon him. And that is why storks have no tails, J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 46 in a Greek tale from Syra (*supra* ii. 1004 ff.) the girl Moon, helped by the bird Dikjeretto, fetched the Water of Life from a spring in a mountain which opened at midday, but had to cut off a piece of her dress that was caught by the closing cleft, *ib.* ii. 280 f. in another tale from Syra, akin to the group noted by Leskien and Brugman (= von Hahn's nineteenth *formula* 'Schwester- oder Mutter-Verrath oder Skyllaformel'), the hero's mother feigns illness and craves for the Water of Life (*ἀθάνατο νερό*): the young man is directed by an old dame, in reality his Fate (*ἦταν ἡ τύχη τοῦ παυδιοῦ*), to a mountain which opens every day at noon and contains many springs; he is guided to the right one by a bee, *ib.* ii. 283 f. in a variant from Vitza in Epeiros the prince's elder sister pretends to be ill and sends him for the Water of Life, which a lame crow obtains from a mountain that opens and shuts, *ib.* i. 238 in a tale from the Zagori district of Epeiros a prince, to win Goldyllocks, must needs fetch the Water of Life from a mountain which opens only for a moment and then shuts to with a snap; he gets it from a helpful raven, who brings it to him in a gourd, *ib.* ii. 194 f. in another tale from Zagori the hero, to win the king's daughter, has to obtain the Water of Life from a mountain which opens and closes again with the speed of lightning; he borrows the wings of a helpful eagle and escapes with filled gourd, R. Köhler in the *Gott. Gel. Anz.* 1871 ii. 1403 f. no. (3) = *id. Kleinere Schriften* Weimar 1898 i. 367 f. in a modern Greek tale a king's son sets out to find for his sick father the Water of Immortality (*τ' ἀθάνατο νερό*) 'welches sich am Ende der Welt hinter zwei hohen Bergen befindet, die nach Art der Symplegaden immer auseinandergehen und wieder zusammenstossen'¹⁷ [... ebenso bei Sakellarios No. 8. Vgl. auch Wenzig Westslaw. Märchenschatz S. 148]. On the Water of Life see further A. Wünsche *Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenswasser* Leipzig 1905 pp. 90—104 ('Das Wasser des Lebens als Zauberbrunnen in den Märchen der Völker'), J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1915 iii. 394—401 ('Das Wasser des Lebens'). A seafaring people might naturally conceive of such a portal as a pair of floating rocks or islets. Thus in a Greenland tale the hero Giviok 'continued paddling until he came in sight of two icebergs, with a narrow passage between them;

and he observed that the passage alternately opened and closed again. He tried to pass the icebergs by paddling round outside them, but they always kept ahead of him; and at length he ventured to go right between them. With great speed and alacrity he pushed on, and had just passed when the bergs closed together, and the stern-point of his kayak got bruised between them' (H. Rink *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo* Edinburgh—London 1875 p. 158 f.). It would, however, be unsafe to infer from this tale that the Planktai were 'an early attempt to reproduce some sailor's story of the floating icebergs' (W. W. Merry on *Od.* 12. 61) and that the Kyaneai or Symplegades presuppose a dim recollection of icebergs in the Black Sea (cp. for the facts E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 6). Both alike are but mariners' versions of the gateway to the Otherworld.

See further F. Wieseler *commentatio de Cyaneis sive Symplegadibus* Gottingae 1879 pp. 1—20, O. Jessen 'Planktai' in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2540—2548, Sir J. G. Frazer in his ed. of Apollodoros London—New York 1921 ii. 355—358 (Append. v 'The Clashing Rocks'), Miss J. R. Bacon *The Voyage of the Argonauts* London 1925 p. 79 f.

(3) As knowledge of the Mediterranean increased there was a tendency to put the clashing rocks further and further afield. Close to the Ceraunian mountains were two rocks which clashed together as often as any trouble threatened the natives (Dionys. *per.* 394 ff. *ἐνθα σφιν τέρας ἄλλο θεοὶ θέσαν· ἀμφὶ γὰρ αἶαν | κείνην ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐρηρέδαται δύο πέτραι, | αἷτ' ἀμφω ξυνίασι δονεῦμεναι, εὐτέ τις ἀρχὴ | γίγνεται ἐνναέτῃσι κυλινδομένοιο κακοῖο* with Eustath. *ad loc.* Tzetz. *chil.* 4. 707 ff. confuses these rocks with the graves of Kadmos and Harmonia noted by Dionysios in the same context): this reads like a bit of genuine folklore and may even be older than the location of the Homeric Planktai in the Lipari Islands. Others, impressed apparently by the fact that Tartessos sounds like Tartaros (Strab. 149), transferred both the Planktai and the Symplegades to the neighbourhood of Gadeira and identified them with the pillars of Herakles (Strab. 170, quoted by Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 64). Others, again, declared that Homer etc. were speaking of rocks that lay between Kilikia (? Lykia A.B.C.) and Pamphylia (Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 815—apparently by confusion with the Chelidonides Nesoi: see Ap. Rhod. *Καὺνον κτίσις frag.* 5. 3 f. Powell *ap.* Cramer *anecd. Par.* iv. 16, 4 f.).

(4) An oriental analogue to the Planktai may be found in the Ambrosiai Petrai of Tyre. Nonn. *Dion.* 40. 422 ff. relates that, when Dionysos was in Tyre, he enquired of Herakles 'Ἀστροχίτων how the city came to be. The god replied that he had roused the original earth-born natives from slumber, bidding them build the first ship and cross the sea till they should reach the Ambrosiai Petrai. These were two floating rocks, on which grew an olive in the very centre of the rock. On its topmost boughs they would see an eagle perched and a well-wrought bowl. Fiery sparks sprang from the flaming tree, which, for all that, was not consumed. A snake was coiled about it, but neither hurt nor was hurt by the eagle (467 ff. *εἰσόκε χώρον ἴκοισθε μεμορμένον, ὀππόθι δισσαὶ | ἀσταθῆες πλώουσιν ἀλήμονες εἰν ὑπὲρ πέτραι, | ἄς Φύσις Ἀμβροσίας ἐπεφήμισεν, αἷς ἐνὶ θάλλει | ἥλικος αὐτόρριζον ὁμόζυγον ἔρνος ἐλαῖς, | πέτρης ὑγροπόροιο μεσόμφαλον· ἀκροτάτους δὲ | αἰετὸν ἀθρήσῃτε παρεδρήσσοντα κορύμβοις | καὶ φυῖλην εὐτυκτον· ἀπὸ φλογεροῖο δὲ δένδρου | θαμβαλέους σπινθῆρας ἐρέυγεται αὐτόματον πῦρ, | καὶ σέλας ἀφλεγέος περιβόσκειται ἔρνος ἐλαῖς· | καὶ φυτὸν ὑψιπέτηλον ἔλιξ ὄφιν ἀμφιχορεύει, | κ.τ.λ.). They were to capture the bird and sacrifice it to *Kyanochaïtes*, pouring its blood as a libation to the sea-roaming hills and to*

Zeus and to the blessed ones. The rock would then stay rooted to the spot, and on both its peaks they would be able to plant their town. This remarkable description is borne out on the one hand by a passage in the novel of Achilleus Tatios, on the other by a modern Palestinian folk-tale.

Ach. Tat. 2. 14 quotes an oracle current among the Byzantines—*νήσός τις πῶλις ἐστὶ φυτῶννυμον αἶμα λαχούσα, | ἰσθμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πορθμὸν ἐπ' ἡπείροιο φέρονσα, | ἔνθ' Ἥφαιστος ἔχων χαίρει γλανκῶπιν Ἀθήνην· | κεῖθι θυηπολίην σε φέρειν κέλομαι Ἡρακλεῖ* (cp. *Anth. Pal.* 14. 34)—and explains that the island-city with inhabitants named after trees is Tyre occupied by the Phoinikes. Its isthmus-strait is the narrow neck of land uniting it with the shore, since water flows beneath it. Here, too, Hephaistos in a sense enjoys Athena—witness the sacred precinct in which a flaming fire and an olive-tree are to be seen side by side, the soot of the former positively tending the branches of the latter.

A. J. Wensinck *Tree and Bird as cosmological symbols in Western Asia* Amsterdam 1921 p. 45 draws attention to a tale published by H. Schmidt—P. Kahle *Volkserzählungen aus Palästina* Göttingen 1918 p. 146 ff. no. 42, in which it is said of the hero: 'Er kam zu Schäms ed-Duhha und fragte sie nach dem Wasser des Lebens. Da sagte sie: "Hinter dem Garten der Jungfrauen eine Tagereise zwischen zwei Bergen! Wer hinuntersteigt, über dem schlagen die beiden Bergen zusammen. Sein Lebtage ist niemand, der hinunterstieg, wieder herausgekommen. Du aber schöpfe es (das Wasser) von oben aus." Er gelangte dorthin. Da war ein Baum, über dem schwebte ein Vogel, über seinem Wipfel. Er zog sein Schwert und ging auf den Baum zu. Da war dort eine Schlange, die wollte die Brut des Vogels fressen. Sie kam auf ihn zu. Er schlug auf sie ein und tötete sie. Dann band er dem Vogel eine Flasche an den Hals. Der flog hin, füllte die Flasche und flog auf. Und während er aufflog, schlugen die Berge hinter ihm zusammen und rupften ihm den Schwanz und die Flügel. Da nahm jener die Flasche und ging zurück zur Schäms ed-Duhha.' It will be observed that the two clashing mountains, behind which is the Water of Life, the tree, the snake, the helpful bird with the bottle attached to its neck, make up a picture curiously similar to that of the Ambrosiai Petrai as described by Nonnos.

Bronze coins of Tyre, struck by a succession of Roman imperial persons from Caracalla (211—217 A.D.) to Salonina (253—268 A.D.), have for reverse type the ΑΜΒΡΟCΙΕ ΠΕΤΡΕ or ΠΑΙΤΡΕ (*sic*). These are shown sometimes as two *omphaloi* on separate bases, with an olive-tree growing between them (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 281 no. 430 Gordianus iii pl. 33, 15=my fig. 783 from a cast, p. 284 no. 442 Trebonianus Gallus, p. 291 no. 473 Valerianus i, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 p. 328 no. 2241 Elagabalos, p. 330 no. 2255 Aquilia Severa pl. 37, 9, p. 331 no. 2258 Iulia Maesa pl. 37, 11, p. 333 no. 2270 Gordianus iii, p. 340 no. 2302 Volusianus, p. 348 nos. 2349—2351 Gallienus pl. 38, 24 f., W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1854 Asiatic Greece p. 140 f. Elagabalos=my fig. 784 from a cast), sometimes as two *stélai* on a single base, between crescent and star, with a flaming *thymiatérion* on one side and an olive-tree on the other (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 281 no. 429 Gordianus iii pl. 33, 14=my fig. 785 from a cast, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 270 no. 58 Gordianus iii pl. 77, 9=my fig. 786, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 334 no. 2271 Gordianus iii pl. 37, 16). Or, again, they appear in the field as a local background. Thus Herakles, with club and lion-skin, pours a libation from a *phiále* over a burning altar, above which are seen the two *stélai*, with streams issuing from their bases (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 281 no. 427

Gordianus iii pl. 33, 13 = my fig. 787 from a cast, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 321 f. no. 2198 Caracalla pl. 36, 16, p. 330 no. 2253 Aquilia Severa, p. 341 no. 2309 Valerianus i pl. 38, 8, p. 346 no. 2342 Gallienus: p. 341 no. 2308 Valerianus i pl. 38, 7 has trophy in place of altar). Okeanos, reclining, with head-dress of crab's claws, holds in his left hand an oar and extends his right towards the *stélai*, from which streams flow (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* p. 289 no. 464 Valerianus i, p. 296 no. 497 Salonina pl. 35, 5 = my fig. 788 from a cast, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 347 no. 2343 Gallienus pl. 38, 20).



Fig. 783.



Fig. 784.



Fig. 785.



Fig. 786.



Fig. 787.



Fig. 788.



Fig. 789.

Europe, standing from front, with basket or vase: on the left, Zeus in the form of a bull emerges from the sea; above him are the *omphaloi* with an olive-tree between them (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* p. 290 no. 468 Valerianus i pl. 34, 13 = my fig. 789 from a cast, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 347 no. 2348 Gallienus pl. 38, 23, *supra* i. 530 n. 2 fig. 402 Gallienus, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 20 pl. 3, 40 = Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 71 pl. 7, 6 = W. H. Roscher *Neue Omphalosstudien* Leipzig 1915 pp. 15 n. 34, 71 fig. Gallienus).

These coins enable us to trace the Ambrosiai Petrai back to a date nearly a century earlier than Achilles Tatios, our earliest literary authority, and some two centuries earlier than Nonnos. As is so often the case, the earliest conception

is the simplest. Here are seen two *omphaloí* or *stélai* with rounded tops, from the base of which streams are flowing. Streams of what? Presumably of *ambrosia*. The rocks, to deserve their name, must themselves be the very source of that elixir (for the Water of Life as honey see *e.g.* *Kalevala* 15. 377 ff. trans. W. F. Kirby, cp. W. H. Roscher *Nektar und Ambrosia* Leipzig 1883 p. 46 ff., W. Robert—Tornow *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione et symbolica et mythologica* Berolini 1893 pp. 85—89, 122—126). I cannot, therefore, agree with Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² iii. 390 'profluente subtus aqua, nimirum quod



Fig. 790.

aqua maris perpetuo humectantur.' Again, the coins give no hint of the eagle and the *phidæ*. These are not mentioned before the fifth-century epic of Nonnos and may be an accretion due partly to the popular concept of Zeus as an eagle fed on *ambrosia* from the *phidæ* of Ganymedes (*e.g.* Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 115, 190 no. 1, ii. 232 no. 3, iii. 231 no. 2, 370 no. 2, 489 no. 2. I add in fig. 790 a Roman lamp of Augustan date in my possession (scale $\frac{1}{2}$), cp. a similar but smaller lamp with bungled inscription published by R. Kekulé in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxviii. 121 f. pl. G, 1, and in pl. lxix, (1) the relief on a bronze mirror-case of early imperial date from Miletropolis (*Melde*) acquired in 1907 by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (diameter $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches); (2) an exact

replica of it in the collection of the late Dr A. H. Lloyd, Cambridge. On comparison with the *sarcophagus* at Rome (Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 87 pl. 9, 19=Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* ii. 277 f. no. 97 a pl. 24=Reinach *op. cit.* iii. 370 no. 2) it becomes clear that the design is better suited to a circular than to an oblong space. The recumbent female figure, according to Amelung, is 'wohl eine Personification des Berges Ida.' I too should take her to be the Phrygian or Cretan nymph Ide (E. Neustadt in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 880), or—less probably—the nymph Ambrosia (K. Wernicke *ib.* i. 1809), from whom Ganymedes has received the bowl. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 546f., W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1599, and P. Friedländer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 748, however, contend that the scene is laid in heaven, not on earth: cp. Val. Flacc. 2. 415 ff.), partly to the fact that in Levantine art of the Graeco-Roman age an eagle on a sacred stone had a solar significance (*supra* i. 603 f. fig. 475, ii. 186 figs. 129 f. See also F. Cumont in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1910 lxii. 119—164, 1911 lxiii. 208—214, republished with modifications and additions in his *Études Syriennes* Paris 1917 pp. 35—118 ('L'aigle funéraire d'Hiérapolis et l'apothéose des empereurs'), S. Ronzevalle in the *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale de Beyrouth* 'L'aigle funéraire en Syrie' 1912 v. 2. 117—178, 221—231, L. Deubner 'Die Apotheose des Antoninus Pius' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1912 xxvii. 1—20, Mrs A. Strong *Apotheosis and After Life* London 1915 pp. 181—187). The snake is a further accretion, elsewhere connected with the solar eagle of the Phoenician Ba'al-šamin (*supra* i. 191 f. fig. 138) and comparable with the snake twined round an ovoid stone or *omphalos* on other bronze coins of Tyre (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* pp. cxli, 278 no. 413 Elagabalos pl. 33, 8=my fig. 791 from a cast, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 328 no. 2240 Elagabalos pl. 37, 5, p. 339 no. 2296 Trebonianus Gallus pl. 37, 29). This serpent-twined egg appears to have had a cosmic significance: cp. Epikouros *ap. Epiphan. panar. haeres.* 1. 8. 1 (i. 294 Dindorf)=H. Diels *Doxogr.* p. 589, 11 ff. εἶναι δὲ ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς οὐοῦ δίκην τὸ σύμπαν, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα δρακοντοειδῶς περὶ τὸ ὠν ὡς στέφανον ἢ ὡς ζώνην περισφίγγειν τότε τὴν φύσιν. θελήσαν δὲ βιασῶ τινι †καιρῷ (Diels cj. καὶ σῶ cp. Aristot. *de caelo* 4. 6 313 b 5) περισσοτέρῳ σφίγγειν τὴν πᾶσαν ὕλην εἶπ' ὅν φύσιν τῶν πάντων, οὕτω διχάσαι μὲν τὰ ὄντα εἰς τὰ δύο ἡμισφαίρια καὶ λοιπὸν ἐκ τούτων τὰ ἅτομα διακεκρίσθαι.



Fig. 791.

It does not appear with certainty on coins that represent the Ambrosiai Petrai (pace J. F. Vaillant *Numismata aerea Imperatorum, Augustorum, et Caesarum, in coloniis, municipiis, et urbibus iure Latii donatis, ex omni modulo percussa* Parisiis 1695 ii. 101 fig., 151 fig., Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*² iii. 389, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 828. Sir G. F. Hill wrote to me (April 8, 1926) with regard to the specimens in the British Museum: 'There is something twining (?) round the trunk of the tree between the stones, and I have no reason to suspect either Vaillant or Eckhel...'). Lastly, the fire, which Achilleus Tatios makes into a marvel and Nonnos into a miracle, figures on the coins only as a flaming *thymiatérion* or altar. The essential elements, present from the first, are the two rocks, the Water of Life or *ambrosia* that flows from them, and the olive-tree growing between or beside them.

Now the whole of this ambrosial business has a suspiciously Hellenistic look about it, and we may well surmise that it has been grafted on to older beliefs of indigenous growth. Sir G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Phoenicia* p. cxli



1

(1) A bronze mirror-case in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge:
Ganymedes feeds the Eagle in the presence of a Nymph.



2

(2) A similar mirror-case in the Lloyd collection, Cambridge.

See page 981.

very pertinently asks: 'Have these two baetyls any connexion with the two stelae dedicated by "Ousoos" to fire and wind?' Ousoös, the eponym of Ušû or Palai-Tyros (F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 pp. 8, 166 f.), was the brother and rival of Samemroumos or Hypsouranios (*supra* ii. 981 n. 1). If Hypsouranios invented huts made of reeds, grasses, and papyrus, Ousoös invented clothing made of skins from beasts that he had captured. During a violent storm of rain and wind the trees at Tyre, rubbing against one another, kindled a fire and burnt the wood. Ousoös caught hold of a tree, stripped off the branches, and was the first who dared to put to sea. He dedicated two *stélai* to Pyr and Pneuma, worshipped them, and poured as a libation to them the blood of the beasts that he had taken in the chase. When these persons died, the survivors dedicated rods to them and, celebrating a yearly festival for them, worshipped the *stélai* (Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 566 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praef. ev.* 1. 10. 10 f. δένδρον δὲ λαβόμενον τὸν Οὔσωον καὶ ἀποκλαδεύσαντα πρῶτον τολμῆσαι εἰς θάλατταν ἐμβῆναι. ἀνιερώσαι δὲ δύο στήλας Πυρὶ καὶ Πνεύματι, καὶ προσκυνῆσαι, αἰμά τε σπένδειν αὐταῖς ἐξ ὧν ἤγγρευε θηρίων. τούτων δὲ τελευτησάντων, τοὺς ἀπολειφθέντας φησὶ ῥάβδους αὐτοῖς ἀφιερώσαι, καὶ τὰς στήλας προσκυνεῖν, καὶ τούτοις ἑορτὰς ἄγειν κατ' ἔτος). If, as seems probable, we have here a genuine echo of Phoenician cosmogony (*supra* ii. 1036 ff.), we may reasonably suppose at Tyre an actual cult of two cosmic *stélai* (cp. *supra* ii. 425 f.) later equated with the Ambrosiai Petrai. Hence the abnormal representation of the Petrai on imperial coins as a couple of *stélai*. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 576 n. 5 asserts with confidence: 'Es sind die zwei Masseben, die Usōos...dem Wind und dem Feuer geweiht haben soll; d. h. die beiden Gipfel des Weltenberges, durch die zwei Stelen dargestellt, versinnlichen den Feuer- und den Windpunkt des Jahreskreises (oben S. 451 f.), die winterliche Wassertiefe ist durch das Meer vertreten, auf dem die *dissoi pétroi* schwimmen. Hinter dem Namen "ambrosische" Felsen steckt hier in Palaityros natürlich eine semitische Bezeichnung, etwa 'amm bēroth "Mutter der Quellen" oder dgl.'

On this showing there is a close parallelism between the Ambrosiai Petrai of Tyre, perhaps identified with the pillars of Pyr and Pneuma, and the Planktai or Symplegades of Gadeira, certainly identified with the pillars of Herakles (*supra* p. 978 n. o (3)). Even the olive-tree of Tyre reappears at Gadeira (Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 5. p. 167 Kayser ἡ Πυγμαλίωνος δὲ ἐλαία ἡ χρυσῇ, ἀνάκειται δὲ κάκεινι ἐς τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ἀξία μὲν, ὥς φασι, καὶ τοῦ θαλλοῦ θανατῆσαι, ᾧ εἴκασται, θανατέσθαι δ' ἂν ἐπὶ τῷ καρπῷ μᾶλλον, βρύειν γὰρ αὐτὸν σμαράγδου λίθου—noted by A. J. Wensinck *op. cit.* p. 19).

(5) Bouto (Boutos, Boutoi), an Egyptian town in the north-western part of the Delta (K. Sethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1087 f., H. R. Hall *The Ancient History of the Near East* London 1913 p. 97 f., F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 p. 903 ff.), gave its name to a neighbouring lake the Boutike Limne (Strab. 802). The town was famous for its cult of Leto, the lake for a floating island called Chembis (E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 442 'the Island of Khebit'), which was sacred to Apollon (Hekataios *frag.* 284 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 20 Müller) = *frag.* 305 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 40 Jacoby) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Χέμυς). According to Herodotos, the lake near the sanctuary at Bouto was deep and wide; the island carried a great temple of Apollon with three altars, besides many palms, fruit-trees, etc.; and the local myth was as follows. When Typhon was searching high and low for the son of Osiris, Leto, one of the eight earliest deities, having

an oracle at Bouto, received Apollon in charge from Isis and hid him for safety in this island (cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 38), which up to that time had been fixed but was thenceforward said to be afloat. Apollon and Artemis were children of Dionysos by Isis, Leto being their nurse and preserver: in Egyptian Apollon was Horos, Demeter was Isis, Artemis was Boubastis (Hdt. 2. 156, cp. Mela 1. 55 Chemmis, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1644, 60 f. Ἐχέμυς). The goddess thus identified by the Greeks with Leto was the Egyptian Bouto, earlier Udô, on whom see K. Sethe *loc. cit.* iii. 1086 f., H. R. Hall *op. cit.* p. 97. Hommel claims that she was originally the chief goddess of Punt and notes an Egyptian folk-tale, dating from the early part of the second millennium B.C., in which the serpentine of Punt inhabits an Island of Ghosts that can suddenly sink in the waves (F. Hommel *op. cit.* p. 636, cp. *id.* *Die Insel der Seligen in Mythos und Sage der Vorzeit* München 1901 p. 18 ff.). Gruppe regards the Egyptian floating island Chemmis as, 'direkt oder mittelbar,' the source of the Greek floating island Delos (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 813 n. 2, cp. *ib.* p. 239). But definite evidence of Egyptian cult in Delos is late (P. Roussel *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du iii^e au i^{er} siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916 p. 239 ff., *id.* *Délos colonie athénienne* Paris 1916 p. 249 ff. ('Divinités égyptiennes')).

(6) When Leto was in travail with Apollon, she went round the coasts and islands of the Aegean seeking a home for her future son. No place would accept him save Delos, and even Delos at first feared to do so, since he was like to be a froward and masterful child, who might on seeing the rocky nature of the island overturn it with his feet and sink it in the sea. Such fears were set at rest by Leto, who swore that her son should have his cult established in Delos and honour it for ever (*h. Ap.* 14—88). This passage suggests that Delos was unstable, if not actually afloat—a notion far more clearly expressed by Pindar, who definitely states that the island was driven about by winds and waves till Leto, as her time drew near, set foot upon it: then and there four pillars sprang from the abyss and bore up the rocky isle, where the goddess gave birth to the god (Pind. *frag.* 87+88 Bergk⁴, Schröder *ap.* Theophr. *ap.* Philon. *de incorrupt. mundi* 23 p. 511 Mangey+Strab. 485, schol. *Od.* 10. 3, Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iii. 464, 6 ff., Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1644, 54 f., cp. Arrian. *frag.* 73 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 599 f. Müller) *ap.* Eustath. *in Dionys. per.* 525, Plout. *de facie in orbe lunae* 6, Sen. *nat. quaest.* 6. 26. 3). L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2462 holds that Pindar in the same context represents Delos as 'vom Himmel gefallen.' That is hardly so. Pindar *loc. cit.* says ἄν τε βροτοί | Δᾶλον κικλήσκουσιν, μάκαρες δ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ τηλέφαντον κυανέας χθονὸς ἄστρον—hinting at the old name Ἀστερία (*supra* i. 543 n. 6) and working it into a metaphor of exceptional beauty (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Sappho und Simonides* Berlin 1913 p. 131 'Hier den Namen Asteria herauszuhören, ist etwas Rätselraten; aber wie grossartig ist die Vorstellung, dass die Erde für den Blick der Götter eine blaue Fläche ist, wie ihr Himmel für uns, auf dem ihnen dann Delos, so klein sie ist, ein heller Stern lieblich aufleuchtet. Wer an sprachlicher Kunst als solcher Gefallen findet, wird hier ein Juwel, einen seltenen Edelstein in reichster Fassung anerkennen;') etc., quoted by Sir J. E. Sandys *ad loc.*). But the metaphor of the fifth century becomes the myth of the third: ἀλλ' ἄφ'ετος πελάγεσσιν ἐπέπλεες, οὖνομα δ' ἦν σοι | Ἀστερίη τὸ παλαιόν, ἐπεὶ βαθὺν ἦλαο τάφρον | οὐρανόθεν φεύγουσα Διὸς γάμον ἀστέρη ἴση (Kallim. *h. Del.* 36 ff.).

The story of Delos, once afloat but now fixed for ever, was popularised by Virgil and became a commonplace in later literature (Varro *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 7. 29, Verg. *Aen.* 3. 73 ff. with Serv. and interp. Serv. *ad loc.*, Prop. 4. 6. 27,

Ov. *her.* 21. 82 ff., *met.* 6. 186 ff., 333 ff., Sen. *nat. quaest.* 6. 26. 3 f., *Ag.* 384 ff., *H.f.* 15, 457, Petron. *de Delo* 1 ff. (*Poet. Lat. min.* iv. 101 Baehrens), Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 66, Stat. *Ach.* 1. 388, *Theb.* 7. 182 ff., 8. 197 f., Lact. Plac. *in Stat. Theb.* 1. 701, 3. 439, 7. 182, Paneg. 3. 18 Jäger = 4 (9). 18. 2 Bährens, Claud. 1 *in Prob.* *et Olyb. cons.* 185, 35 *de rapt. Pros.* 2. 34 f., *carm. min. append.* 2 *laudes Herculis* (p. 1418 Weber). 62 = A. Riese *Anthologia Latina*² Lipsiae 1906 i. 2. 54 *carm.* 494^b. 62, Dracont. 10. 594 f. (*Poet. Lat. min.* v. 214 Baehrens), Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1644, 52 ff., *in Dionys. per.* 561). The fullest form of the tale is that given by Serv. *in Verg. Aen.* 3. 73 (= Lact. Plac. *in Stat. Theb.* 4. 795, 5. 533, and *Ach.* 1. 206, *Myth. Vat.* 1. 37, 2. 17, 3. 8. 3, cp. Hyg. *fab.* 53, 140, Isid. *orig.* 14. 6. 21 = *Antonini Augusti itinerarium maritimum* p. 527 Wesseling) post vitiatam Latonam Iuppiter cum etiam eius sororem Asterion vitiare vellet, illa optavit a diis ut in avem converteretur, versaque in coturnicem est. et cum vellet maria transfretare, quod coturnicum est, adflata a Iove et in lapidem conversa diu sub fluctibus latuit. postea supplicante Iovi Latona levata superferri aquis coepit. haec primo Neptuno et Doridi fuit consecrata. postea, cum Iuno gravidam Pythone inmisso Latonam persequeretur, terris omnibus expulsa, tandem aliquando adplicante se litoribus sorore suscepta est, et illic Dianam primo, post Apollinem peperit. qui statim occiso Pythone ultus est matris iniuriam. sane nata Diana parturienti Apollinem matri dicitur praebuisse obstetricis officium. unde, cum Diana sit virgo, tamen a parturientibus invocatur. haec namque est Diana, Iuno, Proserpina. nata igitur duo numina terram sibi natalem errare non passa sunt, sed eam duabus insulis religaverunt. etc.

Aristot. *frag.* 446 Rose *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 66 (Solin. 11. 18) thought that Delos was so called because it had appeared suddenly on the surface of the sea—a notion repeated in schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 308 and expanded in *et. mag.* p. 264, 23 ff. *Δῆλος· ἡ ἱερὰ* (so F. Sylburg for *ἡ ἱέρεια* codd. F. G. Sturz cj. *νῆσος ἱερὰ* after Favorin. *lex.* p. 475, 21) τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, εἴρηται ὅτι κρυπτομένην αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ ὁ Ζεὺς δῆλῳ ἐποίησε καὶ ἀνέδωκεν ἵνα τέκῃ ἡ Δητώ (so, or with τέκοι, F. Sylburg for ἵνα ᾗ Δητῶ codd. A. Berkel cj. ἵνα ἀνέβῃ Δητῶ). Ζεὺς γὰρ ἔρασθεις Δητοῦς, τῆς Κοίου θυγατρὸς ἐνὸς τῶν Τιτάνων καὶ Φοίβης, ἔγκυον αὐτὴν ἐποίησεν· ἥτις, δεκάμηναίον χρόνου διαγενομένη, παρεγένετο διὰ θαλάσσης εἰς Ἀστέριον (Ἀστερίαν A. B. C.) τὴν νῆσον, μίαν οὖσαν τῶν Κυκλάδων· ἐκεῖ τε ἔλθοῦσα καὶ ἀψαμένη δύο φυτῶν ἐλαίας καὶ φοίνικος, διδύμους ἀπέκύσσε παῖδας Ἀρτεμὶν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα· καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐκάλεσε Δῆλον ὅτι ἐξ ἀδῆλου βάσεως ἐρριζώθη. Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 202 mentions Delos first in a list of islands that had so emerged, and Amm. Marc. 17. 7. 13 supposes that such islands were thrown up by earthquakes of a particular type (*brasmatae*, cp. *brastae* (Apul. *de mund.* 18)).

(7) Delos set the fashion, and Patmos followed it (F. G. Welcker in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1843 ii. 338, *ib.* 1845 iii. 270, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1398, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 813 n. 2). An inscription found there and first edited by L. Ross (*Inscriptiones Graecae ineditae* Athenis 1842 ii. 72—74 no. 190) tells how Artemis appointed as her *hydrophoros* a girl named Vera, daughter of the physician Glaukias, who had crossed over from Argos (?), and adds that Patmos the island of Leto's daughter had remained hidden in the depths of the sea till Orestes came from Skythia (?) and established there the cult of the Scythian Artemis (Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 872. 1 ff. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 258. 1 ff. (after R. Bergmann Berolini 1860) ἀγαθὴ τύχη. αὐτῇ παρθενικῇ ἐλαφ-βόλος ἀρήγειραν | θήκατο κυδ[αλίμ]ην Γ[λα]υκίῳ θυγάτρα, | ὑδροφόρον Βήραν Πατινὴν παραβῶμι· ἐφέξαι (Kaibel prints παραβῶμια ῥέξαι) | σπαρνόντων αἰγῶν ἔμβρυα καλλιθύτων. | [εἰν Ἀργεὶ δ' ἐτράφη γε]ρ[α]ρῇ π[α]ῖς, ἥ δὲ τιθήνης (Kaibel prints ἡ δὲ

τιθήνῃ) | ε[κ γενεῆς Β]ή[ρου] ἔκτροφός ἐστι Πάτνος, | νῆσ(σ)ος ἀ[γα]υ[ο]τάτῃ Λητωίδος ἥς προβέβηκε | [β]ένθεσιν [εἰν ἀλῆς] ἔδρανα ῥυομένη· | [εἰς ὅτε μιν Σκυθ]ί[η]θεν ἀρήιος εἶσεν Ὁρέστης | [ῥ]υσαμένην στυγερ]ῆς μητροφόνου μανίης· | [κάν] δεκά[τη] κούρη θυγ]ίτηρ σοφοῦ ἱητήρος | Γλαυκί[εω]ν ἀ]ύλαῖς Ἀρτέμιδος Σκυθίης, | Αἰγαίου πλεῖστασα ῥόσση δυσχείμερον οἶδμα, | ὄργια κ[αὶ] θαλῖν, ὥς θέμυ, ἡγλάισεν. εὐτυχῶς. I give the passage with all, or almost all, faults; but a fresh inspection of the stone is much to be desired). Artemis in Patmos was worshipped as Παρθένος (I. Sakkelion in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1863 p. 260 f. no. 229, 6 ff. τὸ ψήφισμα | τότε ἀναγράφαι εἰς στήλην λιθίνην, καὶ | ἀναθεῖναι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Παρθένου· κ.τ.λ.) and as Πατμία (I. Sakkelion *loc. cit.* p. 261 f. no. 230 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*² no. 785, *ib.*³ no. 1152 [Ἀ]ρτέμιδι Πατμ[ία] | [ἀ]νέθηκε Ζω[ῆς] | καθ' ὕπνο[υ]ς), cp. the month Ἀρτεμισιών (Dittenberger *op. cit.*² no. 681, 1, *ib.*³ no. 1068, 1). St Christodoulos (Hagiographi Bollandiani *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* Bruxellis 1895 p. 23 f., U. Chevalier *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge* Bio-bibliographie Paris 1905 i. 916), a native of Nikaia in Bithynia (born 1020 A.D.), is said to have founded the monastery of St John the Evangelist in Patmos (1088 A.D.) on the site of a temple of Artemis, whose statue he demolished (L. Ross *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln des ägäischen Meeres* Stuttgart—Tübingen 1843 ii. 137 n. 12 'Die Legende des h. Christodoulos (in vulgärem Griechisch) sagt hierüber: Πρῶτον ἐσύντριψεν ἓνα εἶδωλον ὅπου εἴχασι ἐκεῖ μὲ τέχνην πολλήν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος').

(8) Rhodes was another island that had risen from the sea-bottom. A tale already ancient in 464 B.C. said that, when Zeus and the immortals were dividing the earth among them, Rhodes lay hidden in the briny depths. Helios, who was absent from the division, complained that he was left without a portion. So Zeus was about to order a new casting of the lot. The sun-god, however, would not suffer it; for, as he declared, he could see a plot of land rising from the bottom of the sea and destined to prove fruitful for man and beast. He bade Lachesis and Zeus swear that it should be his. Thereupon from the sea sprang the island, where Helios wedded Rhodos and begat seven sons, one of whom became the father of Ialysos, Kameiros, and Lindos (Pind. *Ol.* 7. 54 ff. with scholl. *ad loc.*). Rhodes was thus included in the canonical list of islands that had emerged from the sea (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 202, Amm. Marc. 17. 7. 13), and C. Torr *Rhodes in Ancient Times* Cambridge 1885 p. 152 justifies its inclusion: 'Rhodes certainly rose from the sea. The great limestone mass of Mount Atabyros and the lesser limestone hills, Akramytis, Elias, Archangelo and Lindos, must once have formed a group of islands: and as these were gradually elevated, the lower hills were being formed round them by volcanic action. These facts were no doubt beyond the Rhodians of the mythopoeic age: but the elevated beds of sea shells at the base of the hills would readily have suggested the legend.' Perhaps in the Hellenistic age Isis, whose temple stood near the city-wall beside the sea (Appian. *Mithr.* 27), was believed to have raised the island from the watery abyss. That at least would square with the claim made on behalf of the goddess in an Isiac hymn of s. i B.C. found in Andros (Lebas—Foucart *Péloponnèse* ii no. 1796. 4, 23 ff. = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 1028, 70 ff. = E. Abel *Orphica* Lipsiae—Pragae 1885 p. 301 h. in *Isim* 158 ff. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 4. 32. 70 ff. = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 739, 160 ff. νάσωσ δὲ βαθυνομένης ἀπὸ ῥιζῶν | ἐς φάος ἐκ βυθίας ποτανάγαγον ἰλῦος αὐτὰ | ὧρεα καὶ πε[δίω]ν σπορίμαν βάσιν ὀργάδα τ' ἀκραις | στηρικτὰ[ς] ἐξά[ι]ρον ὑπερτείνουσα, βοαύλους | μαλοκόμο[ς] θ' ἀδεί[αν]. A. H. Krappe in *Anglia* Beiblatt 1932 xliii. 256 ff. draws an interesting comparison between Pindar's description of Rhodes and James Thomson's *Rule, Britannia* (1740). In the former the emergent island becomes the personified Rhodos. In the latter

the same thing happens: the opening lines run 'When Britain first at Heaven's command | Arose from out the azure main,' etc., yet the burden 'Rule, Britannia' and the succeeding stanzas bring the allegorical figure to the fore.

(9) The Strophades, two islets off the coast of Messene to the south of Zakynthos, were originally called the Plotai (Antimachos *frag.* 13 Bergk⁴, 60 Wyss *ap.* schol. Paris. Ap. Rhod. 2. 296 ταύτας οὖν φησὶν τὰς νήσους Ἀπολλώνιος Στροφάδας μετὰ ταῦτα κληθῆναι διὰ τὸ ἐκείθεν ὑποστρέφειν τοὺς Βορεάδας καὶ μηκέτι διώκειν αὐτάς. παρὰ Ἀντιμάχου δὲ τοῦτο εἴληφεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος· οὕτω γὰρ ἐκείνος ἐν τῇ Λυδῇ περὶ αὐτῶν μέμνηται. ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Στροφάδας φασὶν αὐτὰς κληθῆναι ὅτι ἐν αὐταῖς ὑποστραφέντες οἱ Βορεάδες ἠῤῥξαντο τῷ Διὶ λαβεῖν αὐτάς. κ.τ.λ. (cp. *supra* ii. 907 n. 2), Ap. Rhod. 2. 285 νήσοισιν ἔπι Πλωτῇσι κιχόντες with schol. *ad loc.* = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1523, 25 ff., Ap. Rhod. 2. 296 f. Στροφάδας δὲ μετακλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι | νήσους τοῦ γ' ἔκητι, πάρος Πλωτὰς καλέοντες, Hyg. *fab.* 14 p. 47, 17 ff. quae inhabitabant insulas Strophadas in Aegaeo (*sic*) mari, quae Plotae appellantur, Mela 2. 110 olim Plotae nunc Strophades, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 55 ante Zacynthum xxxv in Eurum ventum Strophades duae, ab aliis Plotae dictae). The names are significant. The two Turning Isles or Floating Isles, haunted by the Harpies (Apollod. 1. 9. 21, Verg. *Aen.* 3. 210 ff., Hyg. *fab.* 19, *alib.*: see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 398, 813 n. 8, 846 n. 5), are in all probability an early variant of the Planktai or Symplegades (Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 556 n. 3)—a perilous gateway of the Otherworld.

(10) The same name Plotai was given by Dionysios the geographer to the seven islands of Aiolos in the Sicilian Sea (Dionys. *per.* 465 f. ἐπὶ τὰ δὲ οἱ ταί γ' εἰσὶν, ἐπώνυμοι ἀνδράσι Πλωταί, | οὐνεκα μέσσον ἔχουσι περίπλοον ἀμφιέλικτον with Eustath. and paraphr. *ad loc.*, cp. schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 297 αἱ δὲ Πλωταὶ νήσοι κείνται ἐν τῷ Συκελικῷ πελάγει). Homer had made Aiolos live πλωτῇ ἐνὶ νήσῳ (*supra* (1)), and Apollonios had perhaps spoken of Hiera or Lipara as νήσοιο πλωτῆς (so schol. Flor. on Ap. Rhod. 3. 42 νήσοιο πλαγκτῆς (*supra* (2))).

(11) Theophrastos speaks of Ploades or 'Floating' Islands on the lake of Orchomenos, *i.e.* Lake Kopaïs in Boiotia, and compares them with others in the marshes of Egypt, Thesprotis, etc. (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 4. 10. 2 φύεται δὲ ὁ πλείστος (*sc.* ἐλαίαννος, 'goat-willow', *salix caprea*) μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν πλοάδων νήσων· εἰσὶ γάρ τινες καὶ ἐνταῦθα πλοάδες, ὥσπερ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ περὶ τὰ ἔλη καὶ ἐν Θεσπρωτίδι καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις λίμναις, 4. 12. 4 τῶν δὲ νήσων τῶν πλοάδων τῶν ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ τὰ μὲν μεγέθη παντοδαπὰ τυγχάνει, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ὅσον τριῶν σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον. ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ μάλιστα μεγάλα σφόδρα συνίσταται, ὥστε καὶ ἡς ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγγίνεσθαι πολλούς, οὓς καὶ κυνηγετοῦσι διαβαίνοντες, Hesych. Πλοάδες τῶν ἐν Ἐρχομενῷ <νήσοι> τινες (so M. Schmidt² for πλοάδες· τῶν ἐπερχομένων τινες cod.) οὕτω καλοῦνται, Theophr. *hist. pl.* 4. 11. 1 καλοῦσι δὲ τὸν μὲν ἰσχυρὸν καὶ παχὺν (*sc.* κάλαμον) χαρακίαν τὸν δ' ἕτερον πλόκιμον· καὶ φύεσθαι τὸν μὲν πλόκιμον ἐπὶ τῶν πλοάδων τὸν δὲ χαρακίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς κόμυσι = Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 168 de Orchomenii lacus harundinetis accuratius dici cogit admiratio antiqua. characian vocabant crassiorum firmioremque, plocian (K. L. von Ulrichs *cj. plocimon*) vero subtiliorem, hanc in insulis fluvitantis natam, illam in ripis exspatiantis lacus). O. Gruppe held that these Boiotian islands were connected with chthonian powers thought to issue from the Underworld in the form of winds (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 813). If so, note the belief that reeds used for pipes grew in the lake only at intervals of eight years (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 4. 11. 2 δι' ἐννεατηρίδος = Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 169 nono...anno). But Gruppe's assumption is gratuitous. We are here dealing with purely natural phenomena. H. N. Ulrichs *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland* Bremen 1840 i. 192 observes

that the river Melas (*Mauropotamos*), which crosses the site of Lake Kopais, is surrounded by black vegetable fens and quotes the peasants of Skripou as saying 'dass das Land am Mauropotamos schwimme.' He identifies these patches of unstable ground with the *πλοάδες* of Theophrastus and the *insulae fluitantes* of Pliny. A. Philippson 'Der Kopais-See in Griechenland und seine Umgebung' in the *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 1894 xxix. 39 and Geiger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1348 follow suit. Frazer *Pausanias* v. 120 says: 'The fable was probably told of the islands in the bay of *Tzamali*, to the north of Orchomenus, whose banks overhung and quaked under the tread, as do the banks of the river Melas in some places.'

(12) Some five miles to the north of Sardeis lies the Gygaia Limne, later called the Koloë Limne, and now known as *Mermerih-Gheul*, the 'Marble Lake' (L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1956, xi. 1107). Its brackish waters are fringed with dense beds of reeds (W. J. Hamilton *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia* London 1842 i. 145), which dry up and mixing with other detritus form floating islands (G. Radet *La Lydie et le monde grec au temps des Merminades* (687—546) Paris 1893 p. 13). A. H. Sayce, after a visit to the spot in 1879, writes: 'The foundations of the old temple of Artemis (?) are very visible on the southern shore of the lake as well as of a causey thrown out into the lake....The fish caught in it are carp, which are usually of a wonderfully large size. According to the local superstition every carp has a bitter stone in its mouth. If this is not removed before the fish is eaten fever will be the inevitable result. If, however, the stone is removed the fish is considered innocuous' (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1880 i. 87).

It is to this lake that we must attach a whole series of ancient notices about floating islands, dancing islands, dancing reeds, and poisonous fish. Attempts to distinguish the floating islands of Koloë from the dancing islands, reeds, etc. of the Nymphs (H. Oehler *Paradoxographi Florentini anonymi opusculum de aquis mirabilibus* Tubingae 1913 p. 117 ff., cp. L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1532) are in my opinion unsuccessful.

The floating islands of Lydia are composed of light pumice-like stones (Theophrast. *ap.* Sen. *nat. quaest.* 3. 25. 7 sunt enim multi pumicosi et leves, ex quibus quae constant insulae in Lydia, natant. Theophrastus est auctor). In Lydia the floating islands named Calaminae, which are shifted not only by the winds but by barge-poles in any direction you please, proved a refuge to many during the Mithridatic war (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209 quaedam insulae semper fluctuantur, sicut...in Lydia quae vocantur Calaminae, non ventis solum, sed etiam contis quo libeat impulsae, multorum civium Mithridatico bello salus). Lake Koloë near Sardeis breeds many fish and waterfowl: its floating islands have a deceptive appearance of stability, for they change their position with the winds (anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* (*supra* p. 975) 39 ἡ κατὰ Σάρδεϊς λίμνη καλουμένη δὲ Κολοή πλῆθος μὲν ὕψου πάμπολυ τρέφει· ἔχει δὲ καὶ αὕτῃ νήσους οἰκουμένας πρὸς ἀπάτην· ἐπινύχονται γάρ· καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνέμων πνοῇ συμμετοικοῦσι· πτηνῶν δὲ τῶν ἐνύδρων τοσοῦτο τρέφει πλῆθος ὥστε καὶ ταριχεύεσθαι).

Varro claimed to have seen in Lydia the Islands of the Nymphs, which at the sound of flutes move out from the bank into the middle of the lake, go circling round, and return to the shore (Varr. *ap.* Mart. Cap. 928 in Lydia Nympharum insulas dici, quas etiam recentior asserentium Varro se vidisse testatur, quae in medium stagnum a continenti procedentes cantu tibiariū primo in circulum motae dehinc ad litora revertuntur). He further states that, when he sacrificed on the shore of the lake, fish came crowding towards the flute-player and the

altar, though nobody ventured to catch them (Varr. *rer. rust.* 3. 17. 4 *loculatas habent piscinas, ubi dispares disclusos habent pisces, quos, proinde ut sacri sint ac sanctiores quam illi in Lydia, quos sacrificanti tibi, Varro, ad tibicinem [graecum] gregatim venisse dicebas ad extremum litus atque aram, quod eos capere auderet nemo, cum eodem tempore insulas Lydorum ibi χορευούσας vidisses, sic hos piscis nemo cocus in ius vocare audet*). Pliny, after his account of the Lydian Calaminae, goes on to say that in the Nymphaeum too are small islands called Saliarès because, when choruses are sung, they move in time with the beating feet (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209 *sunt et in Nymphaeo parvae, Saliarès dictae, quoniam in symphoniae cantu ad ictus modulantium pedum moventur*). Elsewhere he asserts, on the authority of Ktesias (?), that the fish in the Lake of the Nymphs are poisonous (Ktesias *frag.* 83 Müller *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 31. 25 *hoc idem et in Lydia in stagno Nympharum tradunt*)—a belief still prevalent with regard to the carp of the Koloë Limne (*supra*).

Strabon mentions the sanctuary of Artemis Κολοηνή, on the Gygaia or Koloë Limne, where 'the baskets' are said to dance on festal days (Strab. 626 *ἐν δὲ σταδίοις τετταράκοντα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως (sc. Sardeis) ἐστὶν ἡ Γυγαία μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγομένη <λίμνη (ins. A. Koraës)>, Κολή δ' ὕστερον μετονομασθεῖσα, ὅπου τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Κολοηνῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, μεγάλην ἀγιστείαν ἔχον. φασὶ δ' ἐνταῦθα χορεύειν τοὺς καλάθους* (F. E. Ruhkopf, followed by G. Bernhardt and C. Müller, *cj. καλάμους*. E. Müller *cj. κοβάλους. πιθήκους*, a curious variant in *codd. m, z* and *edd. Ald. Cas.*, was altered by C. A. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* Regimontii Prussorum 1829 p. 226 into *πιθάκνας*, but may imply some confusion with *καλλίας*, 'apes,' which A. Westermann would restore to the text) *κατὰ τὰς ἐορτάς, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ποτὲ παραδοξολογούντες μᾶλλον ἢ ἀληθεύοντες* = Eustath. *in Il.* p. 365, 46 ff.).

Lastly, according to Isigonos the paradoxographer of Nikaia, whose *floruit* probably falls in s. i A.D. (W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 2082, *cp. W. Christ Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁶ ii. 1. 420 n. 5), in Lydia there is a lake called Tala (?) sacred to the Nymphs. It bears a multitude of reeds and in their midst one that the natives term king. A yearly festival is held, at which sacrifices are offered and a chorus sounds on the shore of the lake. Thereupon all the reeds dance, and the king dancing with them comes to the shore. The natives wreath him with fillets and send him off, praying that both he and they may come again another year; that is their sign of a fertile season (Isigonos *frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 436 Müller) *ap. anon. de aquis mirabilibus* 43 *ἐν Λυδίᾳ ἔστι λίμνη Τάλα μὲν* (C. Müller, followed by L. Büchner, *cj. Καλαμίνη*. But *cp. Il.* 2. 865 *νῆε Ταλαίμενός, τῷ Γυγαίῃ τέκε λίμνη*, where *Ταλαίμενός* may be a Greek adaptation of the Lydian name) *καλουμένη, ἱερὰ δὲ οὐσα νυμφῶν, ἣ φέρει καλάμων* (A. Westermann *cj. καλλιῶν* (?)) *πλήθος ἀφθονον καὶ μέσον αὐτῶν ἕνα, ὃν βασιλέα προσαγορεύουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. θυσίας δὲ καὶ ἐορτάς ἐπιτελοῦντες ἐνιαυσίους ἐξιλιάσκονται. τούτων δὲ ἐπιτελουμένων, ἐπειδὰν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος κτύπος συμφωνίας γένηται, πάντες οἱ κάλαμοι χορεύουσι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς χορεύων παραγίνεται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡϊόνα. οἱ δὲ ἐπιχώριοι ταινίας αὐτὸν καταστέψαντες ἀποπέμπουσιν, εὐχόμενοι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπὶ αὐτὸν τε καὶ ἑαυτοὺς παραγενέσθαι, ὥς εὐετηρίας ὄντι σημείω* (F. Sylburg *cj. ὅν τι σημείον*). *ὥς ἱστορεῖ Ἰσίγονος ἐν δευτέρῳ ἀπίστον*).

Isigonos' work was entitled Ἀπίστα, but his statements here are by no means incredible and may easily be reconciled with those of our other sources. Artemis Κολοηνή (on whom see Scherling in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1108 f.) had a temple on a hill close to the southern shore of the lake: its ruins

are still to be seen, including walls of great basalt blocks, three Doric columns of weather-worn marble only 6 ft (?) high, and huge stone slabs with reliefs of an archer in a pointed cap, a lion's head, etc. (E. Curtius in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1853 xi. 152, von Olfers 'Über die Lydischen Königsgräber bei Sardes und den Grabhügel des Alyattes' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1858 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 542 pl. 1 = Perrot—Chippiez *Hist. de l'Art* v. 267 fig. 157). Her cult involved a yearly festival, at which a dance known as οἱ κάλαθοι, 'the baskets,' took place. The beating feet of the dancers communicated their vibration to the floating reed-mats of the lake and set them in motion. The reeds eddying round appeared to share in the dance. The tallest reed, called βασιλεύς by the countryfolk, would in time be drifted inshore, decorated by the worshippers, and pushed off into the lake again. The successful performance of this little ceremony was deemed a happy omen. The crowd at the lake-side and the prospect of altar-scrapings would be quite enough to attract the carp. Naturally the fish were sacred to Artemis of the lake (see e.g. the large Boeotian amphora, found near Thebes, which represents Artemis with a fish on her robe (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 108 f. no. 462, figured by P. Wolters in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1892 p. 219 ff. pl. 10, 1 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 517, 2, Perrot—Chippiez *Hist. de l'Art* x. 40 f. fig. 30, R. Eisler *Orpheus—the Fisher* London 1921 p. 260 f. pl. 64, 1 (wrongly described), F. J. Dölger *IXΘΥC* Münster in Westf. 1922 ii. 179 f., iii pl. 12, 2), and the facts cited by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1295 n. 1, 1536 n. 2, 1585 n. 2) and the reed-islands would be connected with her attendant Nymphs. The whole story is consistent and credible. After all, Varro was no visionary and Strabon is a serious authority.

A point of interest remains. The dance κάλαθος is mentioned elsewhere in the diminutive form καλαθίσκος. Apollonophanes, an early comedian, coupled it with the pirouette (Apollonoph. *frag.* 1 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 879 Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 467 F (δεῖνος) ἔστι καὶ γένος ὀρχήσεως, ὡς Ἀπολλοφάνης ἐν Δαλίδι παρίστησιν οὕτως· 'δεῖνόν τι δέινος (so J. Schweighäuser for δέινος τι δεινός cod. A. J. G. J. Hermann c.j. δίνος γε δεινός) καὶ καλαθίσκος οὕτως·' (K. W. Dindorf would write ἔστι καὶ γένος ὀρχήσεως τι δέινος, ὡς Ἀπολλοφάνης ἐν Δαλίδι παρίστησιν οὕτως 'δέινος καὶ καλαθίσκος,' regarding οὕτως as a repetition of οὕτως, and various later writers mention it in a tragic (satyric?) connexion (Poll. 4. 105 καὶ μὴν τραγικῆς ὀρχήσεως σχήματα σιμὴ χεῖρ, καλαθίσκος, χεῖρ καταπρανῆς, ξύλου παράληψις, διπλῇ, θερμανστρίς, κυβίστησις, παραβῆναι τέτταρα, Athen. 629 F σχήματα δ' ἔστιν ὀρχήσεως ξιφισμός, καλαθισμός (K. W. Dindorf in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 859 D c.j. καλαθίσκος), καλλαβίδες, σκάψ, σκάπενμα, 630 A θερμανστρίς, ἑκατερίδες, σκοπός, χεῖρ καταπρηνῆς, χεῖρ σιμὴ, διποδισμός, ξύλου παράληψις, ἐπαγκωνισμός, καλαθίσκος (so codd. A. B. καλαθισμός cod. P. edd. Ald. Casaub.), στρόβιλος).

It should be carefully distinguished from the κάλαθος or ritual basket used in the cult of Demeter at Eleusis (Clem. Al. *prot.* 2. 21. 2 p. 16, 18 ff. Stählin *κᾶστι τὸ σύνθημα* Ἐλευσινίων μυστηρίων· ἐνήστευσα, ἔπιον τὸν κυκεῶνα, ἔλαβον ἐκ κίστης, ἐργασάμενος ἀπέθηνον εἰς κάλαθον καὶ ἐκ κάλαθον εἰς κίστην', on which formula see A. Dieterich *Eine Mithrasliturgie*² Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 125 f. and S. Angus *The Mystery-Religions and Christianity* London 1925 p. 115), Athens, Alexandria (Kallim. *h. Dem.* 1 ff. τῷ καλᾷθω κατιόντος ἐπιφθέγξαισθε, γυναικες, | 'Δάματερ, μέγα χαῖρε, πολυτρόφε πουλυμέδιμνε.' | τὸν κάλαθον κατιόντα χαμαὶ θασεῖσθε, βέβαλοι, | κ.τ.λ. with schol. *ad loc.* ὁ Φιλάделφος Πτολεμαῖος κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἔθι τινὰ ἴδρυσεν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὴν τοῦ καλᾷθου πρόδον. ἔθος γὰρ ἦν ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἐν ὥρισμένῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπὶ ὀχήματος φέρεσθαι καλᾷθιον

(κάλαθον cod. E) εἰς τιμὴν τῆς Δήμητρος. Variants in the text of Kallimachos are attested by Elias in *Aristotelis categorias* 27 a 24 ff. (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* xviii. 1. 125, 7 ff. Busse) καὶ τὸ Καλλιμάχειον ἐκείνο 'τὸν κάλαθον κατιόντα χαμαὶ δέρκεσθε, γυναῖκες, | μηδ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγεος μηδ' ὑψόθεν αὐγάσασθε (αὐγάσσησθε Kallim.)' and by schol. Plat. *symph.* 218 B (960 b 47 f. ed. Turic.) ἐντεῦθεν παρῳδήσε Καλλιμάχος ἐν ὕμῳ Δήμητρος καλᾶθον τὸ 'θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε, βέβηλοι.' *Ib.* 121 ff. χῶς αἱ τὸν κάλαθον λευκότεριχες ἵπποι ἄγοντι | τέσσαρες, ὥς ἄμιν μεγάλα θεὸς εὐρυ-
 ἀνασσα | λευκὸν ἔαρ λευκὸν δὲ θέρος καὶ χεῖμα φέρουσα | ἥξει καὶ φθινόπωρον, ἔτος δ' εἰς ἄλλο φυλαξεί. Bronze coins of Alexandria show a *kálathos* containing corn-ears and poppy-heads (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 66 no. 551 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 95 no. 931 pl. 16=my fig. 792 Trajan), sometimes bound with a wreath of flowers and flanked by two torches with snakes (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 4 no. 29 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 97 no. 939 pl. 17=my



Fig. 792.



Fig. 793.



Fig. 794.



Fig. 795.



Fig. 796.



Fig. 797.

fig. 793 Livia, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 405 no. 21 Livia) or fillets (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 42 no. 345 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 97 no. 940 pl. 17=my fig. 794 Domitian, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 42 no. 346 Domitian, p. 144 no. 1212=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 97 no. 942 Antoninus Pius) or ties of some sort (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 105 nos. 903, 904, 905 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 97 no. 941 pl. 17=my fig. 795 Hadrian, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 457 nos. 392—394. Fig. 796 Hadrian is from a specimen of mine). Once the *kálathos* is adorned with the rape of Persephone (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 105 no. 906 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 96 no. 932 pl. 16=my fig. 797 Hadrian). More often, on large billon pieces, it appears drawn in procession by a *quadriga* of horses (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 67 no. 552 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 96 no. 935 pl. 16=my fig. 798 Trajan) or a *biga* of humped oxen (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 67 no. 553=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 96 no. 934 pl. 16=my fig. 799 Trajan) or of winged snakes wearing the *skhent* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 67 no. 554 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 96 no. 933 pl. 16=my fig. 800 Trajan, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 67 no. 555 f. Trajan, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 434 no. 245 Trajan). Exceptionally it rests on the top of a column flanked by two winged snakes, one of which wears the *skhent*, the other a poppy-head as crown (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 67 no. 557 pl. 30=my fig. 801

Trajan, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 456 no. 390 pl. 87, 24=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 97 no. 937 pl. 16=my fig. 802 Hadrian)), and *Darmara* near Theira in the valley of the Kaystros (K. Buresch in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1895 xx. 241 f. and A. Fontrier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 538 f. ΟΙΚΑ-- | Πό(πλιον) Αἴλιον Μενεκράτην | τῇ ἱερατεΐᾳ τῆς Δήμητρος | ἀνενένκαντα καὶ καθιερώ[σ]αντα κάλαθον περιάργυρον, | τὸν λείποντα τοῖς τῆς Δήμητρος μυστηρίοις καὶ τῷ προκαθήμενῷ τῆς κώμης Μηνί ση|μήαν ('effigy') περιάργυρον τὴν προ|πομπεύσαντα τῶν μυστηρίων αὐτοῦ. διὰ τε τοῦτο καθιέρωσεν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερωσύνης | εἰς τὰς ἐπιθυσίας τῆς Δήμητρος τὰ πρὸ τῆς [οἰ]κίας ἐργαστήρια εἰς τὸ [κα(τ')] ἐνιαυτὸν | ἕκαστον τῇ



Fig. 798.



Fig. 799.



Fig. 800.



Fig. 801.



Fig. 802.

τοῦ καλάθου | ἀναφορᾷ τοὺς κληρωθέντας εἰς τὴν πομπὴν ἄνδρας | μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων προθύοντας εὐωχεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ | οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ | βίου. | ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος τῆς κατοικίας | Ἀ(ουκίου) Βερίου Βάσσου φιλοσεβάστου καὶ | τῶν συναρχόντων αὐτοῦ, cp. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 352 n. 2). K. Latte *De saltationibus Graecorum* Giessen 1913 p. 82 cites also Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1627, 49 f. καλάθους, ὁποῖοι καὶ οἱ τῆς Δήμητρος, οὓς ὀρχεῖσθαι μῦθος ἐν τινι τελετῇ Δημητρεϊακῇ, but fails to perceive that Eustathios is merely confusing the Lydian dance with the rites of Demeter as described by Kallimachos (Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1208, 38 f., *in Od.* p. 1488, 60 f.). More to our purpose is Usener's discovery that in Bithynia a certain yearly festival was known as ὁ καλάθος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος (H. Usener 'Übersesehenes' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1895 l. 145 f. (=id. *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 195) quoting *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Iunius iii. 343 B—C Kallinikos *vita s. Hypatii* presb., monasterii Rufinianarum prope Chalcedonem in Bithynia hegumeni (died 30 June 446 A.D., commemorated June 17) 70=de *vita s. Hypatii* 129 f. p. 96 f. edd. seminarii philologorum Bonnensis sodales ποτὲ δὲ γέγονεν αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν ἀδελφῶν εἰς τὴν ἑνδον χώραν τῶν Βιθυνῶν

ὅπου καὶ ὁ Ῥήβας ἐστὶ ποταμός. καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ, ὅπερ λέγουσιν, ὁ κάλαθος τῆς μυσερᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος· ὅπερ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἡ χώρα φυλάττουσα, οὐκ ἐξήρχοντο εἰς μακρὰν ὁδὸν ἡμέρας πεντήκοντα. αὐτοῦ δὲ βουλομένου ὁδεύειν ἐλεγον αὐτῷ οἱ ἐντόπιοι· 'ποῦ ἀπέρχῃ, ἄνθρωπε; ὁ δαίμων σοι ἔχει ἀπαντῆσαι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ. μὴ ὁδεύσῃς· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐπηρέασθησαν.' ὁ δὲ Ὑπάτιος ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐμεδίασε λέγων· 'ὑμεῖς ταῦτα φοβείσθε, ἐγὼ δὲ ἔχω τὸν συνοδεύοντά μοι Χριστόν.' ἐν τῷ οὖν ὁδεύειν αὐτὸν θαρσαλέως (tharsaleós codd.) ἦν· δίκαιος γὰρ ὡς λέων πέποιθεν (Prov. 28. 1). ἀπήντησε δὲ αὐτῷ γυνὴ μακρέα (H. Usener cj. μακραιά? The Bollandists print μακρά) ὡς δέκα ἀνδρῶν τὸ μήκος. νήθουσά τε περιπατεῖ καὶ χοίρους ἔξοσκειν. ὡς οὖν εἶδεν αὐτήν, εὐθύς ἐαυτὸν ἐσφράγισεν καὶ ἔστη εὐχόμενος τῷ θεῷ, καὶ εὐθύς ἐκείνη ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ χοῖροι μεγάλῳ ῥοίῳ ἔφυγον, καὶ διήλθεν ἀβλαβής)—a fact which Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 255 justly connects with another Bithynian festival, the κάλαθος-procession of Kios (A. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 413 ff. no. 13 on a marble *stèle* near the sea at *Gemlik*, the ancient Kios or Prousius, in lettering hardly later than 100 A.D. and perhaps as early as s. i. B.C. [---i] λασσομέν[aus ἱερεὺς] | δαιτρ(ε)νέτω ἀνὴρ· πᾶσαι ἀνιδίποδες (W. Kroll, followed by A. Körte, cj. ἀνελπίποδες 'with no trailing feet, with active feet,' and M. P. Nilsson cj. ἀνιπτόποδες 'with unwashed feet,' cp. *supra* ii. 959 f.; but K. Latte rightly restores ἀνηλίποδες 'with unshod feet,' cp. Theokr. 4. 56 where all codd. give ἀνήλιπος or ἀνάλιπος except cod. k νήλιπος) τε [κα]i (ε)ῖμασι | φαιδρυνθ(ε)σαι τῷ καλᾷθῳ συνέπεσθε, τὰ δὲ | χρύσε(ε)ια θέε' οἴκου· δηρ[ο]ῖθι γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἐχθραίνει το[ι]σιν δὲ προσά[υ]δᾷ ('of old she (?) hates trinkets and welcomes simple garb,' cp. e.g. Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 736, 15 f., 22 Andania, no. 999, 2 ff. Lykosoura). The contents of these ritual baskets were almost certainly sexual emblems (*phallós? kteis?*), cp. the Cabiric basket in Phrygia and Etruria (*supra* i. 107 f., ii. 299).

If the Lydian dancers represented the reeds of the Gygaia Limne, they might no doubt sway and curtsy with mimetic motions. A tomb at Beni Hasan shows the dances performed at the funeral feast of the nomarch Chnemhôtep in the twelfth dynasty (J. G. Wilkinson *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* London 1837 ii. 416 no. 291 fig. 1, R. Lepsius *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* Berlin 1849—1859 iv. 2 pl. 126=my fig. 803, Text herausgegeben von E. Naville—L. Borchardt—K. Sethe Leipzig 1904 ii. 88, P. E. Newberry *Beni Hasan* London 1893 i. 68, 72 pl. 29 (tomb 3, west wall), P. Richer *Le nu dans l'Art Égypte—Chaldée—Assyrie* Paris 1925 p. 240 fig. 405 (after I. Rosellini *I monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia* Pisa 1834 ii pl. 101, 3)). 'One figure... parodies a royal group, one of the frequent victory reliefs, in which the monarch seizes the kneeling barbarian by the hair, and swings his sickle-shaped sword above his head. This group is called "Under the feet," the superscription over the relief being always, "all nations lie under thy feet." Another group in the same picture is called *the wind*: one woman bends backwards, till her hands rest on the ground, a second performs the same movement above her, a third stretches out her arms over them. Possibly the former represent the reeds and grasses bent by the wind' (A. Erman *Life in Ancient Egypt* trans. H. M. Tirard London 1894 p. 248 f., with fig., cp. F. Weege *Der Tanz in der Antike* Halle/Saale 1926 p. 24 fig. 24 (=my fig. 804), A. Weigall *Ancient Egyptian Works of Art* London 1924 p. 258 fig. 24 from a limestone fragment at Turin referable to the reign of Seti I (1313—1292 B.C.), H. Ranke *The Art of Ancient Egypt* Vienna 1936 fig. 268 assigned to Dynasty XX (c. 1180 B.C.), Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 507 f. fig. 452 a, b, c ('Female Egyptian Tumblers of Social and Ceremonial Occasions'). A surer method, however, of identifying the dancers

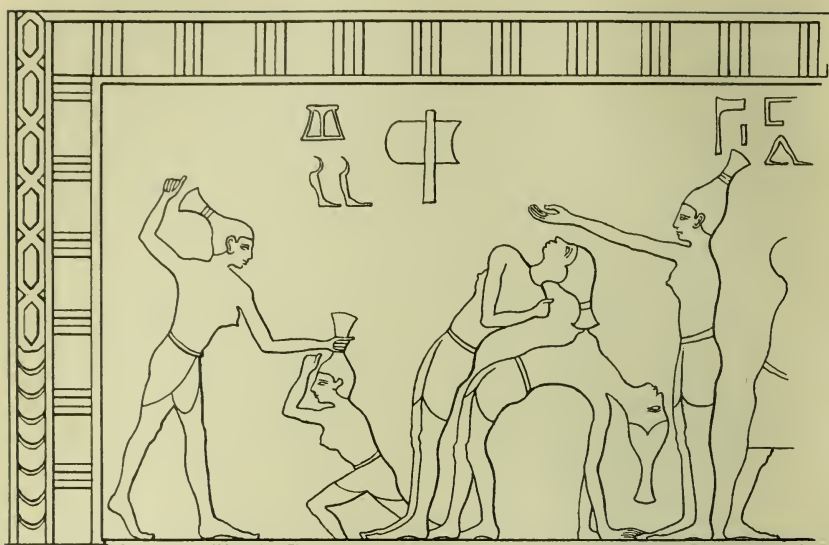


Fig. 803.



Fig. 804.



Fig. 805.

with the reeds was to give them a head-dress of rushes or basket-work such as Laconian women called *σαλία* and others *θολία* (Hesych. *σαλία*: *πλέγμα καλάθω ὁμοιον*, ὃ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς φοροῦσιν αἱ Λάκαιναι. οἱ δὲ *θολία*). It figures not infrequently on works of art and has been the subject of much speculation (L. Stephani *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz* St Petersburg 1859 p. 111 ff. (extr. from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, vi Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 471 ff.), *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1865 pp. 27 ff., 57 ff. Atlas pl. 3, 2 and 3, T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1897 xxi. 605, L. Séchan in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv 1037 f. fig. 6063 f., V. K. Müller *Der Polos, die griechische Götterkrone* Berlin 1915 pp. 28, 82 ff., Hug in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1549, F. Poulsen *Delphi* trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 p. 263).

The earliest ceramic example of *kalathiskos*-dancers occurs on a red-figured *hydria* from Nola, now at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 531 ff. no. 3232), which may be dated *c.* 450—440 B.C. (C. Watzinger in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 319 ff. figs. 151—154 pl. 171, 1 (= my fig. 805)). It is decorated with four groups of female dancers and acrobats. The section of the shoulder-frieze here reproduced shows, on the right, a seated flute-player (ΕΛΓΙΝΙΚΗ), before whom on tip-toe pirouettes a dancing-girl (... ΓΟΝΗ) with hand outstretched in the gesture known as *σιμὴ χεῖρ* (Poll. 4. 105 *τραγικῆς ὀρχήσεως σχήματα σιμὴ χεῖρ, καλαθίσκος, χεῖρ καταπρανῆς, κ.τ.λ.*, Hesych. *σιμὴ χεῖρ*: *σχῆμα τραγικόν*). To the left of her, a second dancing-girl sinks on her knee, to show that her performance is finished. The musician who has accompanied her lays aside the double flutes and takes up a *kithára*. Behind her stands an interested youth leaning on his staff. Each dancer wears a short *chiton* and a high crown of leaves painted white. A volute-*kratér* from Ceglie, now at Taranto, of early south-Italian style (P. Willeumier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 ii. 197—202 and at greater length *ib.* 1933 ii. 3—30 with figs. 1—7, of which fig. 4 = my fig. 806. I am indebted to Mr A. D. Trendall for the photographs of detail reproduced in my pl. lxxi, (1)—(3)), represents the following subjects: *A.* Dionysos (*nárthex, kántharos*) seated on a rock between a dancing Maenad (*thýrsos*) and a flute-girl (long *chiton*) on the left, a female torch-bearer (short *chiton* with sleeves, *nebris, endromides*) and a bearded Satyr (*thýrsos*) on the right. *B.* (1) Perseus dangling the Gorgon's head before five bearded Satyrs in dance-attitudes—apparently a scene from Satyric drama. (2) A square pillar inscribed ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΣ (*i.e.* Apollon *Kárneios* in south-Italian aniconic form: cp. *supra* i. 36 ff. pl. iii, ii. 815 fig. 781), to the right of which is a group of *kalathiskos*-dancers. One is about to put on his basket as ritual head-dress (cp. the figure in the lower left-hand corner of the *pelike* from Ruvo, wrongly interpreted by me *supra* i. 128 pl. xii). A second, crowned with palm-leaves (Sosibios of Sparta *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 626 Müller) = *frag.* 2 Tresp *ap.* Athen. 678 Β Θυρεατικοί: οὕτω καλοῦνται τινες στέφανοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίους, ὥς φησι Σωσίβιος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ θυσίων, ψιλίνους (cp. Hesych. *σ.νν.* *ψιλίον, ψιλὸς στέφανος*) αὐτοὺς φάσκων νῦν ὀνομάζεσθαι, ὅντας ἐκ φοινίκων. φέρειν δ' αὐτοὺς ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἐν

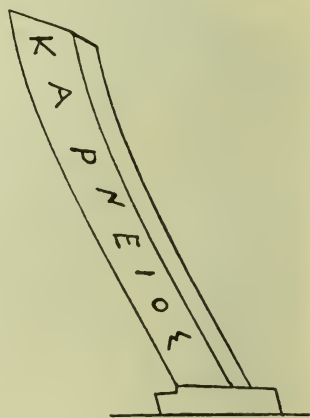


Fig. 806.



I



2

—3) Details of *kratér* from Ceglie, now at Taranto: a group of *kalathiskos*-dancers.

See page 996 f.



Θυρέα γενομένης νίκης τοὺς προστάτας τῶν ἀγομένων χορῶν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ταύτῃ, ὅτε καὶ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν. κ.τ.λ.), holds an *aryballos* with straps, as he stands between a basin and a draped flute-player (flutes, *phorbeia*). A third and fourth are dancing, the former decked with palm-leaf crown, the latter dressed as a girl with basket on head and ballooning *chiton*. A fifth, also wearing the basket, stands engaged in talk with a spectator. Mr Trendall compares an unpublished *kalyx-krater* from *Scoglitti* near Kamarina, now at Syracuse (no. 14626), which shows: *A*. A woman and a youth with basket



Fig. 807.

head-dress. *B*. Two draped youths. 'The main scene is framed between two Ionic columns. The woman is elaborately draped, and holds up her hands as if to catch something thrown to her by the boy. He is nude with the large basket (in applied yellow, which has worn off) on his head, as on the Taranto Karneia-krater.' Again, a bell-*krater* of early south-Italian style, purchased in Rome and now at Leyden (A. E. J. Holwerda *Catalogus van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*. Afdeeling Griekenland en Italie. 1 Deel: Vaatwerk. Leiden 1905 i. 104 no. 28), has for obverse design a girl in a short *chiton* dancing between two naked youths. All three wear spreading *kálathoi* formed of reeds (?) arranged like rays. Two wreaths are hung in the background, and the scene is enclosed by a pair of simple pillars (V. K. Müller *Der Polos*,

die griechische Götterkrone Berlin 1915 p. 83 n. 3 pls. 6 and 7. My fig. 807 is from a photograph supplied by Mr Trendall. This must be the vase from Gnathia (*Fasano*) formerly owned by R. Barone and partially published by G. Minervini in the *Bull. Arch. Nap. Nuova Serie* 1854 ii. 184 pl. 14 facing head



Fig. 808.

of dancer only). Another bell-*kratér* of the same style, from Ruvo(?), now in the South Kensington Museum, and attributed by Miss Moon (Mrs Oakeshott) to 'the Sisyphus painter,' represents a similar scene—two naked youths wearing spread *kálathoi* of reeds (?) and gesticulating as they dance on either side of a bearded flute-player in a long *chitón* (Noël Moon in *Papers of the British*

School at Rome 1929 xi. 30 ff. pl. 12 (=my fig. 808), C. Dugas in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1931 xlv. 101 with fig. 6). Mrs Oakeshott *loc. cit.* notes another bell-*kratér* by the same hand and exhibiting the same subject in the collection of Dr A. Ruesch at Zürich (*Ruesch Sale Catalogue* 1936 no. 14 pl. 22. The vase is now in the Wolfensperger Collection, 23 Maienburgweg, Zürich. My fig. 809 is from a photograph kindly lent by Mrs Oakeshott): the man in the centre here pirouettes. Similarly on a red-figured bell-*kratér* at Berlin (inv. no. 3326), which A. Furtwängler in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1895 x Arch.



Fig. 809.

Anz. p. 39 f. fig. 16 (inadequate) describes as being 'in schöner Zeichnung der Zeit des peloponnesischen Krieges' and R. Zahn in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 193 n. 84 calls 'attischen,' but C. Watzinger *ib.* iii. 323 takes to be 'wohl eher böotischen als attischen...aus der ersten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts,' a girl wearing a short *chiton* of foldless embroidered stuff suggestive of barbaric (? Lydian) attire and the reed-crown of a *kalathiskos*-dancer capers before young Dionysos, who is sitting on a broad three-stepped base or platform. Eros, leaning against his shoulder, points to the lively dancer. Behind her, an Ionic column painted white implies a sanctuary; and beyond it stands a Maenad equipped with *nebris*, *thyrsos*, and large *tympanon* (K. Latte *De saltationibus Graecorum* Giessen 1913 p. 57, like Furtwängler, thought it a

shield). The best available illustration of this ritual scene is a photographic cut in H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Dresden—Zürich 1925 i. 122. With it should be compared a bell-*kratér* of Paestum style in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 97 no. F 188, P. F. H. d'Hancarville *Antiquités étrusques, grecques et romaines, tirées du cabinet de M. Hamilton* Naples 1767 iv col. pl. 118, *Corp. vas. ant.* Brit. Mus. iv E. a pl. 2, 3 a and 3 b with text p. 4 by A. H. Smith and F. N. Pryce), on which the youthful Dionysos holds out fruit to a male *kalathiskos*-dancer performing before him (my fig. 810 is from the official photograph), and an Apulian bell-*kratér* from Rugge at Berlin (B. Schröder in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1909 xxiv. 119 fig. 6), on which is a male dancer of like aspect.



Fig. 810.

Once more, on a late red-figured bell-*kratér* at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 299 no. 1778, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1869 p. 236 Atlas pl. 6, 4 and 5 (=my fig. 811), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 32, 5 and 7) a girl wearing the short *chiton* and *kalathiskos* places the *pinakiskion* on the *kottabos*-stand for a recumbent feaster (hardly Dionysos, as F. Hauser in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1890 v Arch. Anz. p. 68 supposed).

Other early examples of the *motif* are to be found among the limestone reliefs of c. 420—410 B.C. that decorate the inner surface of the *herbion* at Trysa. The doorway on the southern side is here flanked by two female (?) dancers wearing a large *kálathos* perhaps originally painted with a design of reeds or rushes (cp. the dancing-girl with yellow *krótala* and a white *kálathos* marked with red rays in a tomb-painting of s. iv (?) B.C. found in 1854 at S. Maria in Fondo Vetta, south of the amphitheatre at Capua, and published by G. Minervini in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* Nuova Serie 1854 ii. 183 f. pl. 14, P. W. Forchhammer in the *Mon.*

Ann. e Bull. d. Inst. 1854 p. 63, F. Weege 'Oskische Grabmalerei' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv. 111, 130, 135 no. 25. A Lydian dance might well reappear at Capua, where the Etruscans held sway till 445 or 424 B.C. (C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1556)). The lintel above has a frieze of eight grotesque and Bes-like musicians wearing the same head-dress: they have



Fig. 811.

been taken to be the eight Phoenician Kabeiroi (on whom see F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 772 f. fig. 918 and R. Pettazzoni 'Le origini dei Kabiri nelle isole del mar tracio' in the *Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche. Serie Quinta.* Roma 1909 xii. 672 ff.), and are commonly associated with the dancing figures below them (O. Benndorf—G. Niemann *Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa* Wien 1889 pp. 58, 95 f. pl. 6= my fig. 812, S. Reinach in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1892 viii. 306 ff.

with fig. on p. 295 = *id. Monuments nouveaux de l'art antique* Paris 1924 ii. 299 ff. with fig. 435, *id. Rép. Reliefs* i. 444 no. 1, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 204 with fig. 97, H. Thiersch in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch arch. Inst.* 1907 xxii. 238).

Between *c.* 425 and *c.* 400 B.C. may be placed certain silver *statères* of Abdera, which have as reverse type the magistrate's date ΕΠΙ ΜΟΛΠΑΓΟΡΕΩ and the canting badge of a similar dancing girl turned left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins*



Fig. 812.

The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 70 no. 35 fig., p. 230 no. 35 *a* (my fig. 813 from a cast), *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 106 no. 68 pl. 4, 38, *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* ii. 1. 1. 71 no. 99 pl. 3, 2, J. N. Svoronos in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1889 p. 99 ff. pl. 2, 22, H. von Fritze in *Nomisma* 1909 iii pl. 2, 21, K. Regling *Die antike Münze als Kunstwerk* Berlin 1924 pp. 71, 84 no. 492 pl. 22) or right (J. Millingen *Sylloge of ancient unedited coins of Greek cities and kings, from various collections* London 1837 pp. 30, 33 pl. 2, 13, *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 106 no. 67, *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* ii. 1. 1. 71 no. 100 pl. 3, 1 Berlin, J. N. Svoronos in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1889 p. 99 ff.

pl. 2, 21 (=my fig. 814) Paris, H. von Fritze in *Nomisma* 1909 iii pl. 2, 20 Paris, K. Regling *Die antike Münze als Kunstwerk* Berlin 1924 pp. 71, 84 no. 493 pl. 22, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 4. 897 f. pl. 335, 15 Paris, C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 144 pl. 28, 13 (Berlin).



Fig. 813.



Fig. 814.

Closely related to these numismatic examples are the dancers carved on two slabs of Pentelic marble, which were brought from Italy to Berlin in 1892 (figs. 815, 816 are from C. Blümel *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Katalog der Sammlung antiker Skulpturen* Berlin 1931 iv. 45 f. nos. K 184 and 185 pl. 77, cp. F. Weege *Der Tanz in der Antike* Halle/Saale 1926 p. 45 figs. 48 and 49). The more complete relief measures 0.95^m high by 0.54^m broad; the less complete, 0.80^m high by 0.56^m broad. It seems probable that, like three similar but fragmentary reliefs at Athens (H. Schrader *Phidias* Frankfurt am Main 1924 p. 346 figs. 315, 316), they were intended for mural decoration. The reliefs at Berlin exhibit such delicious freshness and abandon that R. Kekulé, who first published them in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1893 viii Arch. Anz. p. 76 with two figs., did not hesitate to regard them as Attic work dating from the earlier half of s. v B.C. (cp. M. Sauerlandt *Griechische Bildwerke* Düsseldorf—Leipzig p. x 'aus dem Anfange des v. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.', *Kurze Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen im Alten Museum*² Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 90 no. 1456 f. pl. 26 'Griechische Werke des 5. Jh. v. Chr.', F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 45 'aus demselben Künstleratelier der 5. Jahrh. v. Chr.'). But Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpture* p. 438 n. 3 with greater circumspection claims that they are only 'good specimens of the so-called later Attic school, by no means genuine archaic works' (cp. *id. Ueber Statuenkopieen im Alterthum* München 1896 i. 4 n. 3 (= *Abh. d. bayer. Akad.* 1896 Philos.-philol. Classe xx. 528 n. 3).

If so, they must be ranked with the *kalathiskos*-dancers of Arretine ware (c. 150 B.C.—50 A.D.) discussed by H. Dragendorff in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1895 xcvi—xcvii. 58 ff. A *skyphos* from Capua has four dancers grouped in pairs. Between the two pairs is a small Eros standing on a pillar, and between the dancers of the right-hand pair is a *thymiatérion* (H. Dragendorff *loc. cit.* figs. 14, 14 a after Riccio *Notizie degli scaviamenti nel suolo dell' antica Capua* Napoli 1855 pl. 5). A fragmentary mould found at Arezzo in 1896 and now in the British Museum shows four girls likewise dancing in pairs and wearing a head-dress of open wicker-work. Above them runs a wreath to which festoons are looped up with large bows. Between the pairs of dancers a flower springs from the ground (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery* p. 34 no. L 108, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 493 f. pl. 66, 5). Another specimen, in the Loeb collection, has a very similar dancer standing between two bases (?) with a festoon fastened to *bucrania* behind her and a flower or flowering rush (?) at her feet (F. Weege *op. cit.* pp. 45, 48 with fig. 51 after G. H. Chase *Guide to Loeb Collection of Arretine Pottery* Harvard University no. 53 pl. 3). Another mould



Fig. 815.



Fig. 816.

in New York shows the dancer, once more between two bases (?) with a festoon of vine and ivy behind her (G. M. A. Richter in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 15 fig. 4). Again, fragments of a mould found near the church of S. Maria in Gradi at Arezzo and now in the museum of that town represent two such dancers facing left. In front of one is a Dionysiac herm, in front of the other a fighting Athena, each effigy set on the top of an Ionic column (G. F. Gamurrini reported by G. Fiorelli in the *Not. Scavi* 1884 p. 372 gruppo v nos. 1—3 pl. 7, 2). The moulds found with this bear the signature of that admirable craftsman M. Perennius, on whom see M. Ihm in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1898 cii. 114 ff., H. B. Walters *op. cit.* pp. 483, 492, 494 and in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery* pp. xvii, xx, xxii.

Similarly the upper part of a Roman mural relief in terra cotta, made during the first half of Augustus' reign and now preserved in the Antiquarium at Berlin, figures a facing Palladion flanked by two *kalathiskos*-dancers, whose pink garments contrasted with a blue background (Von Rohden—Winnefeld *Ant. Terrakotten* iv. 1. 248 pl. 18, Furtwängler *op. cit.* p. 438 fig. 179, J. Sieveking in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1332 fig. 8. A fragment in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 412 no. D 646 fig. 76 gives the head and shoulder of the right-hand dancer). More complete but less delicate is the *replica* in G. P. Campana *Antiche opere in plastica* Roma 1842 p. 37 f. pl. 4, cp. *Le Musée d'Aix* Paris 1882—1921 p. 477 no. 1588. Another example in the Casino of Pius iv in the Vatican Garden is published by Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 151 pl. 20, 214 a.

Neo-Attic reliefs, which perhaps imply Attic originals of s. i B.C. (F. Hauser in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1913 xvi. 53 f., Ada von Netoliczka *ib.* 1914 xvii. 132), make use of similar *motifs*. A three-sided base of Flavian date (69—96 A.D.) in the Museo Archeologico at Venice is adorned with two *kalathiskos*-dancers and an ecstatic Maenad. Each figure is framed by an over-elaborate and meaningless combination of ram's head, lion's leg, and bust of winged female Sphinx wearing a rayed *kálathos*, on which kneels Nike with spread wings (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pé.* 1865 p. 60 no. 6, H. Heydemann *Mittheilungen aus den Antikensammlungen in Ober- und Mittelitalien* Halle 1879 p. 65 n. 154, F. Hauser *Die neu-attischen Reliefs* Stuttgart 1889 p. 100 f. no. 31, *Einzelaufnahmen* nos. 2469—2471 with Text ix. 13 by P. Arndt and G. Lippold, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 432 nos. 4—6, F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 46 with fig. 47). A second and exactly similar base in the same collection is due to a copyist of the Renaissance (*Einzelaufnahmen* nos. 2472—2474 with Text ix. 13 by P. Arndt and G. Lippold). Another three-sided base in the Louvre again couples the *kalathiskos*-dancers with a Maenad, whose head and right arm are a misleading restoration. The framework here with its rams' heads at the upper corners is of a simpler and more satisfactory sort (Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* ii. 343 f. pl. 167 fig. 77 and pl. 168 fig. 78 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 61 no. 3 and i. 62 no. 1, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 133 pl. 17, 188, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 100 no. 29. Height 1'011^m). Yet another three-sided base, in the Villa Albani, shows three such dancers, of whom one uplifts a dish of fruit before a rude stone altar with fruit laid out upon it and a fire burning, a second stands before a similar altar, and a third before a reed-plant springing from the ground (G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 i. 111—118 pl. 20 = Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 152 nos. 1—3, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 146—152 pl. 7, 12, L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 60 no. 2, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 96 no. 19, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 67 f. no. 816. Height of

figures 0·30^m). A large *kratér* of Italian marble with grey stripes, formerly in the Cook collection at Richmond, has on one side a snake-entwined tripod, from which flames are rising, flanked by a pair of Nikai filling *phialai* from their raised *oinochóai*, on the other side an exact repetition of the central and left-hand dancers on the Villa Albani base described above—a repetition which includes both the altar with fruit and the reed-plant springing from the ground.



Fig. 817.

Under each handle are two *thýrsoi* laid crosswise. The handles themselves end in large ivy-leaves (A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 638 no. 66, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 96 no. 18, Mrs S. A. Strong in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1908 xxviii. 24 f. no. 33 pl. 17 = Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 531 no. 3 f. Height 0·80^m; diameter c. 0·80^m. The surface has been worked over, but the authenticity of the vase is above suspicion). A marble relief in the Villa Albani figures a couple of *kalathískos*-dancers facing each other in front of an edifice with two ranges of pilasters (G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 i. 111—118 pl. 21 = Reinach

Rép. Reliefs iii. 151 no. 1, L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 60 no. 3, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 97 no. 21, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 38 f. no. 769, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*³ Leipzig 1913 ii. 422 f. no. 1867, F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 46 with fig. 52 from a photograph (my fig. 817, H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Dresden—Zürich 1925 i. 73 fig.), which shows that—as Hauser observed—the *kalathoi* are largely restored. The restoration affects the left hand of the dancer on the right, both hands, the right foot, and the lower part of the left leg of the other dancer, together with the rocky foreground and portions of the architectural background. Height 0·85^m). A finely worked relief of Pentelic marble in the Lateran collection preserves the single headless figure of a similar dancer turned towards the right in front of a wall with pilasters (Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 19 no. 3499). A fragment now in the Sala Lapidaria of the Arcivescovado at Ravenna also gives a single *kalathiskos*-dancer from the knees upwards with the remains of a flat pilaster and wall (H. Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 65 no. 5, C. Ricci in *Ausonia* iv. 258 with fig. 10). Another in the Palazzo Farnese shows a single dancer of the same sort (Matz—Duhn *op. cit.* iii. 19 no. 3499^a). Finally, a marble *puteal* in the Palazzo Doria represents two pairs of *kalathiskos*-dancers fronting each other amid a fine growth of tendrils. They are here assimilated to Nikai by having large wings on their shoulders (Matz—Duhn *op. cit.* iii. 112 no. 3678, cp. Comm. Datti in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1860 p. 98).

Looking back over the evidence thus detailed we gather that the *kalathiskos*-dancers of the Arretine sherds, the Roman mural terra cottas, and the neo-Attic reliefs are archaistic derivatives of similar types already existing in the second half of s. v B.C.—witness the Naples *hydria*, the door-jambs at Trysa, and the coins of Abdera. Furtwängler acutely conjectured that the original from which they are all descended was a famous masterpiece (in archaising bronze relief?) by Kallimachos, the *saltantes Lacaeanae* described by Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 92 as ‘a work of faultless technique, but one which has lost all charm through over-elaboration’ (Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 438). This conjecture has been widely accepted and is indeed highly probable. But the further attempt to name the dancers Karyatides and to connect them with architectural ‘Caryatids’ in general (P. Wolters in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* Neue Folge 1895 vi. 36—44 after Visconti *Mus. Pie- Clém.* iii pl. b, ii, F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 44 ff.) is in my judgment a mistake (cp. *supra* ii. 535 n. 2). I incline to the following solution of the problem. Alkman, who came to Sparta *Σαρδίων ἀν’ ἀκρᾶν* (Alkm. *frag.* 24. 5 Bergk⁴, 2. 5 Edmonds, 13. 5 Diehl *ap.* Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἐρυσίχη, cp. *Anth. Pal.* 7. 709. 1 ff. (Alexandros (of Aitolia?)), 7. 18. 3 ff. (Antipatros of Thessalonike), Krates (of Mallos?) *ap.* Soud. s.v. Ἀλκμάν), is known to have composed *parthéneia* for Artemis and other deities. Moreover, he wrote for the Spartan Gymnopaïdai songs to be sung by boys and men wearing ‘Thyreatic’ crowns made of palm-leaves (Sosibios of Sparta *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 626 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 678 B cited *supra* p. 996 f.). Such a poet can hardly have failed to import into Sparta the famous *kalathiskos*-dance of his own Sardeis. It was perhaps formerly figured on an inscribed but mutilated *stèle* of s. iii B.C., found in the Amyklaion (B. Schröder in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxix. 29, 31 with fig. 2). Identical with it, or at least akin to it, was a dance performed at the Spartan festival of Promacheia (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 470), when the Perioikoi as distinct from the Spartiatai wore a crown of reeds (Sosibios of Sparta *frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 626 Müller)=*frag.* 1 Tresp *ap.* Athen. 674 A καὶ γὰρ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλᾶμφ στεφανοῦνται ἐν τῇ τῶν Προμαχείων ἑορτῇ, ὥς φησι

Σωσίβιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι θυσιῶν γράφων οὕτως· 'ἐν ταύτῃ συμβαίνει τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας καλὰμοις στεφανοῦσθαι ἢ σπλεγγίδι (cp. Plout. *inst. Lac.* 32 σπλεγγίσιν οὐ σιδηραῖς ἀλλὰ καλαμίνας ἐχρῶντο), τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγωγῆς παῖδας ἀστεφανώτους ἀκολουθεῖν'). Another ritual link between Lakonike and Lydia is noted by L. Stephani, who observes in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1865 pp. 31, 58 that the cult of Artemis Ὀρθία at Sparta involved a Λυδῶν πομπή (Plout. v. *Aristid.* 17. Cp. the case of Artemis Κορδάκα at Olympia (Paus. 6. 22. 1 with H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*)).

Three dancing-girls in like attire surmounted the very beautiful acanthus-column of Pentelic (not Parian) marble, which stood on the north side of the Sacred Way at Delphoi, close to the votive offerings of the Syracusan princes. Arranged back to back round a central stem, the girls supported the *lébes* of the bronze tripod whose legs rested upon the leafy capital. This group of dainty light-footed damsels in some ways anticipates the art of Praxiteles. Indeed, T. Homolle in the *Rev. Arch.* 1917 i. 31—67 figs. 1—6 was prepared to regard it as a contemporary replica of the Praxitelean 'figures called Thyiades and Karyatides' later to be seen in the gallery of Asinius Pollio (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 23). But C. Praschniker *Zur Geschichte des Akroters* Brünn 1929 p. 48 f. has shown that the Dancers' Column was found in the same deposit as the Charioteer, *i.e.* in the *débris* caused by the earthquake of 373 B.C., and should therefore be accepted as pre-Praxitelean and referred to a date perhaps as early as the late fifth century (S. Casson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 133). In any case we may admit that the Delphian dancers with their crowns of 'sharp-ribbed rushes' are a composition of infinite grace, which forms a later (*c.* 400 B.C.) variation on the *saltantes Lacaeanae* designed by Kallimachos and owes its ultimate inspiration to the *kalathiskos*-dancers of the Lydian lake-side. See further the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1 pl. 15 (the column restored by A. Tournaire, with tripod-legs supported by dancers), iv. 2 pls. 60 (the dancers = fig. 818), 61 (the dancers, another view), 62 (head of one dancer in profile), É. Bourguet *Les ruines de Delphes* Paris 1914 pp. 188—192 fig. 63 f., F. Poulsen *Delphi* trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 pp. 246—264 figs. 113—128, and especially H. Pomtow 'Die Tänzerinnen-Säule in Delphi' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1920 xxxv. 113—128 with figs. 1 (= my fig. 819), 2—6, who is followed by A. Rumpf in H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1928 xiii—xiv fig. 128.

A gold earring in the F. L. von Gans collection of the Berlin Antiquarium further attests the popularity of the *motif* in the fourth century B.C. It represents a dancing-girl with short *chiton* and high *kálathos*; her left arm is raised, her right is missing (*Amtliche Berichte aus den königl. Kunstsammlungen* (Beiblatt zum *Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen*) 1913 xxxv. 76 with fig. 37 C).

A bronze statuette, formerly in the Gréau collection, again shows a dancing-girl with short *chiton* and basket-like head-dress (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 242 no. 9) after W. Froehner *Collection Julien Gréau. Bronzes* Paris 1891 pl. 95), as does a Hellenistic terracotta in the Louvre (J. Charbonneaux *Les Terres cuites Grecques* London 1936 pp. 23, 50 fig. 54, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art* Paris 1937 ii. 199 with text by Mme Massoul). But examples of the type 'in the round' are rare, for terra-cotta dolls from Myrina with elaborate head-dress (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 243 no. C 522 pl. 35, *Mendel Cat. Fig. gr. de Terre Cuite Constantinople* p. 378 f. no. 2640 pl. 8, 6) are hardly to be classed as *kalathiskos*-dancers.



Fig. 818.

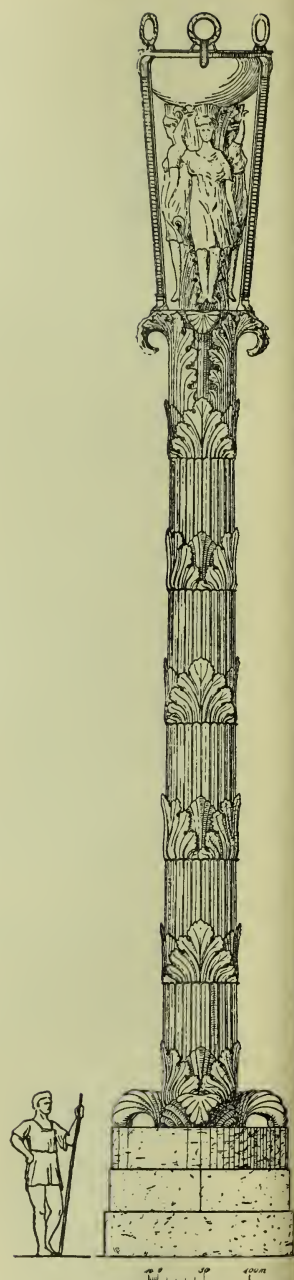


Fig. 819.

Similar figures are found on gems of imperial date, either alone as on a specimen in my collection (fig. 820: scale $\frac{2}{1}$), or else with a palm-branch (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 284 no. 7668 pl. 57 cornelian, no. 7669 cornelian) or a *hydria* containing a palm-branch (*id. ib.* p. 284 no. 7670 pl. 57 sardonyx) before them. The palm-branch is here apparently a later substitute for the original reed-plant.

Important confirmation of this hypothesis is afforded by terracotta plaques of Hellenistic date found at Praisos in eastern Crete. They show a girl with short *chiton* and spread *kálathos*, who is dancing in front of 'a tall, bending plant, apparently a reed' (E. S. Forster in



Fig. 820.

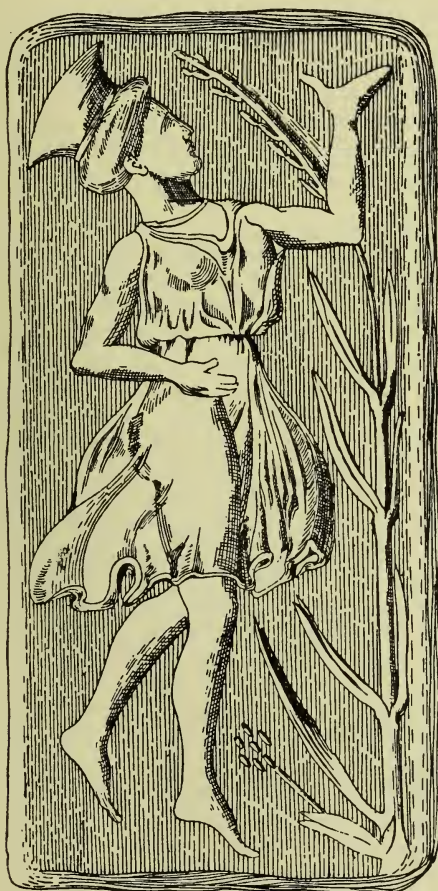


Fig. 821.

the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 255 with fig. 17 = my fig. 821 (height .23^m), cp. F. Halbherr in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1901 v. 390 pl. 12, 5).

In this connexion it may be noted that some would see a phallic significance

in the reed. K. F. Johansson *Über die altindische Göttin Dhiṣṇā und Verwandtes* Uppsala 1917 p. 33 quotes Dion Cass. 72. 12 ὅτι "Ἀστύγγοι, ὧν 'Ρᾱός τε καὶ 'Ράπτος ἡγοῦντο, ἦλθον μὲν ἐς τὴν Δακίαν κ.τ.λ. and explains that 'Ρᾱός and 'Ράπτος, 'Rush' and 'Rafter,' imply the phallic god of fertility conceived as a Reed (cp. Finnish *Sämpsä*, 'scirpus') and a horizontal Roof-beam. But his etymologies and his symbolism seem equally precarious. He would do better to cite the myth of Pan and Syrinx (H. Ostern in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1642 ff.) as illustrated on imperial bronze coins of Thelpousa in Arkadia (K. Wernicke *ib.* iii. 1356, 1467 fig. 25 after *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 204 no. 3 Septimius Severus pl. 37, 23, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm.* Paus. ii. 102 Geta, Vienna pl. T, 24, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 456: see further F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1874 i. 134).

With the extension of the *kalathiskos*-type to runners in the Lampadedromia as represented on a series of vases c. 400 B.C. (Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 910 f. figs. 4328—4330) we are not here concerned. One such vase, that signed by the potter Nikias (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 218 f. no. 1 fig., J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 466 no. 1), is reproduced on the five-drachma postage-stamp designed by J. N. Svoronos for the Greek government and issued at Athens in 1906 to commemorate the 'Olympic Games.'

(13) Floating islands are reported from various districts of Italy. Thus one or more of them existed *in agro Caecubo* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209). The allusion is probably to the Lacus Fundanus (*Lago di Fondi*) in the marshy plain between Fundi and the sea (C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1244).

(14) In the country of the Sabines a lake known as Aquae Cutiliae, between Reate (*Rieti*) and Interocrium (*Antrodoco*), was reckoned 'the navel of Italy' (Varr. *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 109, Solin. 2. 23). It could boast a floating island (Varr. *ap.* Plin. *loc. cit.* and in *de ling. Lat.* 5. 71) covered with trees and grasses and so easily moved by the wind that it was never to be seen in the same place for a day and night together (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, Sen. *nat. quaest.* 3. 25. 8 f., cp. anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* (*supra* p. 975) 37). If the Greeks dubbed it Κορύλη (oracle of Zeus at Dodona *ap.* Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 19, Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 7. 28, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀβορινίφες (= Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 177), Paul. ex Fest. p. 51, 8 Müller, p. 44, 22 f. Lindsay), that was a well-meant etymology of the Aquae Cutiliae (Ὑδρα Κοῦλια). Of greater interest is the account given by Dion Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 15 (after Varro): 'At a distance of seventy furlongs from Reate is Kotylia, a famous town, situated at the base of a mountain. Not far from it is a lake, four hundred feet across, full of spring water which is always flowing and—so they say—has no bottom to it. This lake, having a touch of divinity about it, the natives deem sacred to Victory (*sc.* Vacuna). They enclose it round about with fillets, that nobody should approach the water, and preserve it as a spot unprofaned by human tread except on certain yearly occasions (for *καιροῖς τισι διετησίους* cod. Vat. has *καιροῖς τισὶν ἐτησίους*), when they offer customary sacrifices and particular persons charged with the office land on the small island in it. The island is some fifty feet in diameter and rises not more than one foot above the level of the water. It has no fixed position and floats round here there and everywhere, the wind turning it now hither now thither. A plant resembling sedge grows upon it and sundry bushes of no great size—a thing inexplicable to those who have not seen the handywork of nature and a marvel second to none.' On which E. H. Bunbury in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 721 comments: 'It is evident that this marvel arose from the incrustations of carbonate of lime formed by the

waters of the lake, fragments of which might from time to time be detached from the overhanging crust thus formed on the banks: the same phenomenon occurs, though on a smaller scale, at the Aquae Albulae near Tibur. ([Sir W.] Gell [*The Top[ography] of Rome [and its Vicinity]* London 1834 i. 74, *ib.*² London 1846 i.] 41.)...The Cutilian Lake still exists under the name of *Pozzo di Ratignano* or *Latignano*, though apparently reduced in size by the continual incrustation of its banks; but the floating island has disappeared.

(15) Two islands in the Lacus Tarquiniensis (more often called the Lacus Volsiniensis, nowadays the *Lago di Bolsena*, a *quondam* crater near Volsinii) are described as floating groves blown by the winds now into triangular, now into circular forms, but never into squares (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209). It is not clear how these two islands (the *Isola Martana* and the *Isola Bisentina* (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 52 Vesentini and *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xi nos. 2910 Honori Visentium, 2911 Virtuti Visenti = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 3796, 3796^a)) could suggest either a triangle or a circle, let alone a square. G. Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*³ London 1883 ii. 29 shakes his head: 'Shall we not rather refer this unsteady, changeful character to the eyes of the beholders, and conclude that the propagators of the miracle had been making too deep potations in the rich wine of [the lake-side]? Now, at least, the islands have lost their erratic and Protean propensities, and, though still capt with wood, have taken determinate and beautiful forms, no longer plastic beneath the breath of Æolus.' Possibly Santa Cristina, the virgin-martyr of *Bolsena* (July 24), who was cast into the lake and touched bottom—witness her footprints on the rocks—but, despite the millstone round her neck, would not drown and, after gruesome sufferings, had to be bound to a tree and shot with arrows, should be regarded as the Christian successor of a pagan lake-goddess (Diana?). On her see the *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1727 Julius v. 495 ff. 'De S. Christina virg. et martyri apud Lacum Vulsinium, ut volunt, in Tuscia' (*Passio* 2. 11 p. 526 F Urbanus...jussit eam ligari ad saxum, & medio mari dare præcepit: cumque hoc fieret, saxum disruptum est, & ipsa ab angelis suscepta est, & ita pedibus super aquas maris ferebatur, 2. 17 p. 528 A Julianus irâ commotus jussit mammillas ejus abscindere. Christina dixit: Lapideum cor & abominabile, mammillas meas abscidere jussisti; respice & vide, quia pro sanguine lac in terram defluxit, 2, 18 p. 528 B Tunc iratus Julianus duas sagittas [misit] in eam, unam ad cor ejus, & aliam contra latus ejus, & cum percuteretur, cum gaudio reddidit spiritum), S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 viii. 527—531 (p. 530 'on this day [July 24], as we are solemnly assured, her head is seen to swim about the lake'), M. and W. Drake *Saints and their Emblems* London 1916 pp. 26, 143, 193, *alib.*, K. Künstle *Ikonographie der Heiligen* Freiburg im Breisgau 1926 p. 153 f. The tradition that she walked the water and the belief that her head still swims recall the floating islands mentioned by Pliny. Such wonders die hard.

(16) The Lacus Statoniensis, identified by P. Cluverius *Italia antiqua* Lugduni Batavorum 1624 p. 517 with the *Lago di Mezzano*, a tiny sheet of water about five miles west of the *Lago di Bolsena*, had once a floating island (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, Sen. *nat. quaest.* 3. 25. 8, and perhaps Strab. 614), but now has none, 'so that we must either reject Cluver's conclusion, or suppose that the island has since disappeared. As there is no other lake in central Etruria which can answer to the Statonian, we must take the alternative, and consider the island to have floated, as it is described, and to have become eventually attached to the shores of the lake' (G. Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*³ London 1883 i. 494 f.).

(17) The Vadimonis Lacus, another lakelet of Etruria, lying on the right bank of the Tiber about four miles above Horta (*Orte*) and in modern times variously termed the *Laghetto* or *Lagherello* or even *Lago di Bassano* or *Basanello* from a village in the neighbourhood, could boast in antiquity not only one floating island (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, Sen. *nat. quaest.* 3. 25. 8, and perhaps Strab. 614) but several (anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* (*supra* p. 975) 38 ἔστι δὲ καὶ λάκκος Οὐαδίμωνος καλουμένη λίμνη οὐ μεγάλη ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ὁμοίως ἔχουσα νησία πλείονα πάσῃ πνοῇ μετακινούμενα). An interesting account of them is given by Plin. *epist.* 8. 20 (trans. W. Melmoth rev. W. M. L. Hutchinson): 'I went close up to this lake. It is formed exactly circular (in similitudinem iacentis rotæ circumscriptus et undique aequalis); there is not the least obliquity or winding, but all is regular and even as if it had been hollowed and cut out by the hand of art. The colour of its water is a whitish-blue, verging upon green, and somewhat cloudy; it has the odour of sulphur and a strong medicinal taste, and possesses the property of cementing fractures. Though it is but of moderate extent, yet the winds have a great effect upon it, throwing it into violent commotions. No vessels are suffered to sail here, as its waters are held sacred; but several grassy islands swim about it, covered with reeds and rushes, and whatever other plants the more prolific neighbouring marsh and the borders of the lake produce. No two are alike in size or shape; but the edges of all of them are worn away by their frequent collision against the shore and one another. They have all the same depth, and the same buoyancy; for their shallow bases are formed like the hull of a boat. This formation is distinctly visible from every point of view; the hull lies half above and half below the water. Sometimes the islands cluster together and seem to form one entire little continent; sometimes they are dispersed by veering winds; at times, when it is calm, they desert their station and float up and down separately [at times the wind falls dead and they are left floating in isolation A.B.C.]. You may frequently see one of the larger islands sailing along with a lesser joined to it, like a ship with its long boat; or perhaps, seeming to strive which shall outswim the other; then again all are driven to one spot of the shore, which they thus advance, and now here, now there, diminish or restore the area of the lake; only ceasing to contract it anywhere, when they occupy the centre. Cattle have often been known, while grazing, to advance upon those islands as upon the border of the lake, without perceiving that they are on moving ground, till, being carried away from shore they are alarmed by finding themselves surrounded with water, as if they had been put on board ship; and when they presently land wherever the wind drives them ashore, they are no more sensible of disembarking than they had been of embarking. This lake empties itself into a river, which after running a little way above ground, sinks into a cavern and pursues a subterraneous course and if anything is thrown in brings it up again where the stream emerges.' 'But,' says G. Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*³ London 1883 i. 144, 'he who would expect Pliny's description to be verified, might search for ever in vain. It is, indeed, no easy matter to find the lake; for it has so shrunk in dimensions, that what must have been a spacious tract of water in the olden time, is now but a small stagnant pond, almost lost in the tall reeds and bulrushes that wave over it. These we may conclude represent the islets, which either never had an existence, or have now clubbed together to stop up the lake.'

(18) A floating island *in agro...Mutinensi* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209) is mentioned but once and has not been further identified.

(19) Yet another, on the Lacus Benacus (*Lago di Garda*), the largest of all

the lakes in Italy, is said to have been inhabited and to have been planted with trees (anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* (*supra* p. 975) 37 ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ λίμνης καλουμένης μὲν Βηνάκου, οὔσης δὲ τὸ περίμετρον σταδίων φ' (on its real size see E. H. Bunbury in *Smith Dict. Geogr.* i. 389 or C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 268), νῆσός ἐστιν οἰκουμένη κατὰ φύτον δένδροισιν ἡμέροις ἐπινηχομένη καὶ μεταβαίνουσα πρὸς τὰς τῶν πνευμάτων φοράς).

(20) Lastly, at (Aqua) Salsulae in Gallia Narbonensis, the modern *Salces* or *Salses* on the western bank of the *Étang de Leucate*, was a whole plain, green with fine slender reeds and afloat on underlying water. The centre of it, detached from its surroundings, formed an island which could be pushed away from you or pulled towards you. Holes made in the surface of this plain showed the sea beneath; whence ignorant or lying authors had stated that fish were here dug out of the ground (Mela 2. 82 f., cp. *Aristot. mir. ausc.* 89, Polyb. 34. 10. 2—4, and perhaps Liv. 42. 2, also Theophr. *frag.* 171. 7, 11 f. Wimmer, *Plin. nat. hist.* 9. 176, 178, Sen. *nat. quaest.* 3. 16. 5, 3. 17. 3, Iuv. 13. 65 f.). See further E. Desjardins *Géographie historique et administrative de la Gaule romaine* Paris 1876 i. 251 f., 256 f. and Keune in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 2012.

It will be obvious from a survey of the foregoing passages that floating islands as such made a deep impression on Greeks and Romans alike and were almost always regarded with naive feelings of awe and veneration. Such phenomena attached themselves readily to the cult of the local deity, often a lake-goddess, and at least in one case gave rise to a popular ritual and an art-type of remarkable beauty. We must not, however, lend an ear to the persuasions of a latter-day mythologist, who would have us believe that the floating islands of Greek story were originally nothing but drifting clouds (F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 69 n. 1 'es sind immer ursprünglich die Wolkeninseln der Sage'). Earthly fact *plus* heavenly fancy will amply suffice to explain the whole flotilla (see *e.g.* the Celtic parallels in Sir J. Rhŷs *Celtic Folklore: Welsh and Manx* Oxford 1901 i. 171 f., W. C. Borlase *The Dolmens of Ireland* London 1897 ii. 591, H. Güntert *Kalypso* Halle a. S. 1919 p. 145 f.). Doubters should visit Derwentwater and enquire for the Floating Island near Lodore which 'appears periodically about the middle of October at intervals of four years' (M. J. B. Baddeley *The English Lake District*¹⁰ London 1906 p. 130 with Append. by E. D. Jordan p. 11). It has been studied with scrupulous exactitude by G. J. Symons *The Floating Island in Derwentwater, its History & Mystery, with notes of other dissimilar islands* London 1888 pp. 1—64 (Frontisp. map of the south-east portion of Derwentwater showing the position of three floating islands on Aug. 27, 1884, p. 19 ff. list of recorded appearances from 1753 to 1888 A.D., p. 23 ff. notice of other floating islands, etc.). Another interesting case is examined by Marietta Pallis 'The Structure and History of Plav: the Floating Fen of the Delta of the Danube' in the *Linnean Society's Journal Botany* 1916 xliii. 233—290 pls. 11—25.

APPENDIX Q.

THE PROMPTING EROS.

The evolution of this artistic type deserves fuller treatment than it has yet received. Its successive stages may be exemplified as follows:

(1) A small plaque of reddish gold, found in the third shaft-grave at Mykenai, shows a nude Aphrodite (Astarte?) pressing her breasts, with a dove flying over her head. A second plaque of yellow gold, from the same grave, repeats the *motif* but adds two other doves flying from her shoulders (H. Schliemann *Mycenæ* London 1878 p. 180 f. fig. 267 f., C. Schuchhardt *Schliemann's Excavations* trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 197 f. fig. 180 f., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 652 fig. 293 f., Ch. Tsountas—J. I. Manatt *The Mycenaean Age* London 1897 p. 101 f. fig. 38 f., Staïs *Coll. Mycénienne: Athènes* p. 13 ff. no. 27 fig., Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 223 with fig. 169, H. T. Bossert *Alt-kreta*² Berlin 1923 pp. 32, 220 fig. 311 e, G. Karo *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai* München 1930/33 p. 48 pl. 27, 28 and 27 (=my figs. 822, 823).



Fig. 822.



Fig. 823.

(2) A bronze mirror-stand from Hermione, Greek work of c. 600—550 B.C., now in the Museum antiker Kleinkunst at Munich, represents a nude Aphrodite with two human-headed birds (Sirens) perched on lotos-flowers to left and right of her shoulders (J. Sieveking *Antike Metallgeräte* München s.a. pp. 9, 12 pl. 19 front (=my fig. 824) and back).

(3) Towards the close of s. vi B.C. other variations were attempted. A bronze mirror-stand from Corinth, now at Athens, figures Aphrodite, draped in Ionic *chiton* and *himation*, holding a dove in her right hand, while two winged Sphinxes rest a forepaw on either shoulder of the goddess (Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*² p. 337 no. 11691 fig., C. D. Mylonas in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1875 xxxiii. 161 no. 1 pl. 14, 1, E. Pottier in A. Dumont—J. Chaplain *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre* Paris 1890 ii. 249 no. 2 pl. 33). Another bronze mirror-stand, Greek (Corinthian? Argive?) work of c. 500 B.C., formerly in the Cook collection at Richmond, has Aphrodite in Ionic *chiton* and Doric *péplos*, but replaces the soul-



Fig. 826.

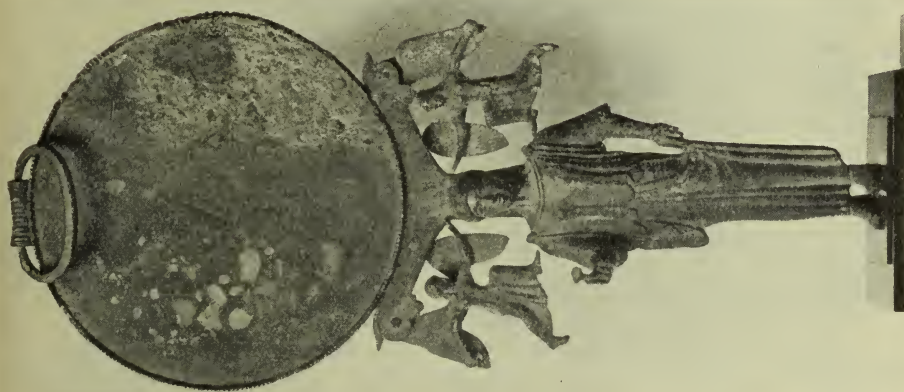


Fig. 825.



Fig. 824.

birds by two winged female figures (Nikai?), who fly towards the shoulders of the goddess with one hand outstretched and a small object (perfume-vase??) in the other (A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 631 Richmond no. 39, Mrs A. Strong in *Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* London 1904 p. 38 no A 8 pl. 45, *a* front, *b* back (wrongly described as 'two hovering Eroses'), Sir C. H. Smith in *Catalogue of the Antiquities (Greek, Etruscan and Roman) in the Collection of the late Wyndham Francis Cook, Esqre* London 1908 ii. 114 Bronze no. 46 pl. 35 (= my fig. 825: 'two hovering Victories'), K. A. Neugebauer *Antike Bronze-statuetten* Berlin 1921 p. 45 fig. 25 ('zwei ... Siegesgöttinnen')).

(4) Numerous bronze mirror-stands of s. vi—v (listed by E. Pottier in A. Dumont—J. Chaplain *op. cit.* ii. 249—253: see also Mrs A. Strong *loc. cit.* p. 38) figure an archaic or at least severe Aphrodite flanked by a pair of Eroses hovering above her shoulders (*e.g.* *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 24 no. 241 pl. 4 Athens, p. 24 no. 242 Sounion, p. 24 f. no. 243 pl. 4 Corinth, *De Ridder Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* ii. 43 no. 1687 pl. 77 Hermione, ii. 43 f. no. 1689 pl. 77 Corinth, ii. 44 no. 1691 pl. 77 (= my fig. 826) Greece, ii. 44 no. 1692 pl. 77 Corinth, *Staïs Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*² p. 335 no. 7576 (6576 is apparently a misprint) with fig. on p. 336, J. Sieveking *Antike Metallgeräte* München s.a. pp. 9, 12 pl. 20 Boston).

(5) About the decade 450—440 B.C. Eros was represented on reliefs in terra cotta or marble as standing on the arm or stepping down from behind the shoulder of Aphrodite (*supra* ii. 1043 fig. 892, 1044). From this it is not a far cry to—

(6) a *kratér* from Falerii, now in the Villa Giulia at Rome, which dates from the period of the Peloponnesian War and shows Eros whispering in the ear of Hebe (*supra* ii. 737 fig. 668), or again to a *kratér* from Ruvo, now at Naples, which likewise belongs to the latter part of s. v B.C. and makes the small kindred figure of Himeros, kneeling beside the right shoulder of a goddess (Aphrodite? a Muse??), stretch out his arms to crown a tragic mask held in her left hand (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 546 ff. no. 3240 ('Muse'), J. de Witte in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1841 xiii. 303 ff. ('Aphrodite'), *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 31, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 114, 1 ('Muse'), B. Arnold in Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 388 ff. pl. 5 fig. 422, G. Nicole *Meidias et le style fleuri dans la céramique attique* Genève 1908 p. 120 f. fig. 29, M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 91 ff. fig. 97 pl. 48 ('Muse'), P. Ducati *Storia della ceramica greca* Firenze 1922 ii. 415 ff. fig. 298).

(7) This conception of Eros or Himeros as a small figure haunting the shoulder to proffer his amatory advice becomes a commonplace on vases produced during the earlier part of s. iv B.C. in the style of the Meidias-painter (G. Nicole *op. cit.* pl. 10, 6—8, pl. 11, 18), *e.g.* on a *hydria* from Ruvo at Karlsruhe (Winnefeld *Vasensamml. Karlsruhe* p. 63 ff. no. 259, F. G. Welcker in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1845 xvii. 172 ff. no. 59, *id.* *Alt. Denkm.* v. 403 ff. no. 59, E. Gerhard *Apulische Vasenbilder des königlichen Museums zu Berlin* Berlin 1845 p. 32 f. pl. D, 2, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 233 ff. no. 67 Atlas pl. 11, 1, Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 141 ff. pl. 30, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 65 ff. pl. 2, 2, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 185 f. no. 20, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 595 f. iii. 241 fig. 595, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmalerei des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 459 no. 3, *supra* i. 125 f. pl. xi: Aphrodite and Alexandros, on a *hydria* from Populonia at Florence (L. A. Milani *Monumenti scelti del R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze* Firenze 1905 i pls. 4 and 5, 3, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 69 ff. pl. 3, 2, Hoppin *op. cit.* ii. 185 no. 17, P. Ducati

op. cit. ii. 399 ff. fig. 290, Pfuhl *op. cit.* ii. 593 ff. iii. 240 fig. 594, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 460 no. 4: Eros with Chrysothemis, Himeros with Adonis), on an *aryballos* from Athens in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 345 f. no. E 697, Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 99 f. pl. 78, 2, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 97 no. 1 pl. 7, 1, Hoppin *op. cit.* ii. 196 no. 60, P. Ducati *op. cit.* ii. 401, 403 fig. 291, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 460 no. 14: Eros seated on the left shoulder of Aphrodite), on an *aryballos* from Ruvo in the Jatta collection (A. Michaelis *Thamyris und Sappho auf einem Vasenbilde* Leipzig 1865 pp. 1—18 with pl., D. Comparetti in the *Museo italiano di antichità classica* Firenze 1888 ii. 59—64 no. 4 pl. 5=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 526, 1, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 1727 f. fig. 1809, G. Jatta 'La gara di Tamiri con le Muse' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1888 iii. 239—253 pl. 9, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 96 f. pl. 7, 4, Hoppin *op. cit.* ii. 192 no. 47 *bis*, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 460 no. 12: Eros seated on the right shoulder of Sappho (ΣΑΟ), two Erotes to right and left of Aphrodite, of whom one lets fly a bird, the other points). Cp. a *hydria* from Nola in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 55 f. no. F 90 pl. 2: Eros stoops to touch the right shoulder of a seated female).

(8) The same conception persists throughout s. iv B.C. on Attic vases of the 'Kertch' variety such as a *hydria* from Jüz Oba at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 383 ff. no. 1924, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 pp. 124—127 Atlas pl. 5, 1 and 2=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 9, 4 and 3, Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 102 f. pl. 79, 1: Eros leans on the right shoulder of Paris, a second Eros seated above the right shoulder of Helene looks towards him (*ἀποσκοπεύων*), a *kratér* from Jüz Oba at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 339 ff. no. 1807, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 33 ff. Atlas pl. 3, 1 and 2=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 7, 5 and 6, L. Weniger in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1866 xxiv. 185 ff. pl. 211, *supra* ii. 262 pl. xvii: Eros, standing by Aphrodite's right shoulder, touches her breast), an *aryballos* from Jüz Oba at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 389 f. no. 1929, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 127 ff. Atlas pl. 5, 3 and 4=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 9, 2 and 1: Eros hovers behind the shoulders of Paris, another Eros with torches hovers beside Helene), a *pelike* from Kameiros in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 261 f. no. E 424, A. Salzmann *Nécropole de Camiros* Paris 1875 col. pl. 59, A. Conze in the *Wien. Vorlegebl.* ii pl. 6, 2, 2^a, P. Ducati *op. cit.* ii. 427 f. fig. 306: Eros hovers above Peleus as he seizes Thetis), a *hydria* from Kyrenaike in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 179 f. no. E 227, G. Dennis in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom* Second Series 1870 ix. 181 f. pls. 3 and 4, Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 103 f. no. 2 pl. 79, 2: Eros standing on the right upper arm of Herakles offers him apples from the tree of the Hesperides), and finally a *hydria* from Alexandria at Munich (Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* i. 204—208 pl. 40, P. Ducati *op. cit.* ii. 432 f. fig. 310, Pfuhl *op. cit.* ii. 712, iii. 244 fig. 598: Eros, reclining above the head of Paris, leans on the left shoulder of Aphrodite).

(9) B. Schröder in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1925 xl Arch. Anz. pp. 364—367 figs. 1—6 and, at greater length, in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Volkskunde* 1925 xxxv. 85 ff. contends that the type of Lysippos' statue in bronze representing Herakles deprived of his weapons by Eros (*Anth. Plan.* 103. 1—6 (Geminos), 104. 1—6 (Philippos): see Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 279 no. 1474, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 425) can be recovered from a vase in the Louvre, a mirror at Athens, a bronze statuette in the British Museum, and sundry gems, which show the hero with a youthful Eros on his shoulder. Schröder

further supports a suggestion first made by A. von Le Coq *Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens* Berlin 1925 pp. 26, 83 fig. 159 (Pāñcika and child) viz. that Herakles with Eros on his shoulder ultimately gave rise to the legend of St Christopher bearing the Christ-child (for bibliography etc. see K. Künstle *Ikongraphie der Heiligen* Freiburg im Breisgau 1926 pp. 154—160 figs. 66—68). It is, however, far from certain that such was the *motif* of Lysippos' bronze; and another possible prototype for St Christopher and the Child is the Pompeian Polyphemos driven by the infant Eros (*infra* p. 1023).

(10) Eros at-the-shoulder was a *motif* obviously better suited to painting or to bas-relief than to sculpture in the round. Nevertheless Hellenistic art produced, not only such types as that of a marble statuette from Pella in Makedonia, now at Christ Church, Oxford, which shows Eros standing on a tree-trunk and leaning against the right shoulder of Aphrodite (Mrs A. Strong in *Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* London 1904 p. 21 no. 28 pl. 27=Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 231 no. 5), or that of a terra cotta from Myrina, now in the Albertinum at Dresden, which makes him stand on a pillar and rest his hand on her left shoulder (Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii. 2. 84 fig. 9), but also the type of the little fellow leaning forward all agog over his mother's left shoulder (e.g. the bronzes in Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 632 D figs. 1295 A Turin (A. Fabretti in the *Atti della Società di archeologia e belle arti per la provincia di Torino* 1880 iii. 99 f. pl. 15, 2) and 1295 B Paris=Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 342 nos. 4 and 5. Cp. the terracottas given by Winter *op. cit.* iii. 2. 46 fig. 3 (=Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouroff Terres cuites* pl. 133, 2), 195 fig. 7, 200 fig. 9, 202 fig. 4) or perched precariously on either shoulder (e.g. the terracottas in Winter *op. cit.* iii. 2. 85 fig. 8 Asia Minor (=C. Lecuyer *Terres cuites antiques trouvées en Grèce et en Asie mineure* Paris 1882 pl. H³ (modern?)), 101 fig. 1 Rudiae, cp. 82 fig. 7 Greece but not Tanagra (=Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouroff Terres cuites* pl. 133, 1), 88 fig. 4 Myrina (?), if not duplicated on both (e.g. a stone statuette from Beaune, now at Moulins (*Catalogue du Musée de Moulins* 1885 iii. 125, E. Tudot *Collection de figurines en argile* Paris 1860 pl. 75 =Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 376 no. 7), and a gold pendant from south Russia, now at Petrograd (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pétr.* 1867 p. 47 Atlas pl. 1, 6=Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 377 no. 6)), and even ambitious statuary groups in marble like that from Delos, now in the National Museum at Athens, which represents a naked Aphrodite defending herself with uplifted sandal against the advances of Pan and a helpful Eros hovering over her left shoulder (M. Bulard 'Aphrodite, Pan et Éros' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1906 xxx. 610—631 pls. 13—16 (of which pl. 14=my fig. 827) (fig. 2 is a second Eros belonging to some similar group)=Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 230 nos. 2 and 3, C. Picard *La sculpture antique* Paris 1926 ii. 263 fig. 103).

(11) Venus with a tiny Cupid on her shoulder appears on *denarii* struck by M'. Cordius Rufus (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 383 no. 1 f. *rev.* fig. (c. 49 B.C.), M. Bahrfeldt *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde* Wien 1897 p. 88 no. 1 pl. 4, 92, H. A. Grueber in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 523 f. nos. 4037—4039 pl. 51, 11 and 12 (c. 46 B.C.), *supra* ii. 99 n. 1) and by C. Egnatius Maxsumus (Babelon *op. cit.* i. 473 f. nos. 1 *obv.* fig., 2 *rev.* fig. (c. 69 B.C.), H. A. Grueber *op. cit.* i. 399 nos. 3274, 3275 pl. 42, 15, i. 401 nos. 3285—3292 pl. 42, 17 (c. 75 B.C.): see further F. Münzer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1997 no. (27)), and on others issued by Iulius Caesar (Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 11 f. nos. 11 *obv.* fig., 12 *obv.* fig. (c. 50 B.C.), H. A. Grueber *op. cit.* ii. 368 f. nos. 86—88 pl. 101, 9, nos. 89—92 pl. 101, 10 (c. 45 B.C.)).

The same type recurs on a fine fragment of relief in the church of San Vitale at Ravenna (Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 762 no. 1923 f., J. J. Bernoulli *Römische Ikonographie* Berlin und Stuttgart 1886 ii. 1. 254 ff. pl. 6 ('Venus genetrix...eine Umkleidung der LIVIA'), Mrs A. Strong *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* London 1907 p. 96 ('*Venus Genetrix* (or Livia?)'), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 128 no. 1, C. Picard *op. cit.* ii. 390 ('*Vénus genetrix*'), on a relief



Fig. 827.

in the Villa Medici at Rome (E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1852 xxiv. 338—345, *Mon. d. Inst.* v pl. 40, Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 29 ff. no. 3511. Mrs A. Strong *op. cit.* p. 143 f. pl. 43, *b*, Reinach *op. cit.* iii. 313 no. 1) which represents the pediment of the temple of Mars *Ullor* (E. Petersen *Ara Pacis Augustae* (*Sonderschriften des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien* Band ii) Wien 1902 p. 58 ff. pl. 3, vii and figs. 26, 27) in the Forum Augustum

(H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1885 i. 2. 443 ff., O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*² München 1901 pp. 110—112, H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae* Berolini 1912 pp. 25, 91), on a relief decorating the arm of a marble seat found at Solous in Sicily (Domenico lo Faso Pietrasanta Duca di Serradifalco *Le Antichità della Sicilia* Palermo 1842 v. 63 f. pl. 39, A. Conze *Die Familie des Augustus* Halis Saxonum 1867 p. 10, F. Hauser 'Marmorhron aus Solunt' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1889 iv, 255—260 with figs.), on another decorating an altar found at Tarentum (L. Viola in the *Not. Scav.* 1881 p. 388 f.), and on yet another decorating an altar formerly at Cività Castellana (A. Reifferscheid in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863 xxxv. 367 f.). Cp. a relief found at Carthage (S. Gsell in the *Rev. Arch.* 1899 i. 37—43 pl. 2, A. Schulten in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv Arch. Anz. pp. 73—75 fig. 3, E. Petersen *op. cit.* p. 184), the 'basis Surrentina' (W. Amelung 'Bemerkungen zur sorrentiner Basis' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1900 xv. 198—210, especially p. 205 f., E. Petersen *op. cit.* pp. 69 ff., 184 f.), and a gem at Petrograd (A. Conze *op. cit.* p. 10).

The contention that the type represented by these coins and reliefs was that of the famous Venus *Genetrix* made by Arkesilaos for her temple in the Forum Iulium (Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 156: see further H. Jordan *op. cit.* i. 2. 439 f., O. Richter *op. cit.*² p. 110, H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *op. cit.* p. 35), though put forward by many scholars (e.g. A. Reifferscheid 'De ara Veneris Genetricis' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863 xxxv. 361 ff., G. Wissowa *De Veneris simulacris Romanis* Breslau 1882 p. 22 ff. (= *id. Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* München 1904 p. 25 ff.), L. von Ulrichs *Arkesilaos* Würzburg 1887 p. 10 ff., Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 686 f., E. Petersen *op. cit.* p. 187 f., C. Picard *op. cit.* ii. 308), is beset with uncertainties and far from proven (R. Kekulé von Stradonitz in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1879 iii. 8—24, S. Reinach in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1887 xii. 250 ff., *id.* in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1896 ii. 329 ff. = *id. Monuments nouveaux de l'art antique* Paris 1924 i. 256 ff., H. Bulle *Der schoene Mensch im Altertum*² Muenchen—Leipzig 1912 pp. 263 ff., 682 f. pl. 124, Sir C. Walston (Waldstein) *Alcamenes* Cambridge 1926 p. 202 ff.).

(12) Pompeian painters went further afield and exploited to the full the possibilities of the type. We find Eros at the shoulder, not only of Aphrodite (e.g. R. Liberatore in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1835 xi pl. 6 with text pp. 1—4, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 76 no. 276, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 62 no. 7), but also of a human beauty (R. Liberatore *loc. cit.*, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 337 no. 1428, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 62 no. 8). He occupies the same position in regard to the better-known lovers of mythology (e.g. Paris (W. Zahn *Die schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeji, Herkulanum und Stabiae* Berlin 1844 ii pl. 31, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 123, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 278 no. 1287, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 165 no. 1), Narkissos (Helbig *op. cit.* p. 302 no. 1363, *id. XXIII Tafeln zu dem Werke Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* Leipzig 1868 pl. 17, 2, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 196 no. 4; G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1824 i pl. 4 with text pp. 1—5, Helbig *Wandg. Camp.* p. 302 no. 1364, P. Decharme in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 451 fig. 2596, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 196 no. 8), and even Hippolytos (?) (A. Sogliano in the *Not. Scavi* 1897 p. 32 with fig. 4, A. Mau in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1898 xiii. 26 f., E. Petersen 'Artemis and Hippolytos' *ib.* 1899 xiv. 96 with fig. on p. 93, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 55 no. 4)). See also the medallions grouped together by Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 62 nos. 10 (*Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1779 vii (Pitture v) 19—22

pl. 4, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 337 no. 1427^b), 11 and 12 (W. Zahn *op. cit.* ii pl. 43); to which add *Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1779 vii (Pittura v) 25 f. pl. 5, 1.

More often, however, Eros is promoted from being a mere prompter to playing some subordinate part in the action represented. If Aphrodite arrives from the sea, a tiny but helpful Eros hands her ashore (Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 33 no. 132, P. Gusman *Pompéi* Paris 1899 p. 72 col. pl. 1, 1, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 60 no. 3). If Ares makes love to her, a hovering Eros spins the magic *ixux* (H. Hinck in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxviii. 82, 93 ff. pl. EF, 2, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 84 no. 325, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 2 Text p. 7, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 66 no. 3) or removes the god's helmet (G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1824 i pl. 18 with text pp. 1—3, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 81 f. no. 316, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 65 no. 2). And, briefly, wherever Aphrodite's power is manifested, Eros at-the-shoulder has his work to do. If Zeus woos Danae, Eros pours the golden rain from *amphora* or *cornu copiae* (?) (*supra* p. 465 f. with figs. 300 and 301. To the references there given add Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 27 f. pl. 3, 48 *b*, Welcker *Ant. Denkm.* v. 281, W. Helbig in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867 xxxix. 349, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 11 no. 1; H. Heydemann in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1868 p. 47 ('urna'), but cp. Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 21 no. 75 ('corno': the 'urna' of previous publications must be due to the unintelligent repetition of a mere misprint), Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 10 no. 7). If he seeks Ganymedes, Eros leads the divine bird by the neck towards the dreamy youth (C. Bonucci in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1829 p. 147, G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1831 vii *Relazione degli scavi di Pompei* p. 5, G. Finati *ib.* 1834 x pl. 56 with text pp. 1—4, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 45 no. 154, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 538 no. 28 Atlas pl. 8, 14, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 14 no. 8). If he carries off Europe, Eros flits behind them bearing a thunderbolt (P. Gauckler 'Le domaine des Laberii à Uthina' in the *Mon. Piot* 1896 iii. 190 f. fig. 2, *id.*—A. Merlin *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique: Tunisie* Paris 1910—1915 no. 350, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 13 no. 5) or a *tainia* (J. V. Millingen *Peintures antiques et inédites de vases grecs* Rome 1813 p. 44 f. pl. 25=Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 105 f. pl. 25, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. céer.* i. 60 ff. pl. 27, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 438 f. no. 19 Atlas pl. 6, 11, J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 863 fig. 2847, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 95 no. F 184) or an *alabastron* (?) (Helbig *op. cit.* p. 37 no. 124, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 452 no. 34 Atlas pl. 7, 6, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 13 no. 3), or before them leading the bull by a flowery chain and waving the bridal torch (in a magnificent mosaic from Aquileia *supra* p. 627 n. o (3) with pl. xlviii: cp. the painting, in Astarte's temple at Sidon, described by Ach. Tat. i. 1 "Ερως εἴλκε τὸν βοῦν· Ἔρως, μικρὸν παιδίον, ἥπλωκε τὸ πτερόν, ἤρτητο <τὴν (ins. R. Hercher)> φαρέτρην, ἐκράτει τὸ πῦρ), or beside them driving the bull with reins and a whip (C. Lugebil in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1861 p. 234, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 37 f. no. 128, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 451 no. 32 Atlas pl. 7, 5, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 14 no. 4: cp. Eros standing as a diminutive figure on the left shoulder of the love-sick Polyphemos and driving him with reins in pursuit of Galatea (G. Perrot in the *Rev. Arch.* 1870—1871 N.S. xxii. 47—53 pl. 18 (reduced $\frac{2}{3}$ in my fig. 828) = *id.* *Mémoires d'archéologie d'épigraphie et d'histoire* Paris 1875 pp. 100—111 pl. 6, A. Mau in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1880 lii. 136 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* xi col. pl. 23, P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1588 with fig., Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 172 no. 7, *supra* p. 1020 (9))).

Attendant Erotes multiply apace. We find two (e.g. with Aphrodite and Ares

(*Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1779 vii (Pitture v) 29—31 pl. 6, G. Finati in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1834 x pl. 40 with text p. 1 f., Helbig *op. cit.* p. 85 no. 328, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 66 no. 10. Cp. G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1827 iii pl. 36 with text p. 1 f., W. Zahn *op. cit.* 1828



Fig. 828.

i pl. 44, F. G. Welcker in W. Ternite *Wandgemälde aus Pompeji und Herculaneum* Berlin (1844) 3. Abth. iv. 13 f. pl. 29 (Helene and Achilles), Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 334—337 Atlas pl. 15, 8 (Helene and Achilles), Helbig *op. cit.* p. 85 no. 327 (Aphrodite and Ares), J. Six in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1917 xxxii. 190 f. fig. 5 (Briseis and Achilles), Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 66 no. 4), with Europe and the bull (R. Engelmann in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix. 130—132

pl. 6, 2, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 13 no. 2 mosaic from Sparta; *supra* i. 506 with fig. 369 vase at Petrograd)) or three (*e.g.* with Herakles, Omphale, and Priapos (Helbig *op. cit.* p. 231 f. no. 1140, J. Sieveking in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 889 with fig. 1, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* col. pl. 3, pls. 59, 60 Text pp. 75—77, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 191 no. 5, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 826 f. iii. 284 col. fig. 664)) or four (*e.g.* with Aphrodite and Adonis (Sir W. Gell *Pompeiana* London 1832 ii. 66 pl. 12, Roux—Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* iii. 89 f. pl. 139, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 88 no. 339, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 65 no. 3), with Aphrodite and Ares (A. Sogliano *Monumenta Pompeiana* Naples 1905 ii pl. 85, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 65 no. 7)) or six (*e.g.* with Aphrodite (J. P. Bellorius et M. A. Causseus *Picturae antiquae cryptarum Romanarum, et sepulcri Nasonum Romae* 1750 p. 89 f. Appendix pl. 7, O. Benndorf in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1876 i. 63 ff. pl. 2, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 59 no. 6), with Aphrodite and Adonis (E. G[erhard] in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1843 i. 88 f. pl. 5, 2, W. Zahn *op. cit.* 1844 ii pl. 30, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 88 f. no. 340, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 52 Text pp. 65—67, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 64 no. 2)) or eight (with Omphale and Herakles (R. Rochette *Choix de peintures de Pompéi* Paris 1853 p. 239 ff. pl. 19, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 230 f. no. 1138, A. Ruesch in the *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 322 no. 1354, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 191 no. 6)) or even nine (in Aëtion's picture of Roxane and Alexander the Great as described by Loukian. *Herod. s. Aët.* 4—6=Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 363 no. 1938, A. Reinach *Textes Peint. Anc.* i. 376 ff. no. 507, cp. W. Helbig *Untersuchungen über die kampanische Wandmalerei* Leipzig 1873 p. 242, B. Nogara *Le Nozze Aldobrandine* Milano 1907 p. 23, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 771 f., 806). The way is thus prepared for the numerous Erotes of early Christian art, the *putti* of the Renaissance, and the Cupids of modern sentimentalism (O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 515 f., *supra* ii. 1050).

APPENDIX R.

THE *HIERÒS GÁMOS*.

Greek literature from Homeric poetry to Byzantine prose links the name of Zeus with that of Hera. But this tradition, though practically universal, involves certain peculiar and even abnormal features, which, if carefully considered, make it difficult to believe that Hera was from the outset the wife of Zeus. The relations subsisting between them are deserving of detailed study¹.

Zeus, according to Kallimachos² and Nonnos³, was courting Hera for a period of three hundred years. Homer⁴ states that they met 'without the

¹ Years ago I dealt with the topic, somewhat light-heartedly, in two papers contributed to the *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 365—378 and 416—419 (*supra* p. 744 n. 1).

² Kallim. *aitia* 2 frag. 20 Schneider *ap. schol.* A.D. II. 1. 609 and Tzetz. *in eund. loc.* (P. Matranga *anecdota Graeca* Romae 1850 ii. 450, 11 ff.) ὥς τε Ζεὺς ἐράτιζε τριηκοσίους ἐνιαυτούς.

³ Nonn. *Dion.* 41. 322 ff. ὅττι πολυχρονίῳ πόθῳ δεδονημένον οἶστρον (cp. *supra* p. 941 n. 1) | "Ἡρῆς κέντρον ἔχοντα κασιγνήτων ὑμεναίων | εἰς χρόνον ἱμείροντα τριηκοσίῳ ἐνιαυτῶν | Ζῆνα γάμοις ἔξενεα.

⁴ *Il.* 14. 295 f. οἷον ὅτε πρῶτόν περ ἐμισγέσθην φιλότῃ, | εἰς εὐνὴν φοιτῶντε, φίλους λήθοντε τοκῆας.

knowledge of their dear parents'; and later authors¹ lay stress on their secrecy, which indeed passed into a proverb. But it must be remembered that such clandestine intercourse was in Samos² and at Sparta³, if not elsewhere in the Greek world⁴, the recognised beginning of married life. Zeus and Hera were conforming to a custom, which savours of extreme antiquity⁵, though it is not extinct even in modern Europe⁶.

The union of Zeus with Hera, commonly known as the *hieròs gámos* or 'sacred marriage,' involved at once a myth and a ritual, though evidence of the one or the other is often lacking⁷.

¹ Theokr. 15. 64 πάντα γυναῖκες ἴσαντι, καὶ ὡς Ζεὺς ἡγάγεθ' "Ἡρην with schol. *ad loc.*, cp. Plaut. *trin.* 208 sciunt quod Iuno fabulatast cum Iove.

² In Samos the practice was referred to the example of Zeus (schol. B.L.T.V. *Il.* 14. 296, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 987, 9 ff.).

³ Plout. *v. Lycurg.* 15, Xen. *de rep. Lac.* 1. 5, Hermippos *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 37 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 555 c.

⁴ The Lydian practice of prenuptial free love (Ail. *var. hist.* 4. 1 Λυδοῖς ἦν ἔθος πρὸ τοῦ συνοικεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας ἀνδράσιν ἑταίρειν, ἀπαξ δὲ καταξευχέσας σωφρονεῖν· τὴν δὲ ἀμαρτάνουσιν ἐς ἕτερον συγγνώμης τυχεῖν ἀδύνατον ἦν) is hardly analogous. And the Naxian custom of placing a baby boy in the bride's bed on the eve of her wedding (Kallim. *aiiia* 3. 1. 1 ff. Mair=B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1910 vii. 15 ff. no. 1011 ἥδη καὶ κούρην παρθένος εἰνδάσατο | τέθμιον ὡς ἐκέλευε προνούμφιον ὕπνον ἰαῦσαι | ἄρσενι τὴν τάλιν παιδί σὺν ἀμφιθαλεῖ. | "Ἡρην γάρ κοτέ φασι—), though adduced as a parallel by Kallim. *loc. cit.* and schol. B.L.T.V. *Il.* 14. 296, is better explained as a piece of mimetic magic by A. E. Housman in the *Class. Quart.* 1910 iv. 114 f., D. R. Stuart in *Class. Philol.* 1911 vi. 302 ff., E. Samter 'Ein naxischer Hochzeitsbrauch' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1915 xxxv. 90—98. Cp. E. Westermarck *The History of Human Marriage*⁵ London 1921 ii. 468 'in some parts of Sweden she should have a boy-baby to sleep with her on the night preceding the wedding day in order that her first-born shall be a son.'

⁵ P. Wilutzky *Vorgeschichte des Rechts* Breslau 1903 i. 201 argues that monogamy, since it involved the infringement of earlier communal rights, was at first viewed as an offence to society and its practice carefully concealed.

⁶ F. G. Welcker in K. Schwenck *Etymologisch-mythologische Andeutungen* Elberfeld 1823 p. 271 cp. 'die Sitte des Kiltgangs, die auch bey den Slawen häufig gefunden werde.' On the *Kiltgang* of the Bernese Oberland see J. Grimm—W. Grimm *Deutsches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1873 v. 704 s.v. KILT (3) 'schweiz. der nächtliche besuch des burschen bei seinem mädchen, das kilten' and in much greater detail F. Staub—L. Tobler—R. Schoch—A. Bachmann—H. Bruppacher in the *Schweizerisches Idiotikon* Frauenfeld 1895 iii. 242 ff. s.v. Chilt.

⁷ For the subject in general see P. H. Larcher 'Mémoire sur la noce sacrée' (read in 1790) in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1808 xlviii. 323 ff., R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 pp. 1—38, W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 pp. 69—85, *id.* in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2098—2103, H. Graillot in *Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant.* iii. 177—181 ('Hiéros Gamos').

The valuable monograph of A. Klinz 'IEPOS ΓΑΜΟΣ Halis Saxonum 1933 pp. 1—134 is of wider scope (p. 118 'Gravissimas res brevier completens affirmaverim me demonstravisse notionem sacrarum nuptiarum in religione Minoiorum vi et notione iuris materni originem atque principium habere, inde in sacra Graecorum sollemnia translata esse, antiquissimis quidem religionis Graecae temporibus numina cthonia fertilitatis et inferorum coniugiis inter se coniungi, sed postea pro iure paterno Indogermanorum tempore religionis Olympiae Iovem ut caeli lucidi deum, qui sacris matrimoniis cum veteribus terrae deabus conectitur, auctoritate plurimum posse'), but in pp. 89—111 deals systematically with 'Αἰὸς γάμοι.'

(1) The *Hieròs Gámos* at Samos.

In the case of Samos both are to hand. Parthenia, an old name of the island¹, was connected with the maidenhood of Hera, who here grew up and was married to Zeus². This myth corresponded with a definite ritual. A statue of Hera in the Samian Heraion—presumably the wooden image made by Smilis of Aigina³—was dressed as a bride⁴; and at an annual festival the goddess was married to Zeus⁵. Terra-cotta groups found in Samos show Zeus and Hera

¹ The island was formerly (Strab. 637 *πρότερον οἰκούντων Καρῶν*) named Παρθενία (Aristot. *frag.* 570 Rose² *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 135, Herakleid. *resp. Sam. frag.* 10. 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 215 Müller), Kallim. *h. Del.* 48 f., Ap. Rhod. 1. 187 f. with schol. *ad loc.*, Strab. 457, 637, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σάμος, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 533) after Parthenia the wife of Samos (Loukillos of Tarrha *frag.* 10 Linnenkugel *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 187), or after the river Parthenios (Strab. 457, Eustath. *loc. cit.*), which was so called because Hera had been brought up there as a virgin (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 187). Probably it was believed that Hera renewed her virginity by bathing in the river, just as the Argives declared that she annually became a virgin by washing in the spring Kanathos at Nauplia (*supra* p. 224 n. 3). W. M. Leake *Travels in the Morea* London 1830 ii. 360 detected a trace of this notion in the saying still current at Nauplia, that the women of the place are handsome, while those of Argos are ugly, thanks to the different water of the two towns. Similarly, after her marriage with Zeus Hera was said to have bathed in the spring of the Mesopotamian river Aborras: hence the surrounding air was filled with fragrance, and shoals of tame fish disported themselves in the water (Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 30). Alleged names of Samos include Παρθένιον (Eutekn. *metaphr. in* Nik. *alex.* 148 f.) and even †*Parthenoarrhusa*† (Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 135—a bungled blend of Παρθενία and Δρνούσα, as J. Hardouin saw, cp. Herakleid. *loc. cit.* ἡ δὲ νῆσος Παρθενία, ὕστερον δὲ Δρνούσα). A certain soil found in Samos was known as παρθενία (Nik. *alex.* 149 with schol. *ad loc.*). Hera herself was entitled Παρθενία both in Samos (Kallim. *ap.* schol. Paris. Ap. Rhod. 1. 187, cp. schol. Pind. *Ol.* 6. 149) and elsewhere (see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1649).

² Varr. *frag.* 399 Funaioli *ap.* Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 17. 8 insulam Samum scribit Varro prius Partheniam nominatam, quod ibi Iuno adoleverit ibique etiam Iovi nupserit.

³ *Supra* i. 444 f. figs. 313, 314, iii. 645 n. o fig. 446. See further Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera pp. 12—16 Münzt. 1, 1—12.

⁴ Perhaps in the robe called *πάρος* (Kallim. *frag.* 495 Schneider *ap.* Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* iii. 93, 19 ff., Hesych. *s.v.* *πάρος*).

⁵ Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 17. 8 itaque nobilissimum et antiquissimum templum eius est Sami et simulacrum in habitu nubentis figuratum et sacra eius anniversaria nuptiarum ritu celebrantur, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 6. 7 sacra sunt Iunonis, et haec in eius dilecta insula Samo celebrabantur, ubi nuptum data est Iovi.

On the cult of Hera in Samos see now the results of the important excavations (1910—1914 and 1925—1929) described by E. Buschor in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1930 lv. 1—99 and summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 175 f.

Chrysippos *frag.* 1074 von Arnim *ap.* Orig. *c. Cels.* 4. 48 (xi. 1105 C—1108 A Migne) commented at length on a Samian picture *ἐν ἣ ἀρρητοποιούσα ἡ Ἥρα τὸν Δία ἐγγέγραπτο* (cp. *frag.* 1071 von Arnim *ap.* Diog. Laert. 7. 187 f.), and *frag.* 1072 von Arnim *ap.* Cleni. Rom. *hom.* 5. 18 (ii. 188 b Migne) on another of the same sort at Argos *πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Διὸς αἰδοῖω φέρων* (Wilamowitz cj. *φύρων*) *τῆς Ἥρας τὸ πρόσωπον*. Such works aroused the indignation of Christian (Theophil. *ad Autol.* 3. 3 and 8) and pagan (Diog. Laert. *prooem.* 5, 7. 187 f.) alike. But, when it is recollected that Orpheus, possibly in his lines *περὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας* (*frag.* 220 Abel=*frag.* 115 Kern), ascribed such conduct to the gods (Diog. Laert. *prooem.* 5), it becomes probable that these pictures were not mere *libidines* but had some religious significance. Cp. e.g. the figure of Geb the

seated side by side (figs. 829 and 830)¹. Both deities wear the bridal veil² and thereby justify R. Foerster's³ identification of the subject as the *hieròs gámos*.

It is highly probable that a Samian festival called the Tonia stood in some relation to this *hieròs gámos*. The facts regarding it are as follows. A certain willow, which grew in the sanctuary of Hera at Samos, was said to be the oldest



Fig. 829.



Fig. 830.

Egyptian earth-god on a papyrus in the British Museum (Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 409 f. pl. 159, 6).

¹ (1) From a child's grave in the Samian necropolis, now at Vienna (J. Böhlau *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen* Leipzig 1898 p. 45, *id.* in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1900 iii. 210 with fig. 84 (=my fig. 829: scale $\frac{2}{3}$)).

(2) and (3) Two similar groups, now at Cassel, said to have come from a single Samian grave. One gives the head of Zeus an opening like a vase-mouth on the top. But both are holed at the bottom (J. Böhlau *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen* pp. 48, 159 pl. 14, 6 and 8).

(4) A similar group, found at Kameiros, now in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii, i. 43 fig. 3=i. 190 fig. 1).

(5) A similar but somewhat more advanced group, formerly in the possession of Sir William Gell (Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* pl. 1 (=my fig. 830: scale $\frac{2}{3}$), Overbeck *Gr. Kunst-myth.* Zeus pp. 20, 251, 558, *ib.* Hera p. 24 f. fig. 4 a, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 115 pl. 5, 6).

(6) and (7) Winter *loc. cit.* notes two similar but smaller groups, the one from Tanagra (?) in the Louvre (L. Heuzey *Les figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre* Paris 1883 p. 9 pl. 11, 6), the other from Kameiros in the British Museum (uncatalogued?).

² *Infra* p. 1033.

³ R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 24 f., followed *e.g.* by J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 674 fig. 4167.

of all existing trees: it belonged to the species known as *lýgos* or *ágnos* by the Greeks (the *vítex agnus castus* of Linné), and was still thriving in the time of Pausanias¹. It is shown or at least symbolized on coins struck by Gordianus Pius². Some maintained that the Heraion, where the tree stood, had been founded by the Argonauts, who brought the image of Hera with them from Argos; but the Samians themselves supposed that the goddess had been born in their island beside the river Imbrasos and beneath this very willow³. According to Menodotos⁴, a Samian historian, Admete the daughter of Eurystheus⁵ once fled from Argos to Samos, where she had a vision of Hera and, wishing to give the goddess a thankoffering for her safe journey, undertook the care of the temple built by the Leleges and the Nymphs. The Argives, indignant at this, bribed Tyrrhenian pirates to carry off the image, in order that the Samians might punish Admete. The Tyrrhenians came to the port of Hera, found the temple without a door to it, carried off the image, and put it on board their ship. But, though they loosed their cables, weighed anchor, and rowed their hardest, they could not get away from the land. So they set the image ashore and, after offering it sundry cakes, took their departure in fear and trembling. Next morning Admete raised the alarm, and the searchers discovered the image on the shore. Being but barbarous Carians⁶, they believed that it had run away of its own accord, placed it against a willow fence⁷, drew towards it the longest branches on either side of it and wrapped it round about with them. Admete released the image from these bonds, purified it, and erected it on the pedestal which it had occupied before. Hence every year the image is carried off to the shore, disappears from view, and has cakes set beside it⁸. The festival in question is named *Tónea*⁹ because the image was so tightly (*syntónōs*) bound by those that first sought it. Further it is said that, when the Carians consulted Apollon of Hybla about these occurrences, the god bade them escape serious disaster by paying the goddess a voluntary penalty. Prometheus after his release from bonds had been willing to pay a light penalty, and Zeus had bidden him wear a willow wreath¹⁰. The Carians must do the same and, when feasting, bind their heads with willow branches just as they had bound the goddess. They were to abandon the use of every other kind of wreath, with the exception of

¹ Paus. 8. 23. 5.

² *Supra* p. 645 n. o fig. 446.

³ Paus. 7. 4. 4. Cp. *supra* p. 1027 n. 1 f. On the probable site of the *lýgos* towards the south-east corner of the precinct see E. Buschor in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1930 lv. 51 with fig. 7 and pl. 13.

⁴ Menodotos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 103 ff. Müller) *ap.* Athen. 671 E ff.

⁵ So Syncell. *chron.* 172 A (i. 324 Dindorf) 'Ἀδμήτα θυγάτηρ Εὐρύσθεως ἐν Ἀργεὶ ἱερᾶευσεν ἐτῇ λή'. αἱ δ' ἀπὸ ταύτης τὴν ἱερωσύνην διαδεξάμεναι Φαλίδες ἐκαλοῦντο.

⁶ Strab. 637 cited *supra* p. 1027 n. 1.

⁷ πρὸς τι λύγον θωράκιον.

⁸ E. Buschor in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1930 lv. 33 would associate these rites with a large quadrangular flooring in the south-east corner.

⁹ The form *Tónea* is supported by all the MSS. of Athen. 672 D—E and was accepted by Dindorf. For the termination cp. the *Ποσίδεα* of Mytilene and the *Ποσείδεα* of Megara (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 83 f.). A. Meineke, however, cj. *Tónea*, and G. Kaibel cj. *Tónaia*. The name is connectible with *τείνω* 'stretch,' *τόνος* 'tension, force, vigour,' cp. Dioskor. 1. 134 (135) p. 130 Sprengel *λύγος δὲ διὰ τὸ περὶ τὰς ῥάβδους αὐτῆς εὐτονον*.

¹⁰ It is not definitely stated, but it is probably implied that Prometheus' wreath was of *λύγος*: cp. Aisch. *Προμηθεὺς λυόμενος frag.* 202 Nauck² and *Σφίγξ frag.* 235 Nauck², Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 15. Apollod. 2. 5. 11 has *δεσμὸν ἐλόμενος τὸν τῆς ἐλαίας*. Prometheus' ring (*supra* i. 329 n. o) may be a later variant of his wreath.

bay-leaves which might be worn by those that actually served the goddess. This Samian custom of wearing willow is mentioned elsewhere¹. Anakreon² says of a young friend from Samos:

Megistes whose heart answers mine
Ten months ago
Would wreath him so
With willow and drink deep the honeyed wine.

More important is an epigram by Nikainetos³ of Samos, which throws some further light upon the usage:

Ah, Philotheros, fain would I
Fanned by the western breezes lie
Feasting with Hera—not in town.
Enough for me a mere shake-down.
See, nigh at hand there is a spread
Of native willow for my bed
And osiers, the old Carian wear.
Bring wine, and list the lyre's sweet air,
That we may drink and praise beside
Our island-queen, Zeus' glorious bride.

From this it appears that at the feast of Hera the guests not only wreathed their heads with willow, but also reclined upon willow boughs and sang of Hera as the bride of Zeus.

Such rites can be paralleled, at least in part, from other cult-centres. Thus at Sparta the image of Artemis was called *Lygodésma* the 'Willow-bound' as well as *Orthia* the 'Upright' ostensibly because it had been found in a thicket of willows, which twining round it kept it upright⁴. And at Athens it was customary for women celebrating the Thesmophoria to lie on a bed of willows⁵. Indeed, priests in general used to strew willow leaves under their couches⁶, and as late as the eighteenth century Christian monks wore girdles made of willow osiers⁷.

¹ Tenaros *ap.* Athen. 672 A states that willow was ἀγροίκων...στεφάνωμα. But we do not know who Tenaros was, nor whether his ἀγροίκοι were Samians. Still less information is given by the jejune note of Aristarchos *ap.* Athen. 671 F f. *οἱ καὶ λύγους ἐστεφανοῦντο οἱ ἀρχαῖοι*.

² Anakreon *frag.* 41 Bergk⁴, 21 Diehl *ap.* Athen. 671 E f., 673 D, *cp.* Poll. 6. 107. Hephaistion (the metrician?) published a pamphlet *περὶ τοῦ παρ' Ἀνακρέοντι λυγίνου στεφάνου* (Athen. 673 E).

³ Nikainetos *ap.* Athen. 673 B ff.

Both Anakreon and Nikainetos speak of the feasters as drinking wine. E. Maass in *Hermes* 1891 xxvi. 187 n. 3 holds that Hesych. 'Ἐλυγέυς· Διόνυσος ἐν Σάμῳ' implies the existence of a Dionysos 'in the Willow' (ἐν λύγῳ) at Samos. But the order of the words in Hesychios demands the reading 'Ἐλιγέυς: see M. Schmidt *ad loc.*, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2367.

⁴ Paus. 3. 16. 11 (quoted *supra* ii. 421 n. 5). Asklepios at Sparta was called Ἀγρίτας because his wooden image was made of ἄγρος (Paus. 3. 14. 7).

⁵ Ail. *de nat. an.* 9. 26, Dioskor. 1. 134 (135) p. 130 Sprengel, Galen. *de simpl. medicament. temp. ac fac.* 6. 2 (xi. 808 Kühn), schol. Nik. *ther.* 71, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1639, 2 ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 24. 59.

⁶ Schol. A *Il.* 11. 105, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 834, 37 ff.

⁷ N. Venette *La Génération de l'homme* Londres 1779 i. 231 f. 'quelques moines chrétiens se font aujourd'hui des ceintures avec des branches de cet arbre (*sc. agnus*

The reason commonly given for these practices is that the willow possesses antiaphrodisiac qualities¹. If so, the binding of the Samian Hera and her votaries with willow may have been part of a purificatory ceremony, whereby the goddess after her annual marriage with Zeus was believed to recover her virginity². Artemis *Lygodésma* too was presumably a virgin³. And ceremonial purity was incumbent upon women at the Thesmophoria and priests at all times. This explanation might be supported by the fact that the Tonia included a visit of Hera to the sea-shore: salt-water cleansed all⁴.

Nevertheless there are not wanting some indications that the willow was credited with powers of a precisely opposite character and regarded as a strong aphrodisiac⁵. Confusion may have arisen owing to the popular but erroneous assumption that the name *ágynos* was derived from *hagnós*, 'pure,' or from *ágonos*, 'unfruitful⁶.' On this showing the ritual above described must have aimed at increasing the fertility of the goddess⁷. But in either case it was

castus), qui se plie comme de l'osier, et ils prétendent par là s'arracher du cœur tous les désirs que l'amour y pourroit faire naître.' Etc.—cited by A. de Gubernatis *La Mythologie des Plantes* Paris 1882 ii. 5. See also P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1906 iii. 388.

¹ In addition to the authorities given in p. 1030 n. 5 f. see Paul. Aeg. 7. 3 ἄγνος ἢ λόγος... καὶ πρὸς ἀγνείαν πεπιστευταὶ δρᾶν, οὐ μόνον ἐσθίουμενος καὶ πινόμενος ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑποστρωννύμενος with the note *ad loc.* of F. Adams *Paulus Aegineta* London 1847 iii. 20. Cp. also what is said of the *tréa* or *salix* by Ail. *de nat. an.* 4. 23, schol. *Od.* 10. 510, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1667, 20 ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 110, Serv. *in Verg. georg.* 2. 48.

² *Supra* p. 1027 n. 1.

³ Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 130 n. 2, cp. O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1662.

⁴ On the purificatory virtue of salt-water see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 889 n. 1.

Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 858 n. 3 finds traces of a similar ritual in the Homeric hymn to Dionysos, who appeared by the sea-shore, was captured by Tyrrhenian pirates and bound with withies of willow, but burst his bonds and took vengeance on his captors (*h. Dion.* 1 ff.).

⁵ J. Jonston *Thaumatographia naturalis* Amstelodami 1665 p. 191 cites from Scalig. *Exerc.* 175 sect. 1 [J. C. Scaliger *Exot. exerc.* Lutetiae 1557 p. 226] the following account: 'Agnacath est arbor pyri facie & magnitudine perpetuo folio viridissima, nitidissimaque superficie. Adeo validos ad coitum efficit, ut miraculo sit omnibus ejus efficacia.' See further A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* p. 6 f.

Plin. *nat. hist.* 24. 60 urinam cient et menses...lactis ubertatem faciunt, 62 volvam etiam suffitu vel adpositu purgat. Cp. Dioskor. i. 134 (135) p. 129 f. Sprengel.

A. Thomsen 'Orthia' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 407 ff. showed that Artemis *Λυγοδέσμα* or Orthia was a tree-goddess (*supra* ii. 421 n. 8) and that the flogging of Spartan youths, presumably with rods of *λόγος* (cp. Plout. *symp.* 6. 8. 1 *τύπτοντες ἀγνίνας βάθους* at the *Βουλίου ἐξέλασις*), transferred her virtue to the sufferers. *Supra* ii. 635 n. 9.

⁶ Most of the writers referred to *supra* p. 1030 n. 5 f. and p. 1031 n. 1 connect *ágynos* with *ágynós* or *ágonos*—both very dubious etymologies (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 121, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 8).

⁷ R. Wünsch *Das Frühlingsfest der Insel Malta* Leipzig 1902 drew attention to a Maltese custom recorded by an Arab writer of the sixteenth century. Every year a large golden idol set with precious stones was thrown into a field of bean-flowers by a monk, who told the people that their lord had departed. Hereupon there was mourning and fasting for some three days, till the monk announced that the lord's anger was appeased. The idol was then brought back to the town in procession with great rejoicings. Wünsch holds that the idol represented John the Baptist, who here as elsewhere succeeded to the position of Adonis. His hypothesis has been called in question or controverted by

appropriate to a divine marriage, and we must bear in mind the fact that those who took part in the Tonea sang of Hera as 'Zeus' glorious bride¹.

(2) The *Hieròs Gámos* at Knossos.

Another locality in which the *hieròs gámos* was represented by both myth and ritual is Knossos at the base of Mount Ide in Crete. The wedding of Zeus and Hera was said to have taken place near the river Theren (the modern *Platyperama*²). Here in later times a sanctuary was built and yearly sacrifices offered with traditional wedding-rites³. I have suggested that the earlier ceremony involved the ritual pairing of solar bull with lunar cow⁴.

(3) The *Hieròs Gámos* on Mount Ide.

More frequently the *hieròs gámos* is attested by a localised myth without direct evidence of a ritual performance.

Thus the famous passage of the *Iliad* that describes how Zeus consorted with Hera on Mount Ide in the Troad⁵ expressly alludes to the tale of their early amours⁶; and we are probably justified in inferring that the tale was told of the mountain in question.

However that may be, it is the myth itself, not the Homeric adaptation of it⁷—and the myth as localised on the Trojan rather than the Cretan

W. H. D. Rouse in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 232 f., K. Lübeck *Adoniskult und Christentum auf Malta* Fulda 1904 p. 7 ff., Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 317 f., A. Mayr *Die Insel Malta im Altertum* München 1909 p. 129. In any case it seems probable that contact with the beans was believed to supply the idol with a fresh stock of virility or power to bless: beans = *testes*.

¹ A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* ii. 4 'Dans les noces helléniques, les jeunes mariés portaient des couronnes d'*agnus-castus* employées aussi comme un moyen d'éloigner tout empoisonnement.' I do not know the source of this statement about young married couples, which is copied by R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* London 1884 p. 208 and reappears in J. Murr *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie* Innsbruck 1890 p. 103 f. On the plant and its uses see further P. Wagler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 832—834.

² R. Herbst in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v A. 2367.

³ Diod. 5. 72 λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς γάμους τοὺς τε Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἥρας ἐν τῇ Κνωσίων χώρᾳ γενέσθαι κατὰ τινα τόπον πλησίον τοῦ Θήρηος ποταμοῦ, καθ' ὃν νῦν ἱερὸν ἔστιν, ἐν ᾧ θυσίας κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀγίους ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων συντελεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς γάμους ἀπομμεῖσθαι, καθάπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι παρεδόθησαν. *Id.* 5. 80 mentions as his authorities for things Cretan Epimenides, Dosiades, Sosikrates, and Laosthenidas. The river Theren in Crete may have had the same peculiar properties as the spring Kanathos at Nauplia and perhaps the river Parthenios in Samos (*supra* p. 1027 n. 1). It was apparently an arm of the Amnisos (K. Hoeck *Kreta* Göttingen 1829 iii. 315), at the mouth of which was the cave of Eileithyia (*Od.* 19. 188, cp. Strab. 476), a daughter of Hera born here (Paus. 1. 18. 5): hence Nonn. *Dion.* 8. 115 Ἀμνισοῦ λεχώων... ὕδωρ. It is noteworthy that Artemis the virgin bathes in the Parthenios (a river of Paphlagonia, according to the schol. *ad loc.*) or in the Amnisos, and is escorted by the nymphs of the latter stream (Ap. Rhod. 3. 875 ff., Kallim *h. Artem.* 15).

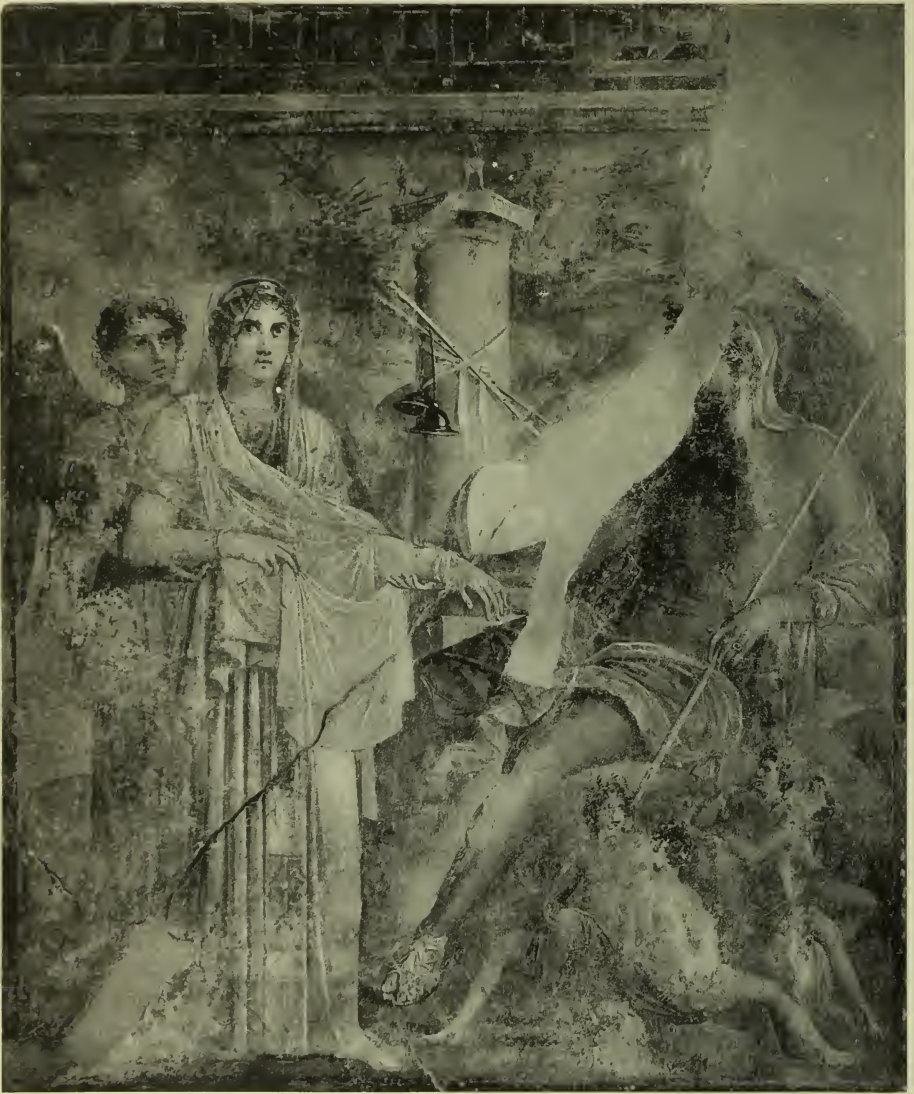
⁴ *Supra* i. 523. The myth of the Cretan bull was attached to the same locality (Paus.

1. 27. 9 ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Τεθρίνι).

⁵ *Supra* i. 154, iii. 35, 180.

⁶ *Il.* 14. 295. Cp. Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 164.

⁷ Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 1. 38 f.



Fresco from Pompeii, now at Naples :
the *Hieròs Gámos* of Zeus and Hera on Mount Ide in the Troad.

See page 1032 ff.

Ide¹—that is represented by the wall-painting found at Pompeii in the ‘House of the Tragic Poet’ (pl. lxxii)². Here we see Zeus, a kingly figure seated on a rocky throne³. A *himation* wrapped about his legs is drawn up so as to cover his hair like a veil⁴, and falls again over his shoulder and left arm. The wreath on his head is possibly, but not certainly⁵, composed of oak leaves. He rests his left hand, the fourth finger of which wears a wedding-ring, on a long sceptre. With an affectionate⁶ and at the same time symbolic⁷ gesture of his right hand he draws towards him his bride. She is robed in a white *péplos* and an ample veil. Her hair is confined by a richly decorated *stéphane*; and her jewels include earrings, a necklace, bracelets, and a wedding-ring worn like that of Zeus. Her large and brilliant eyes, which recall the epithet *boôpis*⁸, are averted from the face of her bridegroom and with a subtle blend of outward dignity and inward alarm look straight into the distance. The same mixture of feelings is betrayed by her stately yet hesitating advance, and again by the studied nervous way in which she is holding the end of her veil between herself and Zeus. Hera is followed and supported by Iris, a youthful winged figure whose anxious questioning expression is the natural accompaniment of her mistress’ mood. But the difference between bride and bridesmaid is finely brought out by the artist. Hera with head erect and full of virginal pride emerges into the light—a queen indeed. Iris watching her with upturned face obscured by a semi-darkness is plainly subordinate and serves as her foil. On the rocks beside Zeus sit three male figures of diminutive size, scantily clad and wreathed with flowers⁹: they have been interpreted with much probability as the Idaean

¹ In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 413 f. I accepted the conclusions of Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 239—243 and maintained that the scenery of the fresco is that of the Cretan mountain. Certainly the woods (*supra* ii. 932 n. 1), the cult of Rhea (Diod. 5. 65 f.), and the Idaean Daktyloi ([Hes.] *frag.* 14 Flach *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 197, Ap. Rhod. 1. 1129 with schol. *ad loc.*, Diod. 5. 64, Paus. 5. 7. 6 with schol. *ad loc.*, Porph. *v. Pyth.* 17, Hesych. *s.v.* Ἰδαῖοι Δάκτυλοι, *et. mag.* p. 465, 25 ff., cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 170) all suit the neighbourhood of Knossos. But they suit the Trojan Ide equally well: here too were woods (*supra* ii. 949 n. 5), a cult of Rhea (Strab. 469: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1523 n. 1), and the Idaean Daktyloi (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1126 and 1131, Strab. 473, Diod. 5. 64, 17. 7, Plout. *de music.* 5, Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 15 p. 46, 24 ff. Stählin, Hesych. *s.v.* Ἰδαῖοι Δάκτυλοι). Moreover, the other frescoes found in the same atrium depict scenes from Homeric *epos* (Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* i. 16), and the flowers worn by the Daktyloi may be due to a reminiscence of *Il.* 14. 347 ff.

² Pl. lxxii is from Herrmann *op. cit.* pl. 11, a photographic reproduction which supersedes all previous publications.

³ *Supra* i. 124 ff.

⁴ *Supra* p. 1028.

⁵ Herrmann *op. cit.* i. 17 n. 1.

⁶ Cp. the Homeric ἐπὶ καρπῶ χεῖρα κ.τ.λ. (*Il.* 24. 671, *Od.* 18. 258, 24. 398).

⁷ C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 p. 131 f., R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 15 (who cites *inter alia* Eur. *Ion* 891 ff. λευκοὶ δ’ ἐμφὺς καρποῖς χειρῶν | εἰς ἀντροῦ κοίτας | κρανῖάν, ᾧ μᾶτερ, μ’ αὐδῶσαν | θεὸς ὁμεινέρας ἄγες κ.τ.λ.).

⁸ *Supra* i. 444. A drawing of Hera’s head, almost full-size, is given by A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* i. 649 fig. 719.

⁹ Herrmann *op. cit.* i. 17 n. 3 (cp. *ib.* i. 15 fig. 3) states that their wreaths consist of sprays entwined with flowers, but thinks it impossible to decide whether these flowers are, as Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 33 f. no. 114 supposed, primroses.

Daktyloi¹, who haunted the woods of Mount Ide and were associated with Rhea, the Idaean Mother². The locality is further indicated by wooded hills in the background and a pillar adorned with Rhea's attributes—three bronze lions standing on its capital, a timbrel lying against its base, flutes and cymbals bound by a fillet to its shaft. The whole fresco must be regarded as a good Pompeian copy of a splendid Hellenistic original³.

The presence of Iris as bridesmaid recalls the similar, though not identical, scenes portrayed by a couple of the later Greek poets. Theokritos in the Hellenistic age writes:

So came about the wedlock of the gods,
Whom puissant Rhea bare to rule Olympos.
One couch she strewed for the sleep of Zeus and Hera—
Iris, a maid with hands all perfume-pure⁴.

Nonnos in the age of decadence spoils the picture by far-fetched bombast:

He spake, and rolling cloud on golden cloud
Tower-wise inglobed a circumambient veil,
So shaped and fashioned forth a bridal-bower,
Which then the dazzling diverse-tinted form
Of Iris the ethereal crowned—a covert
Of Nature's make for Zeus and his bright-armed bride,
What time they lay on the mountain, and withal
A perfect copy of their destined union⁵.

Iris and the Daktyloi, like the landscape-background, were additions to the accepted type. A Hellenistic relief in island marble, unfortunately much corroded, was found in Rhodes and is now in the Rhodian Museum (fig. 831)⁶. It shows Zeus seated on a throne, the side of which is decorated with a large Sphinx. He raises his right hand in admiration of Hera, who stands before him, one hand resting on the god's knee, the other on her own hip. Between them is seen a pillar, on which is perched an eagle with spread wings. A. Maiuri well compares another Hellenistic relief, in Parian marble, likewise found in

¹ Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iv. 96 f. and in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1865 xxiii. 58 was the first to propound this view. R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 36 n. 0 suggested that they might be the Σελλοὶ χαμαιεῖναι of Dodona—a suggestion refuted by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 241 f. L. Stephani in the *Bulletin histor.-phil. de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg* 1855 xii. 301 n. 80 and Helbig *loc. cit.*, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1864 xxxvi. 277 ff., *Rhein. Mus.* 1869 xxiv. 508 ff., *Untersuchungen über die campanische Wandmalerei* Leipzig 1873 p. 117 argued that they are Λειμῶνες, personified 'Meadows': cp. Philostr. *mai. imagg.* 2. 4. 3 λειμῶνες δ' ἐν ὧρα μειρακίων, οὓς ἀκηράτους ὠδμαζες, μαραινουσιν ἐπὶ σοὶ (sc. Hippolytos) τὰ ἄνθη and *supra* ii. 164 n. 6 (Leimon). N. Terzaghi in *Atene e Roma* 1902 v. 434 ff. regards them as Κούρητες.

² L. v. Sybel in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 940 f., O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2018 ff. *Supra* p. 922.

³ Hermann *op. cit.* i. 15—17, G. Rodenwaldt *Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde* Berlin 1909 pp. 203—206.

⁴ Theokr. 17. 131 ff.

⁵ Nonn. *Dion.* 32. 76 ff. The text of line 78 f. is disputed. I have translated the passage as it stands in the editions of D. F. Graefe (1826) and A. Ludwich (1911), viz. καὶ θαλάμου ποιητὸς ἔην τύπος, ὃν τότε κύκλῳ | Ἴριδος αἰθερίας ἑτερόχροος ἔστεφε μορφή κ.τ.λ. The Count de Marcellus (ed. Paris 1856) prints the conjectural readings ὃν ποτε for ὃν τότε and ἔτρεφε for ἔστεφε.

⁶ A. Maiuri in *Clara Rhodos* 1932 ii. 44—46 fig. 22 (= my fig. 831).

Rhodes and now in London (fig. 832)¹. Zeus sitting on a very similar throne, with a winged and lion-headed Sphinx, leans his right hand on a long sceptre. Before him stands Hera, also holding a long sceptre—for she plays queen to



Fig. 831.

his king. Between them appears a pillar, on which are the feet of a small statue. In front of it is an ox (for sacrifice?). Behind Zeus was a standing figure, on a

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 223 f. no. 2150, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 493 no. 2. My fig. 832 is from the official photograph.

smaller scale, with a palm-branch in its right hand—possibly Nike, but possibly a victor in some local contest who had dedicated a statue to Zeus and Hera¹.

The pillar present in these Graeco-Roman compositions was itself no part of the older Hellenic type—witness a metope from Selinous now at Palermo

¹ This relief has been variously interpreted. P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899 xxiii. 559 f. pl. 3, 1 thinks that it represents Zeus and Hera, or else Asklepios and Hygieia. W. Amelung in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1901 xvi. 258—263 fig. 1 reverts to an older view that the deities are Sarapis and Isis. Reinach *loc. cit.* is non-committal.



Fig. 832.

A. Maiuri, moved by the new Rhodian discovery, inclines to Zeus and Hera. I agree with him: Sarapis, as Amelung admits, ought to have had a *chiton* and a much more prominent *kálathos*.

For similar thrones see *e.g.* that of Epiktesis (*supra* i. 536 fig. 407) and that of Dionysos (*supra* i. 710 with pl. xl, 4). A relief in Pentelic marble, now at Munich (A. Furtwängler *Ein Hundert Tafeln nach den Bildwerken der kgl. Glyptothek zu München* München 1903 pl. 28, *id. Glyptothek zu München*² p. 183 ff. no. 206, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 75 no. 1. My fig. 833 is from a photograph), again shows Zeus on his throne with Hera(?) standing before him, a group of worshippers at their altar, and a pillar surmounted by two archaistic figures, male and female, beneath the boughs of a huge plane-tree. Furtwängler comments (p. 185): 'Leider fehlt eine Dedikations-Inscription, so dass wir das göttliche Paar nicht benennen können. Es kann ebensogut irgend ein lokaler Heros und seine Gattin wie etwa Zeus Philios mit Agathe Tyche sein.'

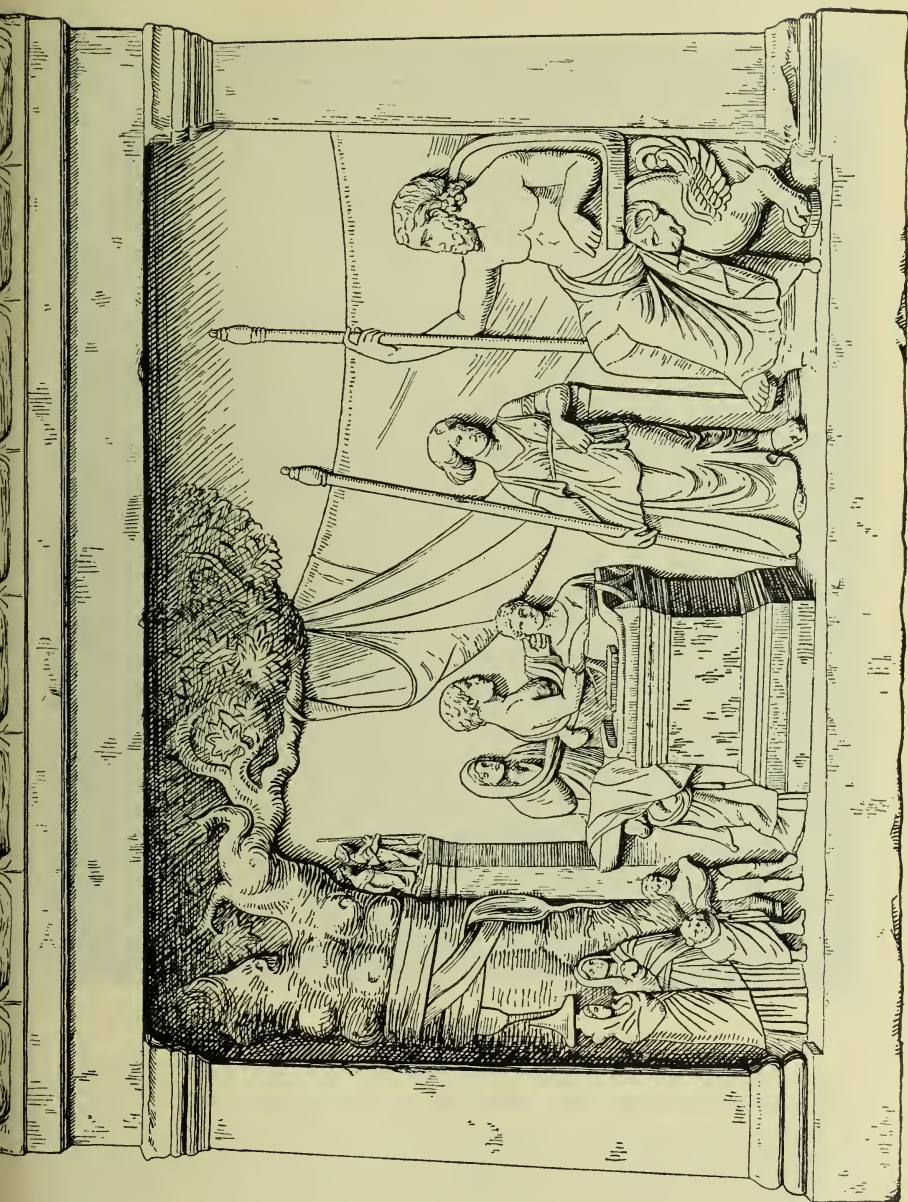


Fig. 833.

(fig. 834)¹. This metope, which may be referred to the first half of the fifth century B.C., represents Zeus seated on a rock². He has a diadem in his hair and sandals on his feet. A *himation*, which has slipped from his left shoulder,



Fig. 834.

¹ O. Benndorf *Die Metopen von Selinunt* Berlin 1873 p. 54 ff. pl. 8, Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 290, 1 (=my fig. 834), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 399 no. 1. The metope belongs to the temple commonly known as E or R and regarded as that of Hera (?). It is carved in local limestone, the face, hands, and feet of the goddess being added in white marble—a peculiar technique, which together with other traces of archaism (hair of Zeus, full-front torso, costume of Hera, etc.) points to a date c. 475—460 B.C. (G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 31 with fig. 410).

² It would be rash to identify this rock with Mt. Ide or any other definite locality.



A head cast in blue glass (Greek work of *c.* 400 B.C.), from Girgenti, now at Queens' College, Cambridge: Hera *Lakinía* (?).

is wrapped about his legs; but otherwise his broad and powerful figure is undraped. Leaning back on his left hand, he raises his right and clasps Hera by the wrist. She is bare-footed and clad, like the archaic maidens on the akropolis at Athens, in a long sleeved *chiton* with a *himation* slung over her right shoulder and under her left breast. But the *stephane* above her brow and the large veil that falls over her head and forms a framework for her whole figure betoken that she is Hera as a bride¹. With her left hand she is unveiling herself to her bridegroom. In her right she probably held a sceptre.

Variations of the same type may be detected in late Greek vase-paintings, which introduce Zeus and Hera among other deities as accessory figures. Thus a fragmentary Apulian vase in Sir William Hamilton's collection represented a battle of Greeks and Persians below with a council of the gods in the upper



Fig. 835.

register (fig. 835)². Here we see Zeus seated on a rock with Ganymedes (?) standing behind him and Hera in front. Zeus is half-draped in a *himation* and has a fillet in his hair. His left hand, decorated with a bracelet, holds a long sceptre; his right he raises in conversation with Hera. She wears an Ionic *chiton*, ornamented with a broad stripe down the middle, and a bridal veil, which she is lifting with her right hand. In her left she supports a long sceptre topped by a palmette; and on her head is a handsome *stephane*.

A large *kratér* from Ruvo, now at Naples, shows the rape of Persephone,

¹ Other interpretations are considered and dismissed by R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 34 n. 6.

² W. Tischbein *Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases...now in the possession of Sir Wm Hamilton* 1795 ii. 14 ff. pl. 1, F. Köpp in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii Arch. Anz. p. 125 f. fig., Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 293, 2—3.

again with an upper tier of divine spectators (fig. 836)¹. The design is much damaged, and the greater part of Zeus is a modern restoration. But enough remains to prove that the god sat on a richly embellished throne, which has a couple of swans by way of arm-rests. A *himation* is wrapped about his legs; and his feet, which are shod, are placed on a footstool. The sceptre in the right hand of Zeus is surmounted by an eagle with spread wings. Before her lord with downcast eyes stands Hera. She is clad in a Doric *péplos* with a long overfold, and has sandals on her feet. She has also a *stéphane* on her head and a veil. This she raises with her left hand, while in her right she holds a long sceptre. Behind the throne of Zeus stands Ganymedes. And, between them, a winged thunderbolt points downwards to the scene of tumult in progress below.

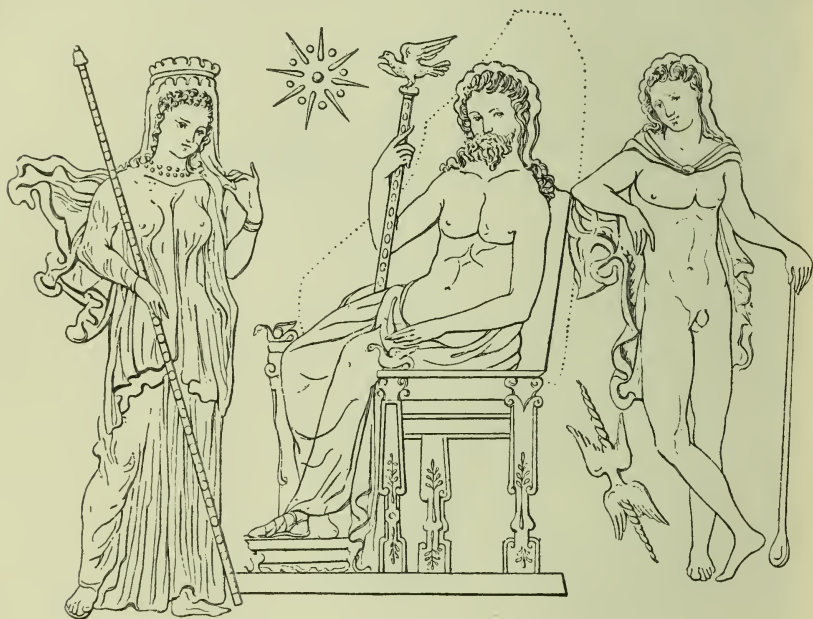


Fig. 836.

On a bell-shaped *kratér* from Saticula (*Santa Agata dei Goti*), now in the same collection, there is a further variation of the type (fig. 837)². The centre of the design is occupied by a group of Athena and Perseus. But adjoining them is a seated Zeus and a standing Hera, the pose of both being reminiscent of the *hieròs gámos*. Zeus is clad in a *himation* and wears a wreath in his hair. He rests his right hand on a sceptre and turns to face the centre of interest, regardless of a small hovering Nike, who somewhat needlessly presents him with a second wreath. Before him at a lower level stands Hera, draped in Doric *péplos* and star-spangled veil. In her right hand is a long sceptre, and

¹ Heydemann *Die Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 591 ff. no. 3256, figured in the *Mon. d. Inst.* ii pl. 31, E. Gerhard *Über die Lichtgottheiten auf Kunstdenkmälern* Berlin 1840 pl. 42, 3, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 99.

² Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 224 ff. no. 2202, C. A. de Jorio in the *Real Museo Borbonico Napoli* 1829 v pl. 51 with text pp. 1—7.

on her head a rayed *stepháne*. She too faces the central group, but is obviously conceived as the bride of Zeus.

(4) The *Hieròs Gámos* on Mount Oche.

Eubolia, a great centre of Hera-worship, was another place associated with the *hieròs gámos*. It was believed that Zeus had met Hera on Mount Oche, the highest point in the south of the island. In this belief, no doubt, folk-etymology played a part¹. But it is to be observed that bronze coins of Karystos at the foot of Mount Oche, struck in s. ii B.C., show sometimes a laureate head of Zeus², sometimes a veiled head of Hera³—a suggestive choice of deities⁴.

(5) The *Hieròs Gámos* at Elymnion.

Elymnion or Elymnia, an island-town off the coast of Eubolia⁵, has been identified with the largest of the Petalian Isles near Karystos⁶, but is better placed on the north coast near Oreos⁷. Sophokles⁸ in his *Nauplios* spoke of 'bridal Elymnion,' because this too was reputed to have been the spot where



Fig. 837.

¹ *Supra* ii. 902 n. 1.

² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece* p. 103 pl. 19, 4, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 357. Cp. *supra* p. 127 fig. 48.

³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Central Greece* p. 104 pl. 19, 5 and 8, *McClellan Cat. Coins* ii. 332 pl. 203, 23, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 357.

⁴ There is, however, no reason to connect with either of them the early corbelled building on Mt Oche (for which see T. Wiegand 'Der angebliche Urtempel auf der Ocha' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 11—17 pls. 2 and 3).

⁵ Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Ελύμνιον.

⁶ C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1868—1872 ii. 434 n. 1, H. Kiepert *Formae orbis antiqui* Berlin 1894 Map 15 (with a query), Text p. 3 ('very doubtfully').

⁷ A. Wilhelm in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1892 xv. 115, A. Philippson in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2468.

⁸ Soph. *Nauplios frag.* 404 Nauck², 437 Jebb *ap. schol.* Aristoph. *pax* 1126 Καλλίστρατος φησὶ τόπον Εύβοίας τὸ 'Ελύμνιον. 'Απολλώνιος δὲ ναὸν (*an leg. νῆσον?* A.B.C.) φησὶν εἶναι πλησίον Εύβοίας. νυμφικὸν δὲ τινες αὐτὸ φασίν, ὅτι ὁ Ζεὺς τῇ "Ἡρᾷ ἐκεῖ συνεγένετο. μέμνηται καὶ Σοφοκλῆς 'πρὸς πέτραις 'Ελυμνίαις,' καὶ ἐν Ναυπλίῳ 'νυμφικὸν 'Ελύμνιον.'

Zeus consorted with Hera. But that Zeus in Euboea, like Poseidon in Lesbos¹, bore the cult-title *Elýmnius* is an unsupported conjecture².

(6) The *Hieròs Gámos* on Mount Kithairon.

Plutarch, who as a native of Chaironeia knew the mythology of Boiotia well, gives us a more detailed account³. Hera was brought up as a virgin in Euboea, but was stolen away by Zeus and carried across the strait to Boiotia. Kithairon, the mountain-god, provided the run-aways with a shady nook and a bridal chamber of nature's making⁴. And, when Makris the nurse of Hera came in search of her and was minded to pry too far, Kithairon prevented her by saying that Zeus was there resting with Leto. So Hera escaped detection and later showed her gratitude by admitting Leto *Mychia*, 'of the Nook,' or *Nychia*, 'of the Night,' to share her altar and her temple. Others declared that Hera herself, since she companied there in secret with Zeus, was called *Letò Nychia*, 'the Secret One of the Night⁵,' but when their union was made public—and this happened first in the neighbourhood of Kithairon and Plataiai⁶—came to be known as Hera *Teleia*, 'of the Wedding Rites,' and *Gaméllos*, 'the goddess of Marriage⁷.'

Plutarch's narrative proves that the cult of Zeus and Hera on Mount Kithairon, its ancient ritual⁸ notwithstanding, had been influenced by the Euboean worship of Hera, and must in fact be treated as the remodelled form of an earlier cult, in which Zeus had been paired, not with Hera at all, but with Leto *Mychia* or *Nychia*⁹.

¹ Hesych. 'Ελύμνιος· Ποσειδῶν ἐν Λέσβῳ. καὶ νῆσος τῆς Εὐβοίας. But also Hesych. 'Ελύτιος· Ποσειδῶν ἐν Λέσβῳ.

² O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2468, E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 623.

³ Plout. περὶ τῶν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς Δαιδάλων 3 *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 1. 3.

⁴ Plout. *loc. cit.* ἐπισκίον τινα μυχὸν καὶ θάλαμον αὐτοφνῆ. Cp. *supra* ii. 898 n. 6. Kithairon is described as 'Εριννύων μυχὸς by Hermesianax of Kypros *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 428 Müller) *ap.* [Plout.] *de fluv.* 2. 3: see further K. Diltthey in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1874 xxxi. 93 f. and S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 994 f.

⁵ *Λητώ* from *λήθω*, *λανθάνω*, and *Nychia* from *νύξ*, *νύχιος*. On these derivations see A. Enmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1969 f., to whose references for *Λητώ* add L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iv. 537, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 267 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 327 s.v. 'lateo,' Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* ii. 377 s.v. 'lā- "verborgen, versteckt sein."' But F. Wehrli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real. Enc.* Suppl. v. 571 ff. supports the connexion of *Λητώ*, *Λατώ*, *Letun*, *Latona* with Lycian *lada* (*supra* ii. 455) and adds: 'Darum hat auch die ursprüngliche Identität von Leto-Lato und Leda [*supra* i. 763 n. 4] einige Wahrscheinlichkeit.'

⁶ At Plataiai Hera bore the titles *Teleia* and *Νυμφενομένη* (Paus. 9. 2. 7).

⁷ For these epithets see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1134 nn. 5 and 3 f.

⁸ *Supra* ii. 898 n. 6.

⁹ Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 269 'Ἐπίθετα "Ἡρας... 15 νυχίας with the note: 'νυχίας *potius quam νυχίας videtur in L exstare; nisi potius νυχίας ex νυχίας correctum est.*' See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3298.

An interesting relic of this goddess is a paste in the Vienna collection (fig. 838 is enlarged ($\frac{2}{3}$) from T. Panofka *Genmen mit Inschriften* Berlin 1852 pp. 122, 135 pl. 4, 40), which shows a cock surrounded by the inscription ΛΕΤΟΜΒΧΙ (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 7361 d) = *Λητο(ῖ) Μυχι(ᾷ)*. The cock was dear to Leto, as to all women in childbirth, because he stood by her to lighten her labour (Ail. *de nat. an.* 4. 29). Possibly Leto *Φυρλή* of Phaistos (Ant. Lib. 17 (after



Fig. 838.

(7) The *Hieròs Gámos* in the Cave of Achilleus.

A parallel to the 'nook' of Kithairon in the Boeotian myth is furnished by the cave of Achilleus. Ptolemaios *Chénnos* ('the Quail'), who flourished in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, in his *New or Surprising History* told the tale as follows¹. When Hera was fleeing from the embraces of Zeus, Achilleus the earth-born received her in his cave and persuaded her to yield to the importunity of the god. This was their first union, and Zeus rewarded Achilleus by a promise that all who bore his name thereafter should become famous. Hence the fame of Achilleus son of Thetis. The teacher of Cheiron, too, was called Achilleus; indeed Peleus' son was named after him by Cheiron. Now we are not definitely told by Ptolemaios where his cave of Achilleus was situated. But it may fairly be surmised that Achilleus the earth-born was one with Achilleus the teacher of Cheiron; and, if so, the cave of Achilleus the earth-born must have been the famous cave of Cheiron on Mount Pelion². The whole story is meant to sound like a genuine Magnesian myth.

(8) The *Hieròs Gámos* at Argos.(a) *Zeus and Hera at Hermione.*

Another locality specially connected with the *hieròs gámos* is the Argolid. At Hermione there was a sanctuary of Hera *Parthénos*; and pious but ignorant folk derived the name of the town from the notion that Zeus and Hera had come to an 'anchorage' here after their voyage from Crete³. Aristotle, or perhaps rather Aristokles⁴, in a lost treatise on the cults of Hermione had included the local myth, which told how Zeus had transformed himself into a cuckoo in order to consort with Hera⁵. But we have no proof that the union of these two deities was celebrated at Hermione by actual marriage rites.

(β) *Zeus and Hera at Argos.*

The same conception of the manner in which Zeus gained his desires was current at Argos also, thirty miles away, in the fifth century B.C. The cult-statue of Hera at the Argive Heraion⁶ had in one hand a pomegranate

Nikandros *ἐρεποιούμενα* book 2)) stood in some relation to Zeus *ἑλχάνος* of Phaistos, whose sacred bird was the cock (*supra* ii. 946 f. n. o figs. 838—841).

¹ Ptol. *nov. hist.* 6 (p. 196, 11 ff. ed. Westermann) = Phot. *bibl.* p. 152 a 29 ff. Bekker. The *bona fides* of Ptolemaios Chennos, impugned by R. Hercher in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1856 i. 269—293, was vainly defended by C. Müller *Geographi Graeci minores* Parisiis 1882 ii p. lvii. See W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁶ München 1920 ii. 1. 421 f.

² On the cave of Cheiron see *supra* ii. 869 n. 2. Zeus was worshipped on Mt Pelion as 'Ακταῖος (*ib.*) and 'Ακραῖος (*supra* ii. 871 n. 3 (1)).

³ Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Ερμιῶν καὶ 'Ερμιόνη... 'Ερμιον δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν Δία καὶ τὴν Ἥραν ἐνταῦθα ἀπὸ Κρήτης ἀφικομένους ὀρμισθῆναι, καὶ τροπῇ τοῦ ο εἰς ε, ὅθεν καὶ ἱερὸν Ἥρας παρθένου ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ (cp. Eustath. in *Il.* p. 286, 39 ff.).

⁴ Aristot. *frag.* 287 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 190 Müller) = Aristokl. *frag.* 3 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 258 Jacoby) *ap. schol. vet. Theokr.* 15. 64 (Eudok. *viol.* 414^h) cited *supra* ii. 893 n. 2. For attempts to alter 'Αριστοτέλης into 'Αριστοφάνης, 'Αριστείδης, 'Αριστοκλῆς, etc. see C. Müller *ad loc.* The most plausible emendation is 'Αριστοκλῆς, on whom see Tresp *Frag. gr. Kultschr.* p. 126 ff. (*frag.* 1).

⁵ *Supra* p. 65 from Paus. 2. 36. 2 (cited *supra* ii. 893 n. 2).

⁶ *Supra* p. 65 f.

(fig. 839)¹ about which strange things were said, and in the other a cuckoo-sceptre which Pausanias² explains by the story of Zeus' metamorphosis.

But was the *hieròs gámos* at Argos represented by definite rites? W. H. Roscher³ has collected various facts which point towards that conclusion. On the right hand side of the *prónaos* or vestibule of the Heraion stood a couch known as Hera's couch⁴. A sacrifice offered to the goddess was called by the Argives *Lechérna*⁵, a name presumably related to the word *léchos* 'a bed.' In the story of Kleobis and Biton the priestess of Hera had to visit her temple on a car drawn by white oxen⁶—a circumstance suggestive of a bridal procession⁷.



Fig. 839.



Fig. 840.

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 149 nos. 155 and 156 pl. 28, 16 (my fig. 839 is from a cast) Antoninus Pius, p. 150 no. 159 L. Verus, p. 151 no. 164 Septimius Severus, cp. p. 152 no. 172 pl. 28, 24 Caracalla, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 154 no. 23 Antoninus Pius, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 44 ff. Münzt. 3, 2 Iulia Domna, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 34 pl. 1, 12 Antoninus Pius, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 1. 130 pl. 12, 5 Iulia Domna.

² Paus. 2. 17. 4 (cited *supra* p. 65 n. 2).

³ W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 79 f., *id.* in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2101 f.

⁴ Paus. 2. 17. 3 κλίνη τῆς Ἡρας, cp. Poll. 3. 43 κλίνη τις ὠνομάζετο γαμική.

S. Casson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1920 xl. 137—142 developed the curious view that the central figure of the 'Ludovisi Throne' is Hera, who annually recovers her virginity by bathing in the spring Kanathos (Paus. 2. 38. 2: *supra* p. 224 n. 3). She is successively Τελεία and Παρθένος (cp. Paus. 8. 22. 2). As Τελεία she is immersed with breasts covered by a cloth symbolic of matronhood. As Παρθένος she emerges with cloth lowered and virginal breasts fully displayed. The figures on the side-arms are typical of Τελεία and Παρθένος.

J. N. Svoronos 'Le lit de la Héra d'Argos œuvre de Polyclète ou le "trône Ludovisi" avec son "pendant" à Boston' in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1920—21 xx. 108—159 pl. 3 f. goes further and fares worse. He contends that the 'Ludovisi Throne' and its Boston pendant were the actual couch of Hera seen by Pausanias in the Heraion, and that every detail of their relief-decoration has reference to the *hieròs gámos* of the goddess. He cites as relevant Philarg. *expl. in Verg. ecl.* 4. 63 (H. Hagen *Appendix Serviana* Lipsiae 1902 p. 88, 6 ff.) pueris nobilibus editis in atrio Iunoni Lucinae lectus ponitur, Herculi mensa, Myth. Vat. 1. 177 templum Iunonis fuit, in quo mensam Hercules et Diana lectum habuit; ubi portabantur pueri ut de ipsa mensa ederent et inde acciperent fortitudinem, et in lecto Dianae dormirent ut omnibus amabiles fierent et illorum generatio succresceret. But Philargyrius is obviously alluding to a Roman custom (*Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 374), and the Vatican mythographer is copying him with a blunder or two thrown in. Neither writer says a word about the Argive Heraion.

⁵ Hesych. Λεχέρνα· ὑπὸ Ἀργείων ἡ θυσία ἐπιτελουμένη τῇ Ἡρᾷ.

⁶ *Supra* i. 447 f.

⁷ Phot. *lex. s.v.* ζεύγος ἡμιονικὸν ἢ βοεικόν· ζεύξαντες τὴν λεγομένην κλινίδα, ἣ ἐστὶν ὁμοία διέδρω, τὴν τῆς νύμφης μέθοδον ποιοῦνται· κ.τ.λ. M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1651.

And on billon coins of Alexandria struck by Nero (fig. 840)¹ Hera *Argeta* is conspicuously veiled.

These considerations, despite the doubts of M. P. Nilsson², do raise a certain presumption that the marriage of Hera was duly celebrated at Argos, though they do not of course prove that the original consort of the goddess was Zeus³. But that as early as the fifth century B.C. Zeus had come to be regarded as the rightful partner of the Argive Hera, and that their union was commemorated by the ritual of a *hieròs gámos*, seems to me a reasonable inference from the final scene of Aristophanes' *Birds*⁴.

At this point the argument can be strengthened by taking into account Roman as well as Greek evidence. Apuleius in his *Metamorphoses* makes Psyche pray to Hera as follows: 'O sister and wife of mighty Zeus, whether thou abidest in the ancient temple of Samos, which alone can boast thy birth, thine infant cries, and thy nursing, or hauntest thy blissful seat in lofty Carthage, which worships thee as a virgin carried up to heaven on a lion⁵, or presidest over the famous walls of the Argives near the banks of the Inachos, which tells of thee as already the bride of the Thunderer and the queen of the gods⁶,' etc. etc. Argos is here chosen as a typical centre for the cult of Hera conceived as the bride of Zeus. The same conception underlies the *Agamemnon* of Seneca, in which a chorus of Mycenaean women invokes Hera thus:

Come, consort of the mighty sceptre, come,
Hera the Queen,—
All we that in Mykenai have our home
On thee must lean⁷.

Later in the play Agamemnon on reaching his palace exclaims:

O father, hurler of the cruel bolt,
Driver of clouds, sovereign of stars and lands,
To whom the conqueror brings his triumph-spoils,
And thou too, sister of an almighty lord,
Argolic Hera, gladly will I serve you
With gifts of Araby and suppliant entrails⁸.

¹ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Alexandria* p. 17 nos. 132, 133 pl. 1 (=my fig. 840), 134 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 416 nos. 114 pl. 85, 23, 115 f., J. G. Milne *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins* Oxford 1933 p. 8 nos. 266 f., 281—284, 291, 297.

² Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 44. He notes, however, that the marriage of Hebe and Herakles, a relief on a silver altar in the Heraion (Paus. 2. 17. 6), was perhaps viewed as a parallel to the marriage of Hera and Zeus. And he accepts as probable the suggestion of W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 33 that the wedding of Demetrios Poliorketes, when *agonothétēs* at the Heraia, with Deidameia, daughter of the Molottian king Aiakides and sister of Pyrrhos (Plout. *v. Demetr.* 25), was designed in imitation of the *hieròs gámos*.

³ I am hinting at Herakles, on whose relations to Hera I have said my say in the *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 371 ff.

⁴ See *supra* p. 58 ff.

⁵ W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 612 ff., F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1247—1250, H. Frère 'Sur le culte de Caelestis' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1907 ii. 21—35, A. von Domaszewski *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion* Leipzig—Berlin 1909 pp. 148—150 ('Virgo Caelestis'). Cp. *supra* ii. 68 n. 2, 869 n. o, iii. 834.

⁶ *Apul. met.* 6. 4 sive prope ripas Inachi, qui te iam nuptam Tonantis et reginam deorum memorat, inclitis Argivorum praesides moenibus.

⁷ *Sen. Ag.* 348 ff.

⁸ *Sen. Ag.* 839 ff.

But more explicit and detailed is a passage in the *Thebaid* of Statius¹. The poet is describing how the wives and children of the Argive warriors implored Hera to protect their absent ones in the perilous expedition against Thebes:

The day of prayer was done, but all night long
They kept their vigil round the altars' flame.
Ay, and they brought a robe by way of gift,
Whose wondrous woof no barren hand had woven
Nor such as lacked a husband—this they brought
In a basket as a veil acceptable
To their chaste goddess. Rich the purple shone
With brodered work and threads of glittering gold—
On it the bride of the great Thunderer
Within her bridal bower: nought she knows
Of wedlock and is fearful to lay by
Her sisterhood; with down-dropped eye she kisses
The lips of youthful Zeus, a simple maid
As yet untroubled by his stolen loves.
With this same veil the Argolic matrons clothed
The ivory goddess, and with tears and prayers
Besought her:—'Look now on the sinful towers
Of Kadmos' daughter, who seduced thy lord,
Queen of the starry sky. Oh, bring to nought
The foemen's rebel hill, and on their Thebes
Fling—for thou canst—another thunderbolt.'

We are surely justified in maintaining that this veil, woven for Hera by fruitful wives and embroidered to represent her wedlock with Zeus, implies the existence of an actual marriage-rite.

One other indication of such a rite is forthcoming, and that from a late and unexpected source. Cyprian, bishop of Antioch, *à propos* of the numerous pagan ceremonies through which he passed in his youth², says: 'I went and at Argos, in Hera's rite, was there initiated into the purposes of union—the union, I mean, of lower with upper and of upper with lower air, and likewise of earth with water and of water with lower air³.' It can hardly be doubted that this, as L. Preller⁴ long since conjectured, refers to the old *hierôs gámos* of Zeus and Hera, still kept up in the third century A.D., though then encumbered with a symbolic and *quasi*-philosophical significance⁵.

¹ Stat. *Theb.* 10. 54 ff.

² Cp. *supra* i. 110 f., iii. 775.

³ *Confessio S. Cypriani* (in *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Septembris vii. 222 ff.) ἦλθον καὶ ἐν "Αργεῖ, ἐν τῇ τῆς "Ηρας τελετῇ, ἐμνήσθην ἐκεῖ βουλὰς ἐνόητος, ἀέρος πρὸς αἰθέρα καὶ αἰθέρος πρὸς ἀέρα, ἅμα δὲ καὶ γῆς πρὸς ὕδωρ καὶ ὕδατος πρὸς ἀέρα. Hence Eudok. *de s. Cyprian.* 2. 52 ff. ἐνθεν ἐς ὑπὸ βοτον θαλερὸν γενόμεν κατὰ "Αργος· | ἦν δὲ Τιθωνιάδος ἔρωτος λευχείμονος 'Ηοῦς. | μύστης δ' αὐτὸν γενόμεν, καὶ αὐτόθι ἡέρος ἄμμα (so A. Ludwig for ἀμφω cod. L.) | ἥδὲ πολυπτύχοιο πόλου καὶ εἶδον ἀημα, | συγγενὴν δ' ὕδατων καὶ εὐφύρβοιο ἀρούρης | ἥδ' αὖτις δροσερῶν ναμάτων εἰς ἡέρα διαν.

⁴ L. Preller in *Philologus* 1846 i. 351. Cp. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 44 n. 4.

⁵ For Zeus as αἰθήρ and Hera as ἀήρ see *supra* i. 31. Such teaching as that to which Cyprian listened would easily be grafted upon the Heraclitean doctrine of flux or a Stoic adaptation of the same (*supra* i. 28 ff.).

(9) The *Hieròs Gámos* at Athens.

At Athens, and at Athens alone, we have evidence of the rite without the myth. The Athenians had a definite festival called the *Hieròs Gámos*, at which they commemorated the marriage of Zeus and Hera¹. A. Mommsen² rightly identified this festival with the Theogamia, which took place towards the end³ of Gamelion, the month of Hera⁴ (our January to February). H. Usener⁵ drew attention to a passage of Menandros⁶, which enables us to fix the date more exactly as the twenty-fourth or the twenty-seventh of that month⁷. H. von Prott⁸ and L. Deubner⁹ further connect with the same festival the sacrifice of a pig for Zeus *Heraíōs* recorded in a ritual calendar of the early fifth century found on the Akropolis at Athens¹⁰. The unique epithet by which the husband is named after the wife¹¹ recalls the fact that at Samos¹² and perhaps elsewhere¹³ Zeus in deference to Hera wore the bridal veil¹⁴.

¹ Hesych. *ιερὸς γάμος*· ἑορτὴ Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας, Phot. *lex. s.v.* *ιερὸν γάμον*· Ἀθηναῖοι ἑορτὴν Διὸς ἄγουσι καὶ Ἥρας, *ιερὸν γάμον* καλοῦντες, *et. mag.* p. 468, 56 f. *ιερὸν γάμον*· Ἀθηναῖοι ἑορτὴν Διὸς ἄγουσι καὶ Ἥρας, οὕτω καλοῦντες (text reconstituted by T. Gaisford).

² Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 382 f. But his subsequent contention that Hephaistos and Athena, conceived at the Theogamia, were born nine months later at the Chalkeia and Athenaia respectively is neither proved nor probable.

³ Prokl. *in Hes. o.d.* 780 διὸ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς πρὸς σύνοδον ἡμέρας ἐξελέγοντο πρὸς γάμους καὶ τὰ Θεογάμια ἐτέλουν, τότε φυσικῶς εἶναι πρῶτον οἰόμενοι γάμον, τῆς σελήνης οὐσῆς (H. Usener c.j. *λύσεως*) πρὸς ἡλίου σύνοδον. T. Bergk *Beiträge zur griechischen Monatskunde* Giessen 1845 p. 36 f. and W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 75 and in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2100 held that Proklos was referring to the first day of the month. But A. Mommsen *Heortologie* Leipzig 1864 p. 343 and A. Schmidt *Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie* Jena 1888 p. 524 showed that the reference must be to the last third of the month, when the conjunction of sun and moon was approaching.

⁴ Hesych. *Γαμηλιῶν*· ὁ (ξ') τῶν μηνῶν, τῆς Ἥρας *ιερὸς*.

⁵ H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1879 xxxiv. 428.

⁶ Menand. *Méthe frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 162 Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 243 A—B ἐμὲ γὰρ διέτριψεν ὁ | κομφότατος ἀνδρῶν Χαιρεφῶν *ιερὸν γάμον* | φάσκων ποιῆσειν δευτέρα μετ' εἰκάδας (so Usener *for* δευτέραν μετ' εἰκάδα) | καθ' αὐτόν, ἵνα τῇ τετραδίᾳ δειπνῇ παρ' ἐτέροις· | τὸ τῆς θεοῦ γὰρ πανταχῶς ἔχειν καλῶς. J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 4 expounds: 'gloriatu Chaerepho calliditate sua dicens matrimonium Iovis ac Iunonis, quod Gamelionis diei ultimo adtribuisse usum sacrum sumendum est, domi sese die nefasto [cp. *et. mag.* p. 131, 13 ff.] antecedente celebraturum esse, ne hospites accedant; at Anthesterionis sollempni Veneris apud alios esse cenaturum.'

⁷ F. G. Allinson *ad loc.*: 'here the "Fourth" may mean the 24th, *i.e.* the fourth day after the twentieth, or, more probably, the 27th, *i.e.* the fourth (the third) day before the "New and the Old."'

⁸ J. de Prott *op. cit.* p. 4.

⁹ L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 177 f.

¹⁰ J. de Prott *op. cit.* p. 1 ff. no. 1, 20 f., *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 840, A 20 f. [— — Δ]ἰ *hepaloi* : *χο[ί]ρος* — —]. *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 416 n. 6.

¹¹ J. de Prott *op. cit.* p. 4 'Plane singularem esse Δία Ἡραῖον ipse fateor. Non est quod miremur Ἀθηναῖν Ἡφαιστίαν [*supra* p. 216 n. 2], Ἀμφιτρίτην Ποσειδῶνα (schol. Hom. γ 91) aut Ἀπόλλωνα Λατῶν, Διόνυσον Θυονέα. At deum ab uxore denominari aliud est.' He adds *ib.* n. 4 'Non habeo exemplum simile nisi Hesychii glossam Ἡραῖον· Ἡρακλέα [*supra* p. 216 n. 1].'

¹² *Supra* p. 1028 figs. 829 and 830.

¹³ *Supra* p. 1033 pl. lxxii.

¹⁴ *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 378.

Greek art normally recognises Hera as the lawful bride of Zeus. Accordingly they are grouped together in a succession of hieratic types, which perhaps postulate a ritual origin¹.

(a) *Zeus with Hera behind him.*

Vases of the mid sixth century, whether Attic² or otherwise³, represent Olympos by the king and queen of the gods sitting in state. Zeus is enthroned to the right. Hera is enthroned to the right behind him.



Fig. 841.

(β) *Zeus with Hera beside him.*

By the end of the sixth century painters had learnt to economize their design. They now represented Olympos by Zeus enthroned to the right with Hera sitting at his side⁴. Zeus as the more important deity is nearer to the eye

¹ Cp. *supra* pp. 668, 669 f., 688.

² So on the *krattér* of Klitias and Ergotimos (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 58 pl. 11—12, Hoppin *Black-fig. Vases* p. 150 ff. no. 2, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 255 ff.).

³ So on a 'Chalcidian' *kylix* in the British Museum (*supra* ii. 771 n. 1 with fig. 734).

⁴ The red-figured *kylix* by the potter Sosias, at Berlin (*supra* ii. 1167 n. 6, iii. 818 n. o), shows Zeus seated with Hera by his side. The upper part of both figures is missing, but enough remains to prove that Zeus in *chiton* and *himation* was holding out a *phidie*, while his eagle-tipped sceptre leant against his stool (lion-footed and covered with a spotted lion-skin), and that Hera in like costume held sceptre and *phidie*. Before her stands Hebe ("H[βη], not [Nκ]η, nor "H[ρα]), with spread wings, filling Hera's *phidie* from an *oinochôe*.

A red-figured *amphora* at Munich, attributed to 'the Nikoxenos painter' (Gerhard

of the spectator,¹ (fig. 841). Hebe or Iris or other attendants may stand before them.

(γ) *Zeus with Hera facing him.*

Meantime other painters had hit upon a more effective arrangement. They represent Olympus as an assemblage of deities seated *vis-à-vis*². The partner of Zeus, who still looks towards the right, is almost always Hera, though once



Fig. 842.

Auserl. Vasenb. i. 31 ff. pl. 7, Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 137 f. no. 405, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera pp. 31 (i), 32 f., Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 233 no. 6, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 91 no. 1, E. Buschor in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 250 f. pl. 158 (=my fig. 841)), again has Zeus and Hera seated side by side and served by a winged attendant—Hebe (Gerhard, Jahn, Hoppin) or Iris (Beazley) or possibly Nike (Buschor). Buschor notes that the throne of Zeus is shown as if seen from the front, the two Sphinxes being arm-rests and the two wrestlers decorative supports for the seat (cp. *supra* p. 682 figs. 492 and 493). He draws up a list of such thrones, which he regards as characteristic of Zeus.

¹ (1) A black-figured *hydria* from Vulci, at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 387 f. no. 1899, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. céram.* i. 39 ff. pl. 22 (=my fig. 842)), promotes Athena to the place of honour—a novelty pardonable on the part of an Athenian painter. With a spear that length she can hardly be Hera, *pace* R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 31 f.

² (1) A black-figured *kýlix* at Berlin (*supra* ii. 776 n. 3 with fig. 740).

(2) A red-figured *kýlix* at Corneto, by the potter Euxitheos and the painter Olto (H. Heydemann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1875 xlvii. 254—267, *Mon. d. Inst.* x pl. 23—24 (=my fig. 843), *Wien. Vorlegebl.* D pl. 1—2, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 2141 pl. 93, P. Hartwig *Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blüthezeit des strengen rotfigurigen Stiles* Stuttgart—Berlin 1893 p. 71 ff., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 203, 4—8, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 250 f. no. 2 fig., Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 431 f., iii. 103 figs. 359 f.,

J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 15 no. 49), has Zeus served by Ganymedes and Hestia seated in place of Hera. The figures from left to right are *A*: Hebe (pomegranate, flower), Hermes (flower), Athena (spear, helmet), Zeus (*phiale*, thunderbolt), Ganymedes (*oinochoe*), Hestia (branch, flower), Aphrodite (flower, dove), and *B*: Thero (*thýrsos*, doe, snake), Terpes



Fig. 843.



Fig. 844.

(*pléktron*, *phérminx*), Dionysos (vine, *kántharos*), Kalis (lion, *thýrsos*), Terpon (double flute). On the foot is an Etruscan *graffito*: *Itun Turuce Venela Telinas Tinas Cliniiaras*.

(3) A red-figured *stámnos* in the Louvre, by the 'Providence painter' (*supra* ii. 735 n. 4, E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 3^{me} Série Paris 1922 p. 237 f. no. G 370 pl. 138, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 134 no. 31). My fig. 844 is from the *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 58, 2. The figures from left to right are: Zeus, Nike, Apollon, Hera, Hermes, Poseidon, Athena, Plouton, Persephone (?).

(4) A red-figured *kylix* in the British Museum, attributed to the school of Brygos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 90 f. no. E 67, E. Gerhard *Trinkschalen und Gefässe des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin und anderer Sammlungen* Berlin 1848 i. 25 f. pl. D

(=my fig. 845), P. Hartwig *op. cit.* p. 361 f., Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 131 no. 61, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 184 no. 1), shows Zeus seated over against Hera. Ganymedes serves the one; Iris, the other. Ares as a sample god stands between them.

(5) A red-figured *hydria* at Leyden, by the 'Oinante painter' (Roulez *Vases de Leyde*



Fig. 845.



Fig. 846.

p. 1 ff. pl. 1 (=my fig. 846), Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 16 f. pl. 1, 7, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 266, 1, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 252 no. 3). Zeus is seated opposite to Hera. Nike (rather than Iris) crowns his head. Hermes starts away, prepared to do his bidding. J. Roulez, followed with some hesitation by S. Reinach, took this vase to

by way of exception, Hestia takes her place¹. Iris or Ganymedes or both may be there, and sometimes a Doric column marks the scene as the celestial palace.

Others again varied the scheme by making Zeus and Hera change sides, so



Fig. 847.

represent the *hieròs gámos*. But K. Wernicke concludes: 'Einen tiefen Sinn in dem Bilde zu suchen wäre verfehlt; es ist gewissermassen eine Genrescene im Olymp.'

(6) The fragment of a red-figured *skýphos* from Tarentum, now at New York (G. M. A. Richter] in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 1912 vi. 97 fig. 5 (=my fig. 847), K. Schefold in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1937 lii. 60 with



Fig. 848.

fig. 19). Zeus seated on an elaborate throne (arm-rest, supported on a lion, ends in a Gorgon-head) has his *himátion* drawn up like a veil over the back of his head and holds a sceptre tipped with a dove (Richter) or, more probably, a small eagle (Schefold). Opposite to him is a seated goddess, presumably Hera. And Eros, flying from her to him, presents him with a wreath. Again the scene is suggestive of the *hieròs gámos*.

¹ *Supra* p. 1050 n. o (2) fig. On the association of Zeus with Hestia see *supra* i. 17 n. 1, 149 n. 2, 330 n. 4, ii. 259 n. o, 317 n. 2, 960 n. o, 1228 f. More in Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1405 n. 2 and Süss in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1300 f.

that he looks to the left and she to the right¹. But such transposition is due to mere love of variety².

(8) *Zeus with Hera on the frieze of the Parthenon.*

The 'Kodros painter,' as Professor Beazley³ put it, was 'Parthenonian' in his effects. But the Parthenon itself on its eastern frieze⁴ combined in one triumphant synthesis all three traditional types—the tandem, the side-by-side, and the face-to-face arrangement. The deities are mostly seen *en échelon*. Hera is thus behind Zeus, and yet beside him, while with a gesture characteristic of the bride⁵ she turns herself to face her bridegroom. Zeus, alone of the gods, sits on a throne with back and arms: its top-bar terminates in a circular disk and its side-rail is supported on a winged Sphinx. His attitude is one of dignified ease⁶. The right arm, sceptre in hand, rests on his lap; the left leans on the back of his throne. He wears a wreath or fillet in his hair, a *himation* about his legs, and sandals on his feet. Hera sits on a stool, wearing sandals, a Doric *péplos*, and a large outspread veil. She too has a wreath, which is composed of pointed and serrated leaves—probably those of her sacred tree, the willow⁷. At her side in a Doric *péplos* stands Iris⁸, who raises her left hand to adjust a mass of hair and in her right probably held a fillet or garland. In this complex Pheidias—for the design was surely his—has given faultless expression to the current Athenian belief about the wedlock of Zeus and Hera. Moreover, as in the vase-paintings, so on the frieze the group of Zeus and Hera is extended to include a series of other seated deities.

¹ (1) A red-figured *stámnos*, formerly with Depoletti at Rome, latterly with Kalebjdian in Paris, and now attributed to the painter Hermonax (F. T. Welcker in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 293—298, *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 58, 1 (=my fig. 848), *id. Alt. Denkm.* v. 360, 362 ff. pl. 24 b, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 157, 1, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasen-maler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 476 no. 12 bis) arranges from left to right: a goddess (*quis?*), Dionysos (*kántharos*, vine-staff), Aphrodite (swan, apple), Poseidon? (restored as Dionysos), Plouton (*cornu copiae*), Hera (sceptre), Iris rather than Nike (*oinochóe*, *caduceus*), Zeus (*phidíe*, sceptre).

(2) A red-figured *kýlix* in the British Museum, assigned to the 'Kodros painter' (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 108 ff. no. E 82, E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1853 xxv. 103—113, *Mon. d. Inst.* v pl. 49 (=my fig. 849), A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 2141 f. pl. 92 fig. 2401, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 143, 1 f., Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 154 no. 3, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 425 no. 5), depicts a symposium of the gods. Outside, *A* Amphitrite (dipper, *alábatron*), Poseidon (trident, *phidíe*), Hera (sceptre), Zeus (sceptre, *phidíe*), Ganymedes (strainer seen edgewise): *B* Aphrodite (*smematothéke?*), Ares (spear, *phidíe* on table), Ariadne (love-gesture of fingers, cp. C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 pp. 256, 287 n. 2), Dionysos (*phidíe*, *thýrsos*), Komos. Inside, Pherrephatta (love-gesture of fingers?), Plouton (*phidíe*, *cornu copiae*).

² Cp. *supra* p. 694 fig. 502.

³ J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 425 'Sehr feine Schalen mit Anklängen an Parthenonisches.'

⁴ *Supra* ii. 1135 n. 5 with pl. xlv.

⁵ Cp. *supra* p. 1038 fig. 834.

⁶ *Supra* i. 91 f. fig. 64.

⁷ *Supra* p. 1028 ff. So already A. H. Smith *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1908 p. 76.

⁸ The choice lies between Nike (Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*¹ i. 444, F. Studniczka *Die Siegesgoettin* Leipzig 1898 p. 20 pl. 9, 39—40) and Iris (J. Stuart and N. Revett *The Antiquities of Athens* London 1787 ii. 13 pl. 24, followed by most modern critics). Somewhat in favour of the former is her long clothing; but decisive for the latter is her position next Hera, not Zeus.

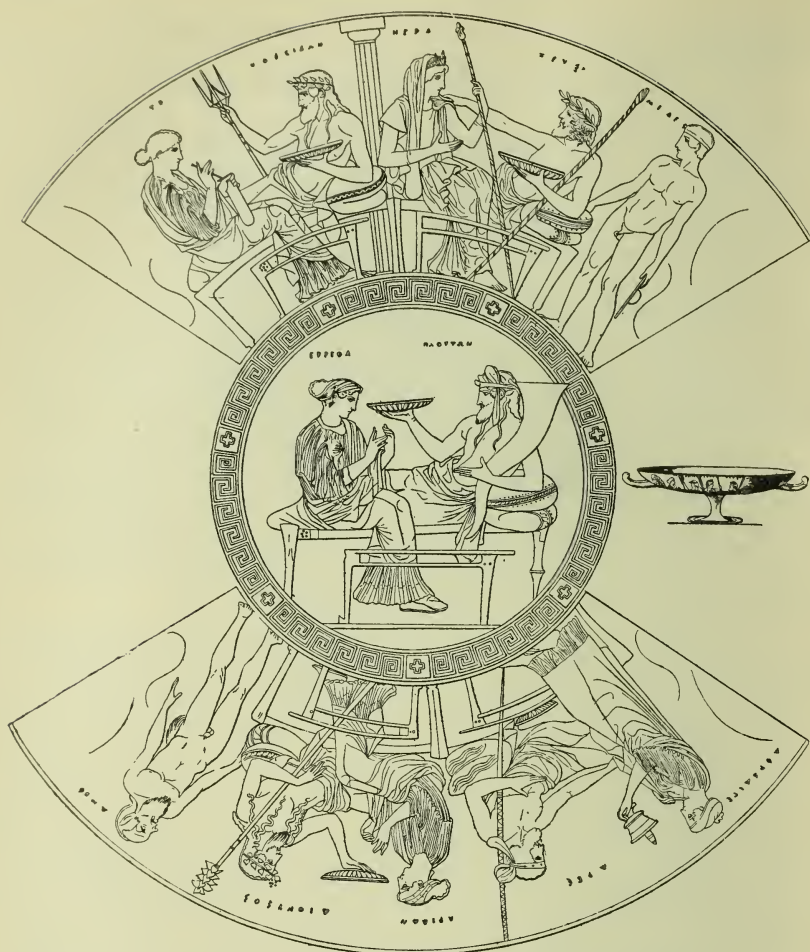


Fig. 849.

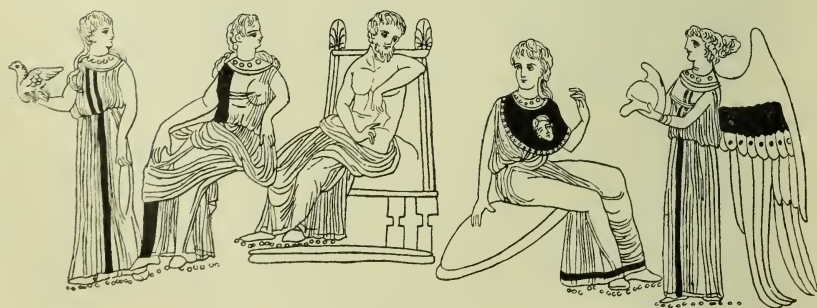


Fig. 850.

Not altogether uninfluenced by the Parthenon frieze is the upper¹ row of figures on an 'Apulian' *amphora* in the Santangelo collection at Naples (fig. 850)². The painter of this vase has represented in crude and clumsy juxtaposition a sequence of Aphrodite, Hera, Zeus, Athena, and Nike. The arrangement of Hera, Zeus, and perhaps Athena³ owes something to the Pheidias scheme, modified of course to suit the subject in hand.

(e) *Zeus with Hera in archaistic reliefs.*

Zeus and Hera, conceived as a wedded pair, had long since taken their place among the traditional gods of Greece. They figure therefore as two of the canonical twelve, who from the fifth century onwards tend to be represented in an affected archaistic style suggestive of long-standing cults. O. Weinreich⁴ in a recent article has traced with masterly skill the whole rise and development of these 'Zwölfgötter.' He shows convincingly that they were *ab origine* the Olympian counterpart of an earthly 'Zwölfstaat'—a divine 'Synoikismos' which shaped itself on Ionian soil at least as far back as the seventh century B.C.⁵, that in the fourth century owing to Iranian influence on the Platonic school they came to be viewed as 'Monats- oder Zodiakusgötter'⁶, and that in Graeco-Roman times they played a noteworthy part in the formation of political and social ideals⁷, in theological speculation⁸, and in magic⁹. Here I am concerned merely to illustrate the various positions assigned to Zeus and Hera in the archaistic renderings of the canon.

A votive relief, said to have been found at Tarentum and offered for sale in Paris, was well published by E. Schmidt (fig. 851)¹⁰, who now dates it as early as c. 460 B.C.¹¹ It represents, on Pentelic(?) marble and in curiously flat technique, the twelve gods standing, not walking, with left foot advanced, as if they were lined up for the start of a procession. Their order from right to left is Apollon

¹ Cp. *supra* i. 200 n. 6.

² Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 636 ff. Santangelo no. 24, Raoul-Rochette *Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée* Paris 1833 p. 201 ff. pl. 41 (part of which = my fig. 850).

³ Her relative position may be reminiscent of the Parthenon frieze, but her type is obviously taken from the balustrade of Nike *Apteros* (R. Kekulé *Die Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike* Stuttgart 1881 p. 7 pl. 2, E, R. Heberdey 'Die Komposition der Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1922 xxi—xxii. 14 f. fig. 10), as is that of the helmet-bearing Nike who stands beside her (Kekulé *op. cit.* p. 8 pl. 4, M, Heberdey *loc. cit.* p. 22 f. fig. 18).

⁴ O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 764—848. See also the same scholar's earlier works: 'Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1913 Abh. v. 1—42 fig. 1 and pls. 1—3, *Triskaidekadische Studien* Giessen 1916 pp. 1—124, 'Zwölfgötter, Zwölfzahl und Zwölfstaat' in *Aus Unterricht und Forschung* 1935 vii. 319—331.

⁵ O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 768 f., 771 f., 829 f.

⁶ *Id. ib.* vi. 770, 823 ff. Cp. a weighty passage in F. Boll *Sphaera* Leipzig 1903 pp. 476—478.

⁷ O. Weinreich *loc. cit.* vi. 830 ff.

⁸ *Id. ib.* vi. 835 ff.

⁹ *Id. ib.* vi. 837.

¹⁰ Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 660 (=my fig. 851) with text by E. Schmidt pp. 1—11, O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 790 ff. fig. 2. Width: 1.195^m.

¹¹ E. Schmidt *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom* München 1922 p. 57.



Fig. 851.

(*plêktron*, *kithára*, bay-wreath), Artemis (bow, quiver), Zeus (thunderbolt, eagle-sceptre), Athena (spear, owl, helmet, *aigís*); Poseidon (trident), Hera (sceptre), Hephaistos (shorter staff), Demeter (corn-ears, sceptre); Ares (spear, helmet, breastplate), Aphrodite (small oval fruit between fingers of right hand), Hermes (*caduceus*, *pîlos*), Hestia (*phidæ*, sceptre). The twelve form three fours, the divisions between them being marked by the fact that the leader of the second and third group turns to address his immediate follower—an action repeated by the final pair. Throughout the line god alternates with goddess. But it is to be observed that Hera's place next Zeus is usurped by Athena—a variation which, as in the case of a black-figured vase already mentioned¹, points to the patriotic design of an Athenian craftsman.

The same arrangement in three fours appears five centuries later on the so-called *ara Borghese* in the Louvre (fig. 852, *a—c*)². This triangular base of Pentelic marble, meant to support a *candelabrum* or a tripod, is embellished with two ranges of divine figures. Above we see the twelve gods grouped as follows from left to right: Zeus (thunderbolt) with Hera (sceptre, bridal veil) and Poseidon (trident) with Demeter (corn-ears?); Apollon (*plêktron*, *kithára*?—wrongly restored as a goddess³!) with Artemis (arrow?, quiver?, bow) and Hephaistos (pincers—again wrongly restored as a goddess!) with Athena (spear, *aigís*, helmet?, shield?); Ares (spear, shield, helmet?, breastplate?) with Aphrodite (dove) and Hermes (*caduceus*, *talaria*) with Hestia (veil, sceptre). Below on a larger scale are the three Charites (joining hands for the dance); the three Horai (flower, grapes, corn); the three Moirai (sceptres). The general effect is that of an archaizing *santa conversazione*. But it is clear that Zeus and Hera head the assembly, and that the Charites⁴, the Horai⁵, the Moirai⁶ are all introduced in relation to Zeus.

The arrangement in fours underlies also the grouping of the twelve on the *puteal Albani*, a well-mouth of Roman date formerly in the Albani collection but now in the Capitoline Museum (fig. 853)⁷. This relief, of Greek marble but Roman design⁸, divides the gods into two unequal companies, eight moving towards the right, four towards the left. On the one hand we have Zeus (thunderbolt, sceptre), Hera (*stephâne*, bridal veil), Athena (*aigís*, helmet, spear),

¹ *Supra* p. 1049 n. 1.

² Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* ii. 1. 170—181 pls. 172—174 figs. 11—17 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 65 f., Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 8 pl. 12, 43 and 44, pl. 13, 45 (=my fig. 852, *a, c, b*), Fröhner *Sculpt. du Louvre* i. 3 ff. no. 1. Height: 2.089^m.

³ O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1868 p. 193 pl. 5, 1—3 published sketches of the base, made by Pighius c. 1500 A.D., which show the figures without the misleading alterations. A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 2137 with figs. 2394—2396 inserts the sketches of Pighius into the drawings of Müller—Wieseler.

⁴ *Supra* i. 155, ii. 232 n. 0 fig. 160, iii. 955.

⁵ *Supra* ii. 37 n. 1, 94 n. 2, 232 n. 0, 372 f., 1138 n. 5, iii. 955.

⁶ *Supra* ii. 231 n. 8, 1138 n. 5.

⁷ Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 106 ff. Galleria no. 31 b pl. 29 (six photographs, each showing two deities), Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 137 ff. pl. 18, 197 (=my fig. 853), W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*³ Leipzig 1912 i. 431 ff. no. 783 (who notes that, according to old drawings, the present restored head of Aphrodite should have been looking backwards to link up with the other company), O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 798 f. with fig. 4. Height: 0.493^m.

⁸ E. Schmidt *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom* München 1922 p. 25 f. ('flavische Zeit ist mir das wahrscheinlichste, hadrianische das späteste mögliche Datum').

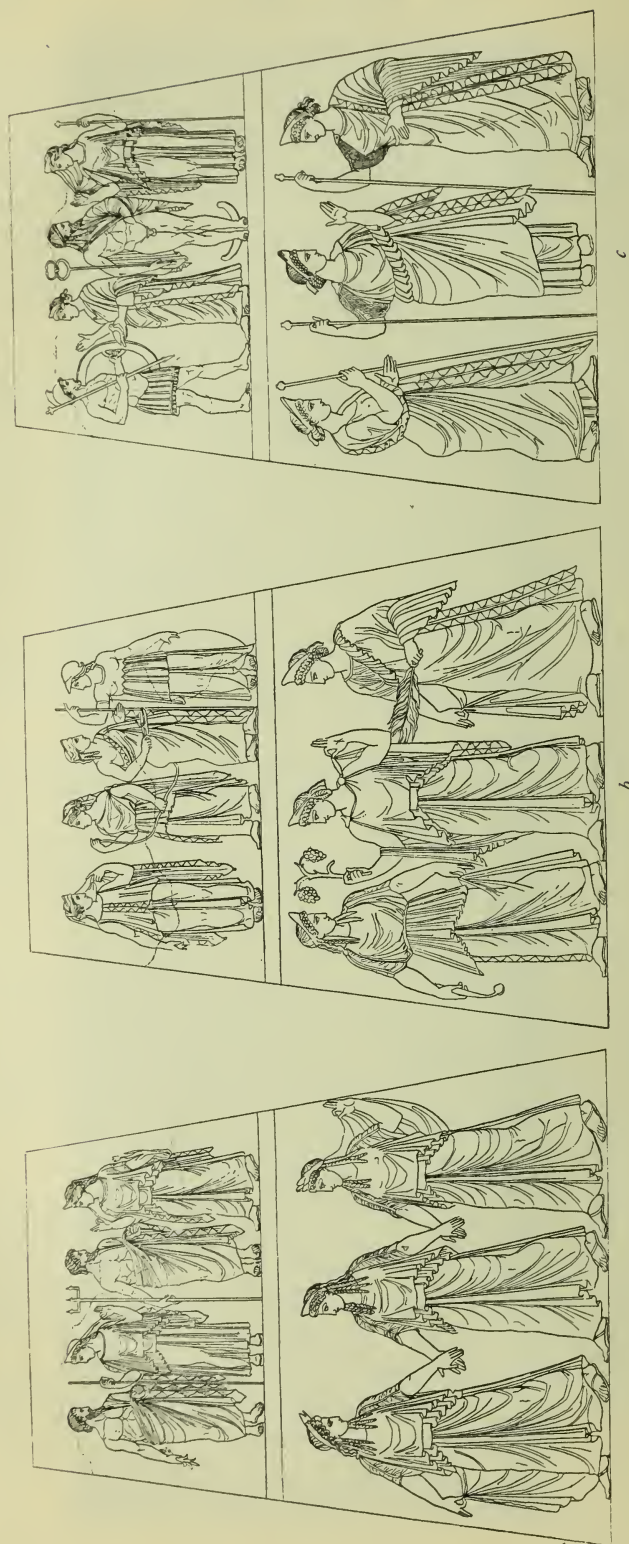


Fig. 852.

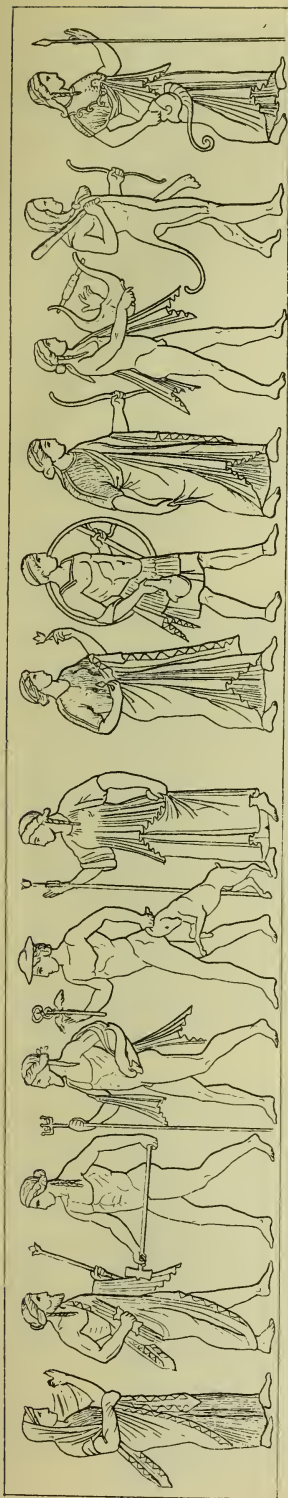


Fig. 853.

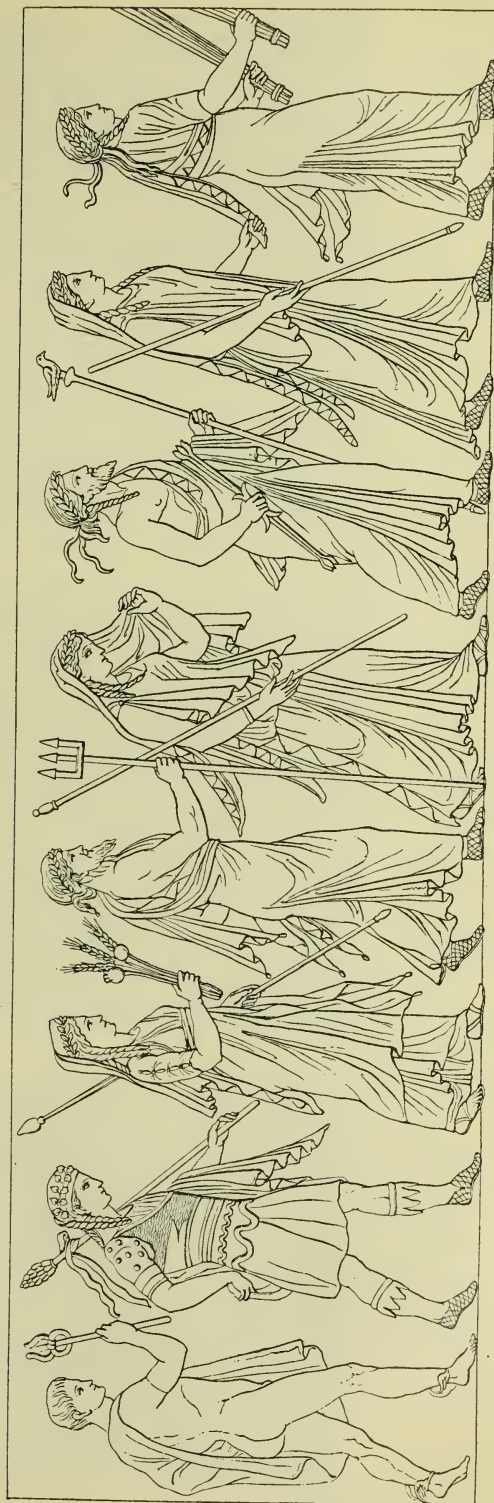


Fig. 854.

Herakles (lion-skin, club, bow), Apollon (*plēktron*, lyre), Artemis (bow), Ares (breastplate, helmet, shield, greaves), Aphrodite (bud, flower); on the other hand, Hephaistos (double axe), Poseidon (trident, dolphin), Hermes (*pétasos*, winged *caduceus*, goat), Hestia? (sceptre).

Not three fours, but four threes, was the distribution of the twelve on the so-called *ara Albani*, a quadrangular base of marble still in the Villa Albani (fig. 855)¹. Three slabs only of this relief are extant. They represent a procession of deities passing from left to right—Artemis (torches), Leto?² (sceptre), Zeus (thunderbolt, eagle-sceptre), Hera (*stephāne*, sceptre, bridal veil), Poseidon (trident), Demeter (poppies and corn-ears, sceptre), Dionysos (*nebrís* restored as breastplate, *thýrsos*), Hermes (*caduceus*, *talaria*). But these figures were not all. A fragment of drapery to be seen in front of Artemis' right knee (fig. 855, *c*) makes it probable that Apollon, chanting, originally led the way. And a forearm visible behind Hermes (fig. 855, *a*) proves that he was followed by another deity, possibly Hestia. It seems likely that the canonical number was completed by the presence of two more gods on the missing slab.

J. G. Zoega³ was the first to suggest that this monument showed the wedding of Zeus and Hera. His opinion was adopted by F. G. Welcker⁴, who noted the wreaths worn by all the extant figures, and met P. A. Visconti's objection that Zeus and Hera appear on separate slabs by the conjecture that the procession was designed for a circular, not a quadrangular, base. K. Wernicke⁵ too endorses Zoega's view, though with some hesitation. But W. Amelung⁶ finds this explanation far from convincing. No doubt a well-mouth so decorated would be suitable enough in a private house: the wedding of Zeus and Hera was the prototype of all weddings⁷. Nevertheless it would be safer to conclude

¹ Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 14—26 pl. 1, 1, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 174 ff. Atlas pl. 10, 29 a—c, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 18 ff. pl. 1, 9, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 129 no. 1, W. Helbig *op. cit.*³ ii. 458 f. no. 1930, O. Weinreich *loc. cit.* vi. 800. My fig. 855, a—c is from photographs of the cast at Cambridge. Height: 0·65^m.

The face of Hera has been retouched, that of Demeter more seriously altered. The head and right arm of Hermes, the face and right arm of Dionysos, perhaps also the legs of the latter, are modern. Hermes was originally bearded; and Dionysos wore, not a breastplate, but a *nebrís* over his short *chiton*. The bird on the sceptre of Zeus is not a cuckoo, as G. Zoega thought, but an eagle.

² See, however, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *op. cit.* i. 19 'Hier, unmittelbar vor dem Brautpaar, ist die Stelle der Brautmutter; man hat daher entweder auf Rhea oder Tethys (als Pflegemutter) gedeutet; der Gedanke an Leto (weil sie den Mantelzipfel der Artemis fasst) ist entschieden zu verwerfen, solche in dieser Klasse von Reliefs typischen Züge sind inhaltlich ohne Bedeutung.'

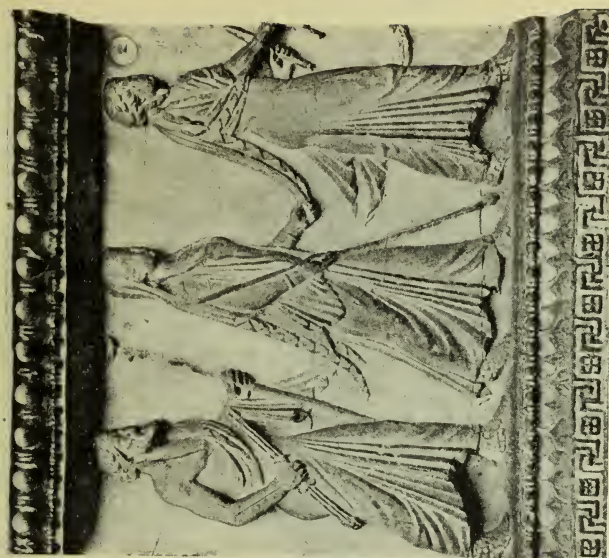
³ G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 ii. 251—257 pl. 101.

⁴ F. G. Welcker 'Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1842 i. 420 ff. = *id.* *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 14 ff. pl. 1, 1.

⁵ Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *op. cit.* i. 18 ff. pl. 1, 9.

⁶ W. Amelung in W. Helbig *op. cit.*³ ii. 459: 'Doch ist die Deutung auf den Hochzeitstag des Zeus und der Hera keineswegs zwingend.'

⁷ Diod. 5. 73 προθύουσι δὲ πρότερον ἅπαντες τῷ Διὶ τῷ Τελείῳ καὶ Ἡρᾷ Τελείᾳ διὰ τὸ τούτους ἀρχηγούς γεγενῆσθαι καὶ πάντων εὐρετάς, Dion. Hal. *ars rhet.* 2. 2 καὶ οὗτοι (sc. οἱ θεοὶ) οἱ εὐρόντες καὶ δείξαντες τοὺς γάμους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Zeus γὰρ καὶ Ἡρα, πρῶτοι ζευγνύντες τε καὶ συνδυνάζοντες. οὕτω τοι ὁ μὲν καὶ Πατὴρ καλεῖται πάντων, ἡ δὲ Ζυγία ἀπὸ τοῦ ζευγνύναι τὸ θῆλυ τῷ ἀρρενι. Cp. Aisch. *Ἐπίγονοι frag.* 55 Nauck² *ap.* schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 10 and see also schol. Aristoph. *thesm.* 973.



c



b

Fig. 855.



a

that the twelve gods are here portrayed simply as a divine team arriving¹ to bless the home of their worshippers. They are the plastic counterpart of the painted twelve found more than once at Pompeii² (figs. 856, 857). It may be doubted whether their religious significance was much greater than that of our own Apostle-spoons.

(10) The *Hieròs Gámos* in the Far West.

There is no reason to think that the myth of the *hieròs gámos* was ever located at Athens³. Athenian poets do indeed occasionally refer to such a myth. Sophokles speaks of the Gardens of Zeus and their proverbial felicity⁴, Aristophanes of the Plain of Zeus and the bridal bed towards which at the triumphant close of his great comedy the birds wing their way⁵. But the home

W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 75 n. o (= *id.* in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2100) 'Nach den Worten des Lex. rhet. p. 670, 28 Pors. [on which source consult W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁶ München 1924 ii. 2. 876 f.] οἱ γαμοῦντες ποιοῦσι τῷ Διὶ καὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ ἱερὸς γάμος scheint man jede Hochzeit als eine Art Hieros-gamos aufgefasst zu haben.' But?

¹ Cp. e.g. Plaut. *Epid.* 610 f. si undecim deos praeter sese secum adducat Iuppiter, | ita non omnes ex cruciatu poterunt eximere Epidicum.

² (1) On the outer wall of a corner-house, where the *Vicolo dei dodici iddii* runs into the *Strada dell' Abbondanza* (Reg. viii. 3) (E. Gerhard in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1850 xxii. 206—214 pl. K, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 5 f. no. 7, J. Overbeck *Pompeji* Leipzig 1884 p. 244, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 62 ff. pl. 6, 2 (=my fig. 856), A. Mau *Pompeii its Life and Art*² trans. F. W. Kelsey New York 1902 p. 236, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 5 no. 2, A. Mau *Führer durch Pompeji*⁶ Leipzig 1928 p. 120). The gods, standing between two bay-trees, are—from left to right—Vesta (cup (not apple), sceptre, ass), Diana (spear, bow and arrows, fawn), Apollo (*cithara*), Ceres (corn-wreath, torch), Minerva (helmet, spear, shield), Iupiter apparently of youthful beardless type (sceptre), Iuno (sceptre), Vulcanus of beardless type (*pileus*, hammer, tongs), Venus *Pompeiana* (*modius*, small branch?, sceptre, rudder?), Mars (helmet, breastplate, greaves, shield), Neptunus (trident), Mercurius (winged *pétasos*, *talara*, purse, winged *caduceus*). Beneath the twelve and under their protection was the painting of an altar set out with various fruits and approached by two snakes (beards, crests, forked tongues) with a background of bay-bushes.

(2) On the outer wall of a house in the *Strada dell' Abbondanza* (Reg. ix. 11) (M. Della Corte in the *Not. Scavi* 1911 p. 417 ff. figs. 1, 2, 2a, R. Delbrueck in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1913 xxxviii Arch. Anz. p. 162 with fig. 17, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 6 no. 2, A. Mau *Führer durch Pompeji*⁶ Leipzig 1928 p. 133 fig. 62, F. Saxl *Mithras* Berlin 1931 p. 75 n. 4 with pl. 30 fig. 165 (=my fig. 857), O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 808 with fig. 5). The gods, standing *en face* between two (?) Corinthian pillars, are—from left to right—Iupiter (sceptre, thunderbolt), Iuno (*stephane*, veil, *patara*, sceptre), Mars (Oscan helmet, breastplate, spear, round shield, *balteus*, sword?), Minerva (crested Corinthian helmet, *Gorgoneion*, *patara*, spear, round shield), Hercules (lion-skin, *balteus*, *skýphos*, club), Venus (veil, winged Cupid), Mercurius (purse, *caduceus*), Proserpina (*modius*, sceptre), Vulcanus of juvenile type (*pileus*, hammer), Ceres (corn-wreath, torch), Apollo (bow, quiver, *plectrum*, lyre), Diana (crown, bow, quiver, *patara*, sceptre). Adjoining this group is an altar on which were found charcoal and cinders, remains of the last offering, and above it the painting of a sacrifice by the *vicomagistri*.

³ *Supra* p. 1047.

⁴ Soph. *Ion frag.* 297 Nauck², 320 Jebb (cited *supra* ii. 1021).

⁵ Aristoph. *av.* 1758 (cited *supra* ii. 1021, iii. 59).

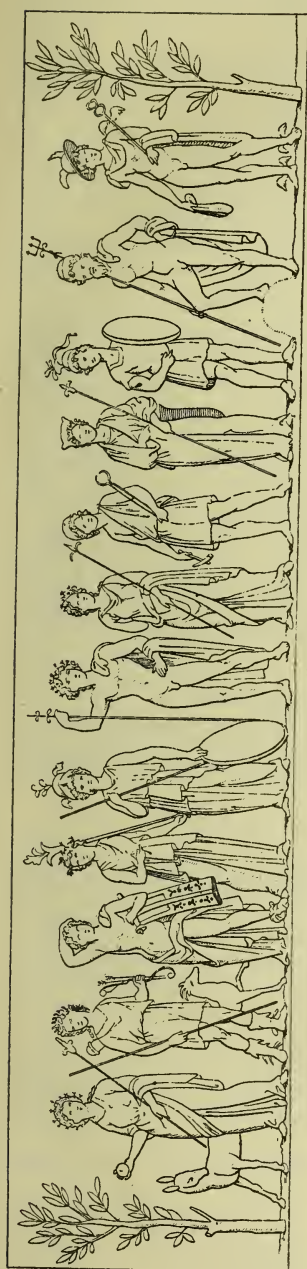


Fig. 856.

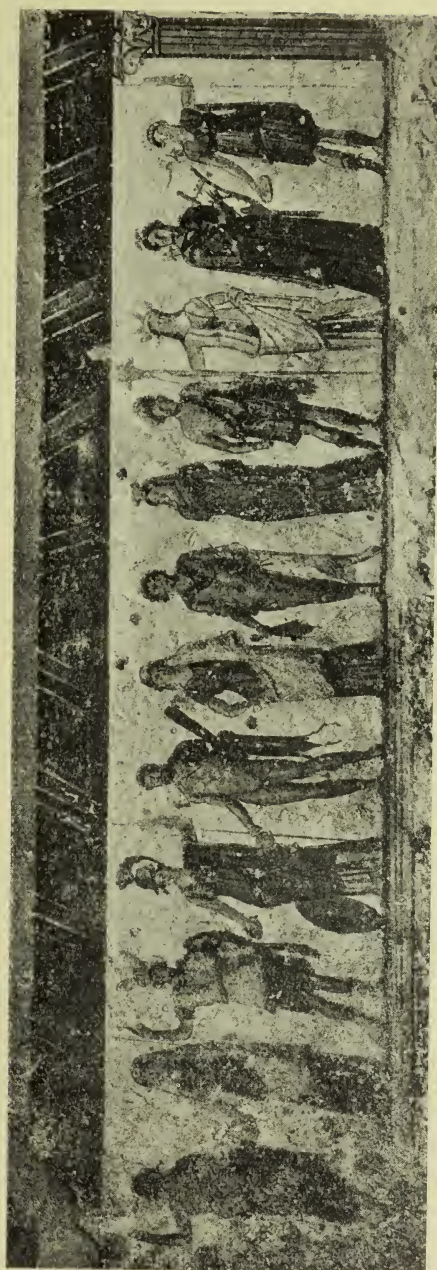


Fig. 857.

of Zeus is placed in the far west—a sunset fancy, for which mortals sigh in vain. Thus Euripides in his *Hippolytos* makes a chorus of Troezenian women, fain to escape from the troubles of this life, exclaim :

O to win to the strand where the apples are growing
Of the Hesperid chanters kept in ward,
Where the path over Ocean purple-glowing
By the Sea's Lord is to the seafarer barred !
O to light where Atlas hath aye in his keeping
The bourn twixt earth and the heavens bestarred,
Where the fountains ambrosial sunward are leaping
By the couches where Zeus in his halls lieth sleeping,
Where the bounty of Earth the life-bestowing
The bliss of the Gods ever higher is heaping !¹

The myth here touched upon is set out more fully by Pherekydes, the logographer of Leros, who is called an Athenian² also, probably because he spent most of his life at Athens. When Zeus married Hera,—he says³—the gods brought wedding-gifts to the bride. Among them came Ge, bearing boughs of golden apples. Hera, astonished at the sight, bade plant the boughs in her garden⁴ hard by Mount Atlas. But Atlas' virgin daughters, the Hesperides, kept taking of the apples ; so Hera set a monstrous snake to guard the tree. This snake was slain by Herakles and translated to the stars by Hera⁵.

Pherekydes' tale gives prominence to Ge ; and it is to be observed that a Pindaric fragment⁶, our oldest source for a marriage of Zeus in the remote west, mentions as his consort, not Hera at all, but Themis—a goddess expressly identified with Ge both in the poetry of Aischylos and in the official nomenclature of Athens⁷.

(11) Inferences concerning the *Hieròs Gámos*.

We have now passed in review the evidence, both literary and monumental, for the *hieròs gámos* of Zeus and Hera. Two points emerge and must be emphasised.

¹ Eur. *Hipp.* 742—751 trans. A. S. Way.

² Soud. s.v. Φερεκύδης, on which see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁶ München 1912 i. 454 f. and W. Schmid—O. Stählin *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* München 1929 i. 1. 710 ff. *Supra* p. 455.

³ Pherekyd. *frag.* 33 a (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 79 f. Müller)=*frag.* 16 c (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 65 Jacoby) *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 3, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 3, Myth. Vat. i. 106, 2. 161, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 382, 21 ff. Eyssenhardt. Cp. the longer account in Pherekyd. *frag.* 33 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 78 f. Müller)=*frag.* 16 a and *frag.* 17 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 65 f. Jacoby). See also Athen. 83 c (*supra* ii. 1021).

⁴ This garden is called "Ἡρῆς λειμὼν (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 164) or θεῶν κήπος (Pherekyd. *frag.* 33 a (*supra* n. 3)). It is identical with the Ὠκεανοῦ κήπος, where the Clouds array their dance (Aristoph. *nub.* 271). Cp. τοὺς Σελήνης καὶ Ἀφροδίτης λειμῶνας (Plout. *amat.* 20).

Here grew the trefoil ὠκύθοον (Hesych. s.v.), used as fodder by the fawns of Artemis and the horses of Zeus (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 163 ff.).

⁵ *Supra* p. 489 figs. 318 and 319.

⁶ *Supra* ii. 37 n. 1.

⁷ *Supra* ii. 176 n. 1.

On Themis as 'an emanation from Ge' see Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 12 ff. Cp. also Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 475 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 101 n. 5 ff., 148 n. 5 f., 1066, 1080 n. 6, 1094, 1166 n. 13.

In the first place, the great bulk of the evidence is comparatively late. If we except one passage in the *Iliad*, neither ritual nor myth is attested before the fifth century B.C. Moreover, the single exception is itself certainly an addition, probably a late addition, to the *Iliad*. W. Leaf and M. A. Bayfield assigned it to the third and latest stratum of the poem, a stratum which they date between 1000 and 800 B.C.¹ Professor G. Murray, who lays stress on the 'Milesian' tone of the episode, speaks of it as 'that late Homeric story of the *Outwitting of Zeus*' and refers it to a period when 'the Epos as a form of living and growing poetry was doomed'.² However that may be, not a single allusion to the sacred marriage of Zeus with Hera is forthcoming from the Homeric hymns or Hesiod, from Pindar or the other lyrical poets, one indirect reference only from Aischylos³, none from Sophokles, none from Herodotos, Thoukydides, Demosthenes, Xenophon, Platon, none even from Pausanias. Nor is the scene represented by monuments of any kind belonging to the genuinely archaic period of Greek civilisation. This almost complete absence of early evidence raises a suspicion that the *hieròs gámos* was of comparatively recent introduction.

In the second place, this suspicion is deepened by the fact that here and there, even where the *hieròs gámos* is attested, Zeus seems to have had an older partner, who was not Hera, or Hera an older partner, who was not Zeus. For example, we have seen reason to think that on Mount Kithairon Leto *Mychia* or *Nychia* was paired with Zeus before the arrival of Hera⁴, and that in the myth of Zeus' western marriage Themis, not Hera, was the original bride⁵. A *kýlix* by the painter Oltos strangely ignored Hera in favour of Hestia in a scene perhaps reminiscent of the *hieròs gámos*⁶. At Argos the evidence pointed to a marriage of Hera, but did not prove that her original consort was Zeus⁷; while at Knossos it was practically certain that the ritual marriage of Zeus and Hera had been preceded by a ritual marriage of a sun-god and a moon-goddess in bovine form⁸.

In short, the case for Hera as essentially and *ab origine* the bride of Zeus is neither proven nor probable.

¹ *The Iliad of Homer* ed. W. Leaf and M. A. Bayfield London 1898 ii pp. xx, xxiii, 329 ff.

² G. Murray *The Rise of the Greek Epic* Oxford 1907 p. 242 ff. *Id. ib.*³ Oxford 1924 p. 275 still speaks of 'that late Homeric story of the *Tricking of Zeus*.'

³ *Supra* p. 1060 n. 7.

⁴ *Supra* p. 1042.

⁵ *Supra* p. 1064.

⁶ *Supra* p. 1049 n. 2 (2), fig. 843.

⁷ *Supra* p. 1045.

⁸ *Supra* i. 523, iii. 1032.

ADDENDA

i. 2 n. 2. For the blue-black eyebrows of Zeus cp. Apul. *met.* 6. 7 *nec renuit Iovis caeruleum supercilium*. See also S. Marinatos in the 'Αρχ. Έφ. 1927—1928 p. 198 f. (Mesopotamian technique with inlay of *lapis lazuli* or blue paste), J. L. Myres *Who were the Greeks?* Berkeley, California 1930 p. 192 f. (normal colouring of Mediterranean physique).

i. 7 n. 2. Add *Anth. Plan.* 121. 3 *ἦν ἐφορώσιν ἀπ' αἰθέρος αἱ Διὸς αὐγάλ.*

i. 15 n. 6. A parallel to the line of Ennius is the fine passage in Pacuvius *Chryses frag.* 6 (*Trag. Rom. frag.* p. 99 f. Ribbeck) *ap.* Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 17, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2. 91, *de div.* 1. 131, Non. Marc. p. 209, 8 f. Lindsay.

i. 18 n. 3. See now the dissertation of H. Oppermann *De Jove Panamaro* Bonn 1919—1920, revised and partly rewritten in his *Zeus Panamarios* Giessen 1924 pp. 1—94, J. Hatzfeld 'Inscriptions de Panamara' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1927 li. 57—122 (text of 139 inscriptions), P. Roussel 'Les mystères de Panamara' *ib.* pp. 123—137 (summary by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 517 f.). P. Roussel 'Le miracle de Zeus Panamarios' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1931 lv. 70—116 with pls. 5 and 6 restores a long inscription, from the wall of the temple, recording how Zeus with sudden flame and fog repulsed troops (perhaps those of Q. Labienus in 41—40 B.C. (Dion Cass. 48. 26)) attacking his sanctuary (summarised by P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1932 xlv. 223 and by D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1932 xxxix. 539). When the enemy attempted a night-surprise, 7 [---ὁ θεὸς μετὰ φω]τὸς φλόγα πολλήν [α]ὐτοῖς ἐνέτιναξεν ὥσ[τε---]. When they resumed operations the next day, 10 [---συνέβη αὐτοῖς περιχυθῆναι ὀμίχλην β]αθεῖαν ὥστε τοὺς μὲν μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μ[α]χομένουσ λαθεῖν αὐτοῦς] [---κῦ]κλω δὲ περὶ τὸ μ[έ]ρο[ς] τοῦ χωρίου καθ' ὃ προσβάλλειν ἐπεχείρησαν] [ἐπιγείνεσθαι χειμῶνα μέγαν καὶ καταρραγήναι βροντὰς συνεχεῖς κ]αὶ διαῖσσειν [ἀστρα]πὰς· διὰ τὰυτὰ δὴ δεινῶς κατεπλόγησαν] [οἱ πολέμοι· καὶ κραυγὴ πολλὴ ἦν τῶν βοηθούντων τῶν μὲν ΙΧΘΡΗΝ (so G. Cousin) φωνοῦντων], ἔτι δὲ ἀναβοών[των] μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ μέγαν εἶναι Δία Πανάμαρον, | κ.τ.λ. A third and final assault was defeated by the shouting of unseen helpers and the baying of supernatural hounds: 24 [---κῦ]κλω δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ χωρίον πολιορκούντων, ἀλαλαγμὸς τε ἀντήχησεν ὡς βοηθείας [ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιγενομένης, καίπερ οὐδε]νός φαινόμενος, καὶ κυνῶν ὑλαγμὸς ἐγένετο πολὺς ὡς προσπλ[ε]κομένων τοῖς προσβάλλουσιν | κ.τ.λ. A. Laumonier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1934 lviii. 336 f. no. 20 with fig. (Stratonikeia) Δομέστεχος | Διεῖ Πανάμαρ | καὶ Ἐκάτη on a marble slab above a lion-head (fountain-jet?) in relief.

i. 23 n. 6. On hair-offering see further L. Sommer *Das Haar in Religion und Aberglauben der Griechen* Münster i. W. 1912 pp. 1—86, G. Wilke 'Ein altgermanisches Haaropfer' in *Mannus* 1924 xvi. 64 ff., G. Kossinna 'Zum Haaropfer' 112, R. Moschkau 'Nachtrag zum germanischen Haaropfer' *ib.* 1925 xvii. 121, H. Lewy 'Haarscheren als "rite de passage"' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 203 f., H. Bächtold-Stäubli in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1931 iii. 1239—1288 ('Haar'), Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 475 ff.

S. Aurigemma *Il R. Museo di Spina* Ferrara 1935 p. 116 pl. 62 publishes a fine Etruscan statuette, of bronze washed in silver, which represents a boy, clad in a *chlamys*, severing a long tress of his hair with his sword.

i. 26 n. 10. Eustath. in Dionys. *per.* epist. p. 209, 14 ff. Müller καὶ Ζεὺς μὲν ὁ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ, τοῖς περὶ Ὀλυμπον θάκοις ἐμπρέπων αἰθέριος, αὐτῇ γαῖα αὐτῇ τε θαλάσση τὰ κάτω μεταστοιχείωσιν βρενθύεται, αὐτὸς δὲ μὴ ἂν ἐλκυσθῆναι κάτω ἀλαζονεύεται' κ.τ.λ., *id.* in *Il.* p. 1057, 49 Ζεὺς ἂνα Δαδωναίε, τουτέστιν αἰθέριε καὶ περὶ γαῖε.

i. 27. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 408 no. 22 records a dedication from Thespiiai [Κα]λλίμαχος [Διὸς?] | Αἰθρίων | [ἰ]αρεὺς Ἀθάν[αι].

i. 34 n. 3. On the pediment of the temple of Iupiter *Capitolinus* see now A. M. Colini in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Commun. di Roma* 1925 liii. 160—200 figs. 1—8 and pl.

i. 38. The heads hanging on the palace-wall appear also on a sarcophagus-lid found in Rome and published by R. Paribeni in the *Not. Scav.* 1926 p. 295 f. pl. 8, a.

i. 41 ff. See further the careful dissertation of A. Schlachter *Der Globus: seine Entstehung und Verwendung in der Antike* (ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ viii) Leipzig—Berlin 1927 pp. 1—118.

i. 46. Cp. R. Browning *The Bishop orders his Tomb at Saint Praxed's Church* 47 ff. 'So, let the blue lump poise between my knees, | Like God the Father's globe on both his hands | Ye worship in the Jesu Church so gay.'

i. 47. A gilded bronze statuette with eyes of silver inlay, formerly in the Somzée Collection, represented Zeus enthroned with his left foot resting on a high footstool, restored as a large globe (A. Furtwängler *Sammlung Somzée München* 1897 p. 58 f. no. 87 pl. 34; Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 780 no. 1).

i. 52 n. 7. R. M. Dawkins in *Folk-Lore* 1924 xxxv. 223 n. 29 f. deals with this apple as the 'orb of dominion.'

i. 53 with fig. 31. E. Lattes *Le iscrizioni paleolatine dei fittili e dei bronzi di provenienza etrusca* Milano 1892 pp. 104 f., 111, *id. Saggi e appunti intorno alla iscrizione etrusca della mumia* Milano 1894 p. 24 f. regards the Orvieto cone as an altar for libation to the dead, and reads *Tinia. tinscvi* | *s. asi. sacni* = Iovis diovila (haec est) super ara sancta.

i. 53 f. On the stone of Terminus see also E. Samter 'Die Entwicklung des Terminus-kultes' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 137—144 (with which I do not wholly agree: *supra* p. 441), Louise A. Holland in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 553 n. 1, and Agnes Kirsopp Lake 'Lapis Capitolinus' in *Class. Philol.* 1936 xxxi. 72 f. (summarised in the *Class. Quart.* 1936 xxx. 219).

i. 53 n. 1 *Grabphalli*. Add F. Schachermeyr in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1916 xli. 377 (Lydia, Karia, Phrygia?), E. S. Hartland in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1917 ix. 825^b (Scandinavia), G. W. Elderkin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 396 (Lydia, raising a series of interesting philological possibilities), H. Shetelig—H. Falk *Scandinavian Archaeology* trans. E. V. Gordon Oxford 1937 p. 247 f. (Scandinavia), A. T. Curle in *Antiquity* 1937 xi. 352 ff. pls. 5—8 (British Somaliland, cp. Galla provinces of southern Ethiopia).

i. 60 with fig. 36. A complete publication of this important sarcophagus is now available, F. Gerke *Der Sarkophag des Iunius Bassus* Berlin 1936 pp. 1—37 with 32 plates.

i. 65. S. Luria 'Asteropos' in the *Berl. Philol. Woch.* Juni 19, 1926 p. 701 f. makes Asteropos the ephor (Plout. v. *Kleom.* 10) no proper name but an old religious epithet of the ephor as such (cp. Plout. v. *Agid.* 11 ἐφοροί...πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀποβλέποντες). V. Ehrenberg 'Asteropos' *ib.* Jan. 1, 1927 p. 27 ff. rightly demurs.

i. 66 n. 5. See further J. van der Vliet 'Quo discrimine dei et homines inter se dignoscantur' in *Mnemosyne* 1901 xxix. 207 f. and S. A. Naber 'Deorum coronae' *ib.* 1901 xxix. 304—306.

i. 67 n. 3. W. R. Halliday *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* Oxford 1928 p. 172 doubts my explanation of Plutarch's human ἐλαφοί. But such usages are very ancient and wide-spread. Engraved and painted on the rock-wall of a cave at Les Trois-Frères near S. Giron (Ariège) is a male figure of the middle Magdalenian period. He has human hands and feet, and a full beard, but hairy animal ears, stag's antlers, and an equine tail (H. Obermaier *Fossil Man in Spain* Yale Univ. Press 1924 p. 233 fig. 103, M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte des bildenden Kunst in Europa*³ Wien 1925 p. 668 ff. fig. 1, R. de Saint-Périer *L'Art préhistorique (Époque paléolithique)* Paris 1932 p. 57 pl. 49, 6).

Stag-mummers in south Gaul c. 500 A.D. are attested by Caesarius of Arles and Eligius of Noyon. Caesarius *serm.* 130. 1 says: 'Quid enim est tam demens, quam virilem sexum in formam mulieris turpi habitu commutare? quid tam demens, quam deformare faciem et vultus induere, quos ipsi etiam daemones expavescent? quid tam demens, quam incompisitis motibus et impudicis carminibus vitiorum laudes inverecunda delectatione cantare, indui ferino habitu et capreae aut cervo similem fieri, ut homo ad imaginem Dei et similitudinem factus sacrificium daemonum fiat?' (xxxix. 2003 Migne), *id. ib.* 130. 2: 'Quicumque ergo in Calendis Januariis quibuscumque miseris hominibus sacrilogo ritu insanientibus potius quam ludentibus aliquam humanitatem dederint, non hominibus sed daemonibus se dedisse cognoscant. Et ideo si in peccatis eorum participes esse non vultis, cervulum sive caniculum (so E. Maass for *anniculum*, *anulas*, *agniculum* codd.) aut aliqua quaelibet portentosa ante domos vestras venire non permittatis...' (xxxix. 2004 Migne). Eligius *de rectitudine catholicae conversationis* 5 follows suit: 'Nullus in Calendis Januarii nefanda et ridiculosa, vetulas aut cervulos aut <canes vena> ticos (so I would read for *jotticos*, *jotticos*, *jotricos* codd.), faciat...' (xl. 1172 Migne). E. Maass in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1907 x. 108 ff. infers that at Arelate on the first of January three mummers represented an old woman, a stag, and a hound—in short, the masque of Aktaion, whose story as portrayed by Polygnotos at Delphi involved precisely these three figures (Paus. 10. 30. 5). J. A. MacCulloch *The Religion of the ancient Celts* Edinburgh 1911 p. 260 f.

more wisely postulates a native origin for the custom. And R. D. Barnett in *Folk-Lore* 1929 xl. 393 f. does good service by collecting allusions to it and by noting that a last trace of it is 'the running of the deer' in the carol *The Holly and the Ivy*. A. Nicoll *Masks Mimes and Miracles* London 1931 p. 165 fig. 115 shows a performance of such masked dancers (stag, hare, fox, old woman, etc.) from a fourteenth-century miniature in the Bodleian MS. 264 of *Li Romans d'Alexandre*.

J. G. McKay 'The Deer-Cult and the Deer-Goddess Cult of the Ancient Caledonians' in *Folk-Lore* 1932 xliii. 144—174 breaks fresh ground and raises a whole crop of important contentions (succinctly stated on pp. 167—169).

My own interpretation of the 'island stones' as representing masked dancers (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 133 ff. 'The Cult of the Stag') was accepted by Sir W. Ridgeway *The Early Age of Greece* Cambridge 1931 ii. 484—487 and has of late been vigorously defended by E. Herkenrath 'Mykenische Kultszenen. ii. Masken' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1937 xli. 420—422. J. L. Myres *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* New York 1914 p. 150 f. publishes two statuettes of votaries in Assyrian style, to be dated c. 700—650 B.C.: no. 1029 wears a bull's head as a mask; no. 1030 wears a stag's head, which he is on the point of removing. Cp. Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* ii. 487 f. no. 688 a limestone slab with the barbaric relief of a [κυνο]κέφαλος or [λυκο]κέφαλος on one side, that of a bear-headed man on the other.

i. 68 n. 1. The Hesychasts of Mt Athos in the fourteenth century held that divine light shone about the summit of Mt Tabor (S. V. Troitsky in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 427^b).

i. 70. C. T. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 165 pl. 35, 8 shows that *Chari-* and *Olym-* must be the names of magistrates, not engravers.

i. 70 ff. On the human sacrifice to Zeus *Lykaios* see now F. Schwenn *Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern* Giessen 1915 pp. 20—25 ('Der "Wolfs-gott" hatte anfangs mit dem hellenischen Zeus nichts zu tun; später erst wurde Lykaios ein Beiname des Zeus; es war der—allerdings wohl noch spätere—Ausdruck dieser Vermischung, wenn der "wölfische Zeus" das Symbol des Adlers mit übernahm. Der Priester, der sich im Kindesopfer mit dem Gott selbst vereinigt hatte, war selbst wie der Gott ein "Wolf"'), O. Kern *Die Religion der Griechen* Berlin 1926 i. 15, 187 (follows Schwenn), Lily Weiser-Aall in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 224 ('Lykaios bedeutet: der Wölfische; die Ähnlichkeit mit der Erzählung der Völsungasaga [Kap. 8] fällt auf').

i. 81 n. o. Add J. A. MacCulloch 'Lycanthropy' in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 206^a—220^a, M. Schuster 'Der Werwolf und die Hexen. Zwei Schauer-märchen bei Petronius' [*Petron. sat.* 61. 5—62. 14 and 63. 1—64. 1] in *Wiener Studien* 1930 xlviii. 149—178, W. Kroll 'Etwas vom Werwolf' *ib.* 1937 lv. 168—172.

i. 87 n. 6. The origin of the sceptre is discussed by C. F. Hermann *Disputatio de sceptri regii antiquitate et origine* Gottingae 1851 pp. 1—17, and more recently by A. Hug in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii A. 368 ff., C. Borchling in F. Saxl *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg: Vorträge 1923—1924* Leipzig—Berlin 1926 p. 235 ff., F. J. M. de Waele *The Magic Staff or Rod in Graeco-Italian Antiquity* The Hague 1927 p. 117 ff.

i. 100. *Olympos*, a pre-Greek word for 'mountain' (C. Theander in *Eranos* 1915 xv. 127—136, M. P. Nilsson *Homer and Mycenae* London 1933 p. 269). R. J. H. Jenkins in a valuable, but unpublished, dissertation on *The Religions and Cults of Olympia during the Bronze Age* Cambridge 1932 p. 71 n. 4 (MS.) conjectures that Ὀλυμπος was 'the Early Anatolian for "Mountain," and that at Olympia it was Early Helladic or Early Macedonian (two branches, south and north, of the same race).

i. 102 n. 4. D. M. Robinson in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 1934 lxx. 103 ff. publishes an inscription, of 356 B.C., recording a treaty between Philip of Macedonia and the Chalcidians. This was to be set up by Philip (line 9) [ἐ]ν Δίῳ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τ[οῦ] Ὀλυμπίου, κ.τ.λ. *Id. ib.* p. 117 n. 26 speaks of the excavations at Dion.

i. 102 n. 5. Mt Carmel affords a good parallel to Mt Argaios (Tac. *hist.* 2. 78 est Iudaeam inter Syriamque Carmelus: ita vocant montem deumque. nec simulacrum deo aut templum—sic tradidere maiores—: ara tantum et reverentia). In Mexico and Peru the most prominent peaks were likewise objects of direct worship (E. J. Payne *History of the New World called America* Oxford 1892 i. 404).

i. 107. Professor G. Murray kindly pointed out to me that *Anaktoteléstai* should be rendered 'initiators,' not 'initiates.' Cp. W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 p. 202 on the analogous *Orpheoteléstai*.



Fig. 858.



Fig. 859.



Fig. 860.

i. 107 n. 2. On the Korybantes see further J. Poerner 'De Curetibus et Corybantibus' in the *Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* 1913 xxii. 245—428.

i. 109. On Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokeros consult also Margaret C. Waites 'The Deities of the Sacred Axe' in the *Journ. Am. Arch.* 1923 xxvii. 25—56, E. Maass in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 225 f., F. W. Schelling *Samothrake und Kabirische Mysterien* Stuttgart 1929 pp. 1—45 ('Über die Gottheiten von Samothrake').

i. 129 n. 2. On the relief signed by Archelaos see further J. Sieveking 'Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1917 xxxii. 74—89, G. Lippold 'Musengruppen' *ib.* 1918 xxxiii. 77—80, M. Schede 'Zu Philiskos, Archelaos und den Musen' *ib.* 1920 xxxv. 65—82 pl. 1, G. W. Elderkin 'The Deification of Homer by Archelaos' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 496—500 fig. 1.

i. 131. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 403 f. no. 19 a base from Thespiiai formerly supporting three statuettes and inscribed *Ζεύς Μηνημοσύνη Ἀπόλλων*.

i. 132. W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 48 f. argues that Archelaos was representing the *omphalos* of Branchidai and the Thessalian or the Mysian Olympos.

i. 134 ff. A rock-cut throne on a mountain near Temenothyrai in Lydia was taken to be that of Geryon son of Chrysaor (Paus. 1. 35. 7).

W. K. C. Guthrie in 1932 discovered, just outside a village called *Selki*, on *Findos Tepe* at the western edge of the Konieh plain, a double rock-cut throne with footstools (figs. 858, 859). Close by were two narrow rock-cut troughs, 'like couches in shape' (fig. 860). I am indebted to Mr Guthrie for the photographs here given of the thrones as seen from below and above, and of the 'couches.'

H. Lattermann and F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1915 xl. 75 ff. fig. 3 and pl. 13, 2 record a rock-throne near the village of *Kionia* (Stymphalos). They suggest that this throne, which is cut in conglomerate over an empty grave (?) chamber, is to be connected with the local cult of Hera *Χήρα* (Paus. 8. 22. 2), implying a dead Zeus as in Crete.

i. 150. The sword-dance of the Kouretes and Korybantes round the infant Zeus is discussed by L. von Schröder *Mysterium und Minus im Rigveda* Leipzig 1908 p. 118, F. Kidson—M. Neal *English Folk-song and Dance* Cambridge 1915 p. 146 f. See, however, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 38: 'Es ist doch...ungleich wahrscheinlicher, dass die göttlichen Kureten und Korybanten mythische Gegenbilder zu irdischen Tänzern sind, als dass diese den Göttertanz nachahmten, wie Schröder (131 ff.) glaubt.'

i. 152. On the cult of Zeus at Synnada see also W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder—W. K. C. Guthrie in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1933 iv. 14 no. 49 pl. 19=my fig. 861 (white marble *stèle* of local style, c. 200 B.C., showing Zeus enthroned with thunderbolt in right hand and round object in left, votary with round object in right hand, bag or basket on left arm, and two eagles in pediment).

i. 152 fig. 125. A coin of Akmoneia with similar type is published by E. Babelon in the *Rev. Num.* iii Série 1891 ix. 38 f. pl. 4, 4.

i. 153 fig. 129. An interesting variant of this coin is given by C. Bosch in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvii Arch. Anz. p. 452 with fig. 11.

i. 155 n. 8. Add B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1922 xv. 105 no. 1793 col. ix. 1 f. *οὐκέτι γυνὴς | παῖδας ἐν Ἡραλίω στήσομεν Εὐρυνόμης* (sc. the Charites, cp. Paus. 2. 17. 4).

i. 157 n. 3. My friend and former-pupil Mr J. D. S. Pendlebury writes to me: 'The following is the story I heard in June 1935 from an old friend Kosta Kounales of Anoëgia, who really does know his mountains *πατουχιά πατουχιά* as they say. It was à-propos of a small heap of stones by the Church of Holy Cross on the Nidha Plain, called locally *στοῦ Σταυροῦ τὸν Τροχάλον*. "They say that in Venetian times there was a prince Erotokritos who was out hunting wild boar, and one day his foot slipped as he was about to spear the boar, and his friends shot quickly with their bows to help him, but they shot him instead and they buried him here." In view of what A. Papadakes reports concerning the tomb of Zeus at Anoëgia (*supra* i. 163), it seems fairly certain that we have here a local modification of the belief that Zeus was a Cretan prince killed by a wild boar and buried.'

i. 162 n. 1. Cp. Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 154 with fig. 113 b, 1928 ii. 1. 81 f. figs. 37 and 38.

i. 169. See further Olga Rojdestvensky *Le culte de saint Michel et le moyen âge latin* Paris 1922 pp. 1—72 (summarised by S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1922 ii. 357).

i. 181 n. o. On horse-sacrifice in antiquity see H. M. Hubbell in *Yale Classical Studies* 1928 i. 181—192.



A bust of Zeus Sarapis (*supra* i. 188 ff.) in *lapis lazuli*, presented by Sir H. Howorth in 1912 to the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*² p. 368 no. 3939 fig. 94). Height 0·131^m. A socket worked in the top of the head implies the insertion of a *kálathos*.

The technique points to a date *c.* 300 A.D.

i. 187. Cp. W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder—W. K. C. Guthrie *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1933 iv. 36 no. 113 (a) an altar at Kara Adili, adorned with reliefs of eagle (front), ox-head (left side), etc. and inscribed in lettering of s. ii or iii A.D. [Καρπ]ο[φ][ό]ρος μ[ισ]θωτής Ἡ[λί]ω καὶ Διὶ εὐ[χ]ήν.

i. 187 n. 4. See now E. Peterson ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ Göttingen 1926 pp. 139, 241, 306.

i. 192. In Bekker *anecd.* i. 338, 26 Ἄγος· ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Κυζικηνοῖς the *ordo verborum* demands Ἄγνος. F. W. Hasluck *Cyzicus* Cambridge 1910 p. 223 held that the epithet 'referred to an Avenger of Blood.'



Fig. 861.

i. 193 n. 3. W. M. Calder in the *Class. Rev.* 1910 xxiv. 77 ff. no. 2 (*id. ib.* 1924 xxxviii. 29 n. 1) published the inscription, of c. 260—270 A.D. (not of s. i), on an oblong pillar built into a house-wall at *Balıık-Laou* and derived from a temple of Zeus at or near Sedasa (*Ak-Kilisse*), where Zeus was identified with the sun-god and presented with a sun-dial: Τοῦτος Μ[α]κρίνους ὁ καὶ Ἀβάσκαντος καὶ Βάτα[ι]ς Βρετασι[δ]ος Ἑρμῆν | Μέγιστον | κατὰ εὐχὴν | ἐπισκευάσαντες σὺν ὠρολογίῳ ἐκ τῶ[ν] | ἰδίων (ἀν)αλωμάτων ἀνέστ[η]σαν Διὶ Ἡλίω. Since Sedasa lay some twenty-five miles south-west of Lystra, this association of Zeus and Hermes is rightly held to illustrate Acts 14. 12. Moreover, in 1926, at *Kavak* near Lystra, W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder found an altar dedicated 'to the Epēkoos and to...and to Hermes' (*Class. Rev.* 1926 xl. 114) and saw a bronze statuette of Hermes with a *caduceus* resting on his left shoulder and an eagle beside his right foot (*The Manchester Guardian* for Jan. 19, 1926, S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1926 ii. 281)—further proof of the same association.

i. 195. Another cult-epithet of Zeus that may be of solar significance is Hesych. Φούτιος· ἥλιος.

i. 196 n. 9. Mr A. S. F. Gow in a letter dated 1 July, 1917, drew my attention to Cornut. *theol.* 11 p. 11, 20 Lang πάντ' ἐφορᾷ Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει.

i. 198 on the sun conceived as a wheel. Aetios *plac.* 2. 20. 1 (p. 348, 3 ff. Diels) 'Αναξίμανδρος κύκλον εἶναι (sc. τὸν ἥλιον) ὁκτωκαίκοσάπλοισινα τῆς γῆς, ἀρματεῖω τροχῷ παραπλήσιον, τὴν ἀψίδα ἔχοντα κοίλην, πλήρη πυρός, κ.τ.λ., Achilleus Tatios *isag.* 19 (p. 46, 20 ff. Maass) τινὲς δέ, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ 'Αναξίμανδρος, φασὶ πέμπειν αὐτὸν (sc. τὸν ἥλιον) τὸ φῶς σχῆμα ἔχοντα τροχοῦ· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τροχῷ κοίλῃ ἐστὶν ἡ πλήμνη, ἔχει δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀνατεταμέναις τὰς κνημίδας πρὸς τὴν ἑξωθεν τῆς ἀψίδος περιφορὰν, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ κοίλου τὸ φῶς ἐκπέμποντα τὴν ἀνάτασιν τῶν ἀκτίνων ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἑξωθεν αὐτὰς κύκλῳ φωτίζειν, κ.τ.λ., Ennius *frag.* 335 Bährens *ap. Isid. orig.* 18. 36. 3 inde patefecit radiis rota candida caelum, Apul. *met.* 9. 28 cum primum rota solis lucida diem peperit.

i. 198. E. H. Sturtevant 'Centaur and Macedonian Kings' in *Class. Philol.* 1926 xxi. 235—249 takes Κένταυρος (κεντ- αуро-) to be a Thracian term for Φίλιππος.

i. 199 ff. on representations of Ixion. I am indebted to Mr A. D. Trendall for photographs of an unpublished *amphora* in the Museo Campano di Capua (pl. lxxv), which shows the hero on his fiery wheel.

Dimitar P. Dimitrov in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1937 lii Arch. Anz. pp. 69—75 compares the British Museum mirror (*supra* i. 204 pl. xvi) with a Roman relief of Ixion and Tantalos in the Museum of Stara-Zagora, Bulgaria, and with an Attic red-figured sherd from the Forum Romanum (*ib.* figs. 1—3).

R. von Schneider in the *Serta Harteliana* Wien 1896 p. 281 f. with fig. (after the *Bullettino di arti e curiosità veneziane* 1895 iv. 39 f. fig.) notes a relief of c. 1100 A.D., found between the Duomo and the Baptistry at Torcello near Venice, in which Ixion appears stretched, face outwards, round the external circumference of a wheel. To right and left of him stand two women, in long girded attire, one with her torch raised, the other with her torch lowered.

i. 211 on the religious origin of punishments. Cp. F. Kunze 'Der Birkenbesen ein Symbol des Donar' in the *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* 1900 xiii. 130 f. ('to kiss the rod' implies its sanctity).

i. 225 n. 4 Dryas. Another parallel is the myth of *ídas* ('Woodman'?) as told by schol. B.D. II. 9. 557.

Sphairos occurs as a magistrate's name on a bronze coin of Rhodes (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 261 pl. 41, 4). F. Bechtel *Die historischen Personenamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* Halle a.d.S. 1917 p. 605 notes Σφαῖρος Λάκων as an Olympic victor of 640 B.C. (Euseb. *chron.* 1 (i. 198, 30 Schoene)).

i. 231 n. 8. P. Couissin deals with 'casques à rouelle' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1923 ii. 77 ff.

i. 232. Professor S. A. Cook informs me (Oct. 1, 1929) that he regards the lettering of the Gaza coin as Aramaic rather than Phoenician, on account of the *H. Id. The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 p. 147 n. 1 'The lettering resembles that on the papyri of Elephantine and is rather more archaic than the jar-handles of Jericho; it is Aramaic rather than Phoenician (note the form of the *h*),' cp. *ib.* p. 186.

E. L. Sukenik in *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 1934 xiv. 178 ff. pl. 2 and fig. 1 cites a fourth-century silver coin, of the same Philisto-Arabian or Egypto-Arabian series, now at Jerusalem in the collection of M. Salzberger, which reads, not *Yhw*, but *Yhd*—that is *Yehūd* 'Judah.' He and others following his lead (e.g. W. F. Albright in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 1934 liii. 20—22, R. Dussaud in *Syria* 1935 xvi. 211 f., D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 451) conclude that *Yhd* must be the true reading of the coin in the British Museum. But Professor S. A. Cook in a further letter to me (Oct. 23, 1935) asks very pertinently 'Is it natural to put a mere place-name on a coin, like "Judah"?' Any Greek numismatist would answer 'No.'

In this connexion note also the seal of 'Elishama son of Gedaliah' published by G. Dalman in the *Palaestina-Jahrbuch des deutschen evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem* 1906 ii. 44 ff. (S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine* p. 34 f. pl. 9, 1, A. T. Olmstead *History of Palestine and Syria* New York—London 1931 p. 528 with fig. 177). The seal shows Jehovah as a bearded god in long robe and high crown, apparently brandishing a thunderbolt in his uplifted right hand. He is seated on a throne, with a footstool, between two stands supporting seven-branched palmettes—the whole on a boat, which at stem and stern ends in a bird's head.

i. 238 ff. On Kirke's gloriolate see S. Eitrem in the *Class. Rev.* 1921 xxxv. 22 f. The alleged Persian *lab* is perhaps derived from the ἐτυμολογία τοῦ ἀλφαβήτου in the *et. Gud.* p. 598 λάμβδα...παρὰ τὸ λάβ· λάβ δὲ τὸ διὰ μέσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς χάσμα λέγεται,



a

Amphora in the Museo
Ixion on his



b

ano di Capua :
heel.

See page 1072.

cp. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1341 $\Lambda\alpha\beta$ τὸ οὐράνιον πῦρ, and see further F. Dornseiff *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 30 f.

P. Wolters 'Kirke' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1930 lv. 209—236 pls. 14 and 15 discusses a Boeotian *skýphos* at Nauplia, which represents Kirke as magician, Odysseus, and three of his sailors transformed into swine.

E. Schwyzler in *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1920 xxxviii. 158 f. takes $\Lambda\alpha\lambda\eta$ ($\nu\eta\sigma\sigma\omicron\varsigma$) to be for $\alpha\alpha\lambda\eta = \alpha\alpha\lambda\eta$, 'die Insel der Morgenröte.' But R. B. Onians in the *Cambridge University Reporter* for Nov. 30, 1926 p. 454 derives $\Lambda\alpha\lambda\eta$ and $\Lambda\iota\eta\tau\eta\varsigma$ from $\Lambda\alpha = \Lambda i'$, the Hebrew or Phoenician word for 'sparrow-hawk, falcon.' See further V. Bérard *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee* Paris 1902 i. 214, 1903 ii. 261 ff. An altar at Ptolemais (*Menshijeh*) dedicated to $\Lambda\rho\beta\acute{\alpha}\kappa\tau\epsilon\iota$ καὶ $\Gamma\epsilon\rho\alpha\kappa\iota$ θε[ῶν] | κ.τ.λ. (Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 52) implies that Horos was conceived as a sparrow-hawk (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 636 f.). The hawk is also an attribute of Apollon (*supra* i. 626 n. o: add J. D. Beazley *The Leves House Collection of Ancient Gems* Oxford 1920 p. 41 f. no. 47 pl. 3).

E. Reiss 'Studies in Superstition and Folklore vii. Homer' in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1925 xlvii. 222 ff. discusses the magic circle (pp. 222—224) and Kirke as a witch (p. 227 f.).

i. 247 n. 2. See now A. de Ridder *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre* Paris 1915 ii. 45 f. no. 1699 pl. 81, W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 179 fig. 1.

i. 255 f. Cp. A. S. F. Gow 'ITTE, POMBOΣ, rhombus, turbo' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1934 liv. 1—13 with 11 figs.

i. 259 n. o. The fragment of Pindar has now turned up on a papyrus of s. i A.D. (B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1922 xv. 84 ff. no. 1791 pl. 3). It confirms the conjecture of Schneidewin. See also D. S. Robertson in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 218.

i. 262 *tynges* of gold. G. Karo 'Schatz von Tiryns' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1930 lv. 127 f., 138 f., pls. 30 A and 31, publishes a pair of wheels made in gold wire with four spokes of bronze covered with amber beads, and portions of a second similar pair of wheels, dating apparently from late Mycenaean times. Karo *ib.* p. 128 compares the 'ear-phones' of the Lady of Elche, and *ib.* p. 139 conjectures a northern origin for the head-gear. Is it possible, however, that the wheels were solar *tynges*?

i. 269 ff. on the wheel of Nemesis. H. Volkmann 'Studien zum Nemesis kult' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1928 xxvi. 296—321 with figs. 1—4 has an important collection of texts and monuments: *id. ib.* p. 310 n. 2 discusses the association of Nemesis with Helios and the solar symbolism of her wheel. B. Schweitzer 'Dea Nemesis Regina' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvii. 175—246 pl. 1 f. and figs. 1—21 publishes an interesting relief at Brindisi, in which Nemesis confronts us standing on a naked human figure (summary by D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1932 xxxvi. 533). H. Herter in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 2338—2380 devotes a long and painstaking article to the goddess, accepting many of my results, but demurring to some.

i. 270 n. 5. But H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*² p. 183 no. 1696 points out that the supposed car is merely a wheel at her feet *plus* a fracture of the stone!

i. 271 on the wheel of Fortuna. D. M. Robinson 'The Villa of Good Fortune at Olynthos' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 501 ff. describes and illustrates Hellenic pebble-mosaics from the two rooms in the north-east corner (fig. 1) showing a four-spoked wheel with quadruple rim and a smaller four-spoked wheel with double rim—the whole accompanied by the inscription $\Lambda\Gamma\alpha\Theta\eta\tau\chi\chi\eta$ (fig. 2, b), also a double axe, *swastika*, hand (?), etc. disposed round a Macedonian square, which is lettered $\Lambda\Phi\Gamma\Omega\Delta\text{I}\text{I}\text{THK}\Lambda\Lambda\eta$ and accompanied by a second inscription $\epsilon\Upsilon\tau\chi\chi\iota\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\eta$ (fig. 2, a). *Id. ib.* p. 505 n. 1 collects literary allusions from Pind. *Ol.* 2. 23 f. and Soph. *frag.* 787 Nauck² = 871 Jebb *ap.* Plout. v. *Demetr.* 45 (*cp. frag.* 575 Jebb) onwards, adding that the wheel of Fortune appears here for the first time in art.

i. 273. For A. C. Orlandos' investigation of the site at Rhamnous see his 'Note sur le sanctuaire de Némésis à Rhamnonte' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 305—320 with figs. 1—11 and pls. 8—12 (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 109 f.). Further study of the site by W. Zschietzschmann in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xlv Arch. Anz. pp. 441—451 figs. 1—4.

i. 273 on the relation of *Nemesis* to *Nemetona* etc. J. Coman *L'idée de la Némésis chez Eschyle* Paris 1931 p. 21 f. states and criticises the theory here advanced. He accepts the first part of it, but objects to my suggestion (i. 285) of a confusion between *Népeus* goddess 'of the Greenwood' and *vépeus* 'righteous wrath.' On p. 22 n. 2

Coman, following Boisacq, tries to find a possible link. F. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 2385 f. inclines to my view of *Nemelona* as akin to *Némesis*.

i. 276 n. 5. On ὑπερέχειν χεῖρα or χεῖρας, Hyperdexios, Hypercheirios, etc. see J. G. Leroux in the *Rev. Arch.* 1935 i. 260 f.

i. 283 n. o. See further H. Mager *Water Diviners and their Methods* trans. A. H. Bell London 1931.

i. 285. G. Seure in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 i. 81 ff. no. 286 fig. 125 publishes a plaquette (antefix?) of black terra cotta dug up at *Ploudiv* (Philippopolis). On it is a relief representing a horned head (Tyche? Nemesis? Men??) surmounted by a wheel with eight projecting spokes.

i. 288 f. the Celtic god with a wheel. M. Prou in the *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1915 pp. 100—104 with 2 figs. publishes a terra-cotta statuette of this god (Taranis?) found at Nêris (Allier). His head and the lower parts of his legs are missing. His right hand, which is slightly flexed, holds a wheel against his side. His left hand rests on the head of a small figure with uplifted arms.

i. 292 n. 2. The second disk from Corinth is now included in De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* ii. 44 no. 1694 pl. 76 ('Oracle d'amour(?)'). A third from Corinth is in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 161 no. 878 ('Child's Toy'). Another, of somewhat simpler type, from a tomb at Vulci, is figured by E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1561 fig. 2064 ('Crepitaculum, Crepitacillum').

i. 292 n. 8. Strictly comparable with the great terra-cotta disk from Olympia are the fragments of two *akrotéria*, in terra cotta, from the older temple at Phigaleia (K. A. Rhomaios in the *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1933 p. 1 ff. col. pl. 2 and pl. 3). See further C. Praschniker *Zur Geschichte des Akroters* Brunn, Prag, Leipzig, Wien 1929 pp. 1—56 with 4 pls. and 12 figs. (reviewed by E. Douglas Van Buren in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1930 xxiv. 520 f., by C. Picard in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1930 pp. 177—179, by S. Casson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 133).

i. 297 n. 2. See now L. B. Holland 'Mycenaean Plumets' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1929 xxxiii. 173—205 with 11 figs. Examples could be multiplied—an ivory seal from *Perachora* (H. G. G. Payne in *The Illustrated London News* for July 8, 1933 p. 66 fig. 10), a Thasian *pithos* of s. vii B.C. (*id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 253 with fig. 14), etc.

i. 299 *Sétrios* used of the sun. Cp. S. Ronzevalle 'Hélioseiros' in *Aréthuse* 1930 pp. 1—12 with 4 pls. and 5 figs. (an important article).

i. 299 ff. the Lycian Symbol. Cp. Anna Roes *Greek Geometric Art, its Symbolism and its Origin* Oxford 1933 p. 29 ff. figs. 21—23.

i. 303 the *Kyklopes* as builders. So B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1919 xiii. 33 no. 1604 *Pind. dith.* 1. 6 f. [Κυκλώπων πρόλις ἀρ' αὐτοῖ] [] ἢ ἐν Ἀργεὶ μεγάλῳ. . See further S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 2329 f., 2342.

i. 305 n. 9 G. F. Hill on the Sicilian *triskelés*. But C. T. Seltman in his *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 190 shows that the *triskelés* as symbol of Sicily occurs first on coins of Dionysios I struck shortly before 383 B.C., then on those of Timoleon, and thirdly on those of Agathokles.

i. 307. H. Mattingly in *The British Museum Quarterly* 1934 ix. 51 pl. 16, 9 publishes as 'probably unique' an *as* with *rev.* SICILIA S.C. and a large Gorgon's head in a *triskelés*.

See also J. Newton 'The armorial bearings of the Isle of Man; their origin, history and meaning' in the *Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool* xxxix. 205—226.

i. 309 figs. 247 and 248. N. E. Henry 'Classic Sicily' in *Art and Archaeology* 1916 iii. 147 figures an 'Ancient Mosaic Symbol representing Three-Cornered Sicily'—much like the coins of Eborac Cerialis.

i. 309 on solar legs. P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 35 n. 5: 'En Haute-Bretagne, on dit que le soleil a des jambes [ou des tirants] quand il y a en dessous des rayons qui semblent toucher la terre' (*id.* in his *Traditions et superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne* Paris 1882 ii. 363).

i. 312 fig. 249. A photograph of this wall-painting is given by F. Weege *Etruskische Malerei* Halle (Saale) 1921 p. 28 pl. 65.

C. C. van Essen 'De Cyclope et Cuclu' in *Mnemosyne* 1930 lviii. 302—308 advances some venturesome views. Basing on Eva Fiesel *Namen des griechischen Mythos im Etruskischen* (Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung Ergänzungsheft v) Göttingen 1928 pp. 35 and 48—56, he argues that pre-Indo-European peoples of the period

Helladic i knew a god of death, **Cuclup* (Etruscan *Cuclu*), dwelling in a cave. Into this cave a sea-faring hero **Uthisse* descends with followers, some of whom he is forced to leave behind. Early in the second millennium B.C. Indo-Europeans arrive with a story involving the 'No-man' stratagem (*supra* ii. 989). Hence in the Mycenaean age **Uthisse* develops into both *Oētis* and **Odüssēus* (Ὀδυσσεύς), while **Cuclup* becomes *Kúkλωψ*, and in the *Odyssey* the original *κατάβασις* is attached to other adventures of Odysseus. Summary in the *Class. Quart.* 1931 xxv. 213.

i. 326. On the fire-boards of the Chuckchees see also Miss W. S. Blackman in *Folk-Lore* 1916 xxvii. 361 f.

i. 327. L. Siret 'Prométhée' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 i. 132—135 with 2 figs. attempts to show that the myth of Prometheus' offence and punishment is but an animistic interpretation of the fire-drill, the wood anthropomorphized into the hero, the bow zoomorphized into his eagle.

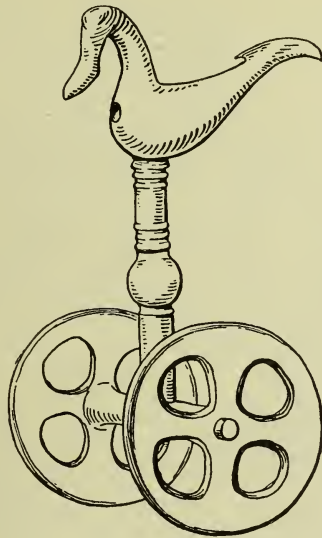


Fig. 862.

Cp. G. Vigfusson—F. York Powell *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* Oxford 1883 i. 64 *Vafðrúdnis-mál* 22 'Mundilfori (Fire-auger) was the father of the Moon and also of the Sun' with note *ib.* ii. 468 'the Fire-Auger, the holy Drill by which some Teutonic Prometheus first woke the elemental flame.'

i. 328 Odysseus akin to Prometheus the fire-god(?). J. A. Scott 'Odysseus as a Sun-God' in *Class. Philol.* 1917 xii. 244—252 justly ridicules the contentions of J. Menrad *Der Urmythos der Odyssee und seine dichterische Erneuerung, Des Sonnengottes Erdenfahrt* München—Lindau 1910.

i. 330 n. 1. Eumath. 6. 14 *τοῦτο φῆς τὸν αἰτὸν* (*supra* ii. 1141) *ὑπαινίττεσθαι τῆς τοῦ Διὸς προμηθείας* plays on the connexion of Zeus with Prometheus, cp. 6. 15 *τῷ γὰρ τοι Ἐπιμηθεὶ τὸ μεταμέλειν ἀνωφελὲς ἀφωσίωται. κ.τ.λ.*, but lends no support to the assumption of a Zeus *Προμηθεύς*.

i. 333. In the *Rigveda* 10. 89. 4 heaven and earth are compared with the wheels at the two ends of an axle (A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 9).

A bronze amulet of the Geometric Period (W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 36 ff. pl. 13), said to have come from 'Pharsalos,' but more probably from Pherai (*Velesino*), and now in my possession, shows a duck on a shaft which rises from the axle connecting two wheels (fig. 862: scale $\frac{1}{4}$). Since the duck is pierced for suspension, it is perhaps to be regarded as perched on a celestial chariot.

i. 333 ff. the solar chariot. L. Curtius in *Die Antike* 1927 iii. 162 ff. deals with the cult of the horse among the Greeks and discusses the solar chariot.

Anna Roes *Greek Geometric Art, its Symbolism and its Origin* Oxford 1933 p. 22 f. fig. 13 (after A. Minto *Marsiliana d'Albegna* Firenze 1921 p. 291 fig. 30 pl. 52 = F. von Duhn in Ebert *Reallex.* viii. 53 pl. 11, b) cites a horse with a four-spoked wheel apparently resting on its back—a *motif* impressed on a *bucchero*-jar from Marsiliana.

Cp. the combination of horse with wheel below it, which occurs frequently on Gaulish imitations of the gold coins issued by Philip of Macedon.

i. 334 fig. 265. With this *pointillé* design of horse + disk + bird-like man (?) cp. the *pointillé* design of horse + wheel + bird + man on the bronze double axe mentioned *supra* p. 605 n. 3 and figured *infra* Addenda on ii. 635 ff.

i. 334 n. 2 the Trundholm chariot. See now J. Brøndsted 'Pferd und Sonnenscheibe auf dänischen jungbronzezeitlichen Rasiernessern' in *Acta Archaeologica* 1931 ii. 199 ff., J. Bing *Der Sonnenwagen von Trundholm* Leipzig 1934 pp. 1—46 with 47 figs. and 7 pls.

i. 336 n. o. See further W. Deonna 'À propos d'une pendeloque archaïque de Tégée' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1931 lv. 229—239 figs. 1—5.

i. 338 n. 1 Zeus conceived as driving a chariot. Mr C. T. Seltman notes *Il.* 8. 41—50.

i. 339. Cp. R. U. Sayce 'A May Day Garland from St Neots' in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 1932 xxxii. 57 f. with pl. 1.

i. 341. D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1935 xxxix. 594 reports that at Tanis (Auaris) in 1934 P. Montet and P. Bucher unearthed a granite group of a falcon with a child Pharaoh crouched at its feet. The base was inscribed: 'The good god, son of the sun, beloved of Hurun of Ramses' (i.e. of Pi-Ramses, the Deltaic capital of Ramses ii). It is argued that Hurun was the falcon-god of the Horites of Mt Seït, who had gained a place for himself in Egypt by the end of the eighteenth dynasty.

i. 345 the Leucadian 'leap.' See further S. Eitrem 'Der Leukas-Sprung und andere rituelle Sprünge' in *ΔΑΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ* 1923 vii. 127—136, E. Strong—N. Jolliffe in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xlv. 103—111 ('Apotheosis by Water'), K. Kerényi 'Der Sprung vom Leukafelsen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1926 xxiv. 61—72. *Supra* p. 136 n. 3.

i. 348 Zeus Ammon. O. Eissfeldt 'Zeus Ammon' in *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 1936 xii. 407 f. ('Der Gott der Oase ist also—von einer vielleicht noch älteren heimischen Vorgeschichte abgesehen—von Haus aus der phönizische Baal Hammon, der erst sekundär, vom 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. ab, mit dem ägyptischen Amon verschmolzen worden ist').

i. 349 fig. 271. The Naples bust of Zeus Ammon is now well published by O. Waldhauer in *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus russischen Sammlungen* Berlin—Leipzig 1928 i. 1. 51 ff. no. 37 pl. 20.

O. Rubensohn in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/xix Arch. Anz. pp. 337—341 with figs. 4—6 describes a seated cult-statue of Zeus Ammon found at *el Qēs* near *Behnessa* (Oxyrynchos). The statue, of which head and torso are extant (1.20^m high), was made in several pieces of marble and showed the god, in *chiton* and *himation*, enthroned with right arm raised and left lowered—Roman work much influenced by the type of Sarapis.

A terra-cotta antefix (6 inches high), formerly in the Blacas collection and now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 420 no. D 697), has the horns coloured red (my pl. lxxvi is from an unpublished photograph).

i. 350 f. Our earliest reference to the *Ammonēion* occurs in a fragment of Hes. *γυναίκων κατάλογος* (B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1915 xi. 44 ff. no. 1358 *frag.* 2 col. i, H. G. Evelyn-White in the *Class. Quart.* 1916 x. 69, *id.* in an Appendix to his Hesiod in the Loeb Classical Library p. 632 ff. *frag.* 40 A, 10 ff. [φύλα τ' ἀπειρεσίων Μελαγχρότων Λιβύων τε] [τοῦς Ἐπάφω] τέκε Γαῖα πελώρη χρησιμολόγους τε] [μυῖν τ' οὐρανὸν] αὖτε παρομφαλοῦ Διὸς εἰδότας αἰσθ., [ψεύστας δ', ὅφρα θεοῖσιν ὑφέμ] ἐνοι ἄταρ [θῶσιν] [ἀνθρωποι.] τῶν μὲν τὸ νόος [γλ]ωσσηὶ κατ' ὕπ[ε]ρθευεν.

i. 352 n. o. A. H. Krappe 'The Karneia' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxviii. 380—384 treats Karnos as a ram-shaped deity of the grape-vine akin to Dionysos.

i. 352 Lysandros and Ammon. Cp. Iambl. *de myst.* 3. 3 p. 108, 13 ff. Parthey.

i. 353 Alexander the Great and Zeus Ammon. Recent discussions of this topic include E. Vassel 'Le bélier de Baal-Hammon' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 i. 79—107, G. Radet in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1925 pp. 201—208, D. Cohen 'De Alexandro Magno Ammonis oraculum consultante' in *Mnemosyne* 1926 liv. 83—86, V. Ehrenberg *Alexander in Ägypten* (*Der Alte Orient* Beiheft vii) Leipzig 1926 pp. 1—58, H. Berve *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* München 1926 i. 1—357, ii. 1—446 ('Kultus und Religion'), U. Wilcken 'Alexanders Zug in die Oase Siwa' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin Phil.-hist. Classe* 1928 pp. 576—603, H. Berve in *Gnomon* 1929 v. 370 ff.,



Antefixal ornament from Italy, now in the British Museum :
Head of Zeus *Ammon*.

See page 1076.

G. Pasquali 'Alessandro all' oasi di Ammone e Callistene' in the *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 1929 lvii. 513—521, U. Wilcken 'Alexanders Zug zum Ammon. Ein Epilog' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin Phil.-hist. Classe* 1930 pp. 159—176, R. Vallois 'L'oracle libyen et Alexandre' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1931 xlv. 121—152, J. A. O. Larsen 'Alexander at the Oracle of Ammon' in *Class. Philol.* 1932 xxvii. 70—75, cp. *id. ib.* p. 274 f., G. Radet 'La consultation de l'oracle d'Ammon par Alexandre' in the *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* 1934 ii (Mélanges Bidez) pp. 779—792 (summary by H. I. B[ell] in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1935 lv. 110).

i. 355. G. Daressy 'Une nouvelle forme d'Amon' in the *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte* Le Caire 1908 ix. 64—69, followed by Oria Bates *The Eastern Libyans* London 1914 pp. 189—195 (J. E. Harrison in *The Spectator* Feb. 27, 1915



Fig. 863.

p. 304), identifies the image of the Libyan god with an enthroned bundle representing a dead man in the sitting posture. They appeal to two bronze plaques from Memphis, three faience models from Karnak, and a relief of Roman date at Medinet Habu—of which evidence a different and, I think, less probable interpretation has been given by G. A. Wainwright (*supra* p. 882 n. 2).

For the sandstone *omphalos* from Napata see *supra* p. 882 n. 2 with fig. 719.

i. 360 n. 6. E. Bevan *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* London 1927 p. 10 explains the alleged guidance of the two snakes on rationalistic lines.

i. 361. On the identification of the Nile with Zeus see H. T. Deas in the *Cambridge University Reporter* Feb. 15, 1927 p. 758 (reading Pind. *Isthm.* 2. 42 Νείλου πρὸς αὐγὰς, cp. schol. vet. *ad loc.*) and in the *Class. Rev.* 1927 xli. 213 ('Thus the Alexandrians may have argued that the Nile is the same as Zeus, and that if Homer can say Διὸς αὐγὰς, Pindar can say Νείλου αὐγὰς'). *Supra* p. 348 f.

i. 362 f. P. Giles in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1916 p. 48 summarises A. Fick's identifications of the Mediterranean tribes invading Egypt. H. R. Hall in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1924 ii. 275—283 devotes a section to them ('The Keftians and the Peoples of the Sea'). F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des Alten Orients* München 1926 pp. 28 f., 986 is more concise. L. B. Holland 'The Danaoi' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1928 xxxix. 59—92 includes a general survey of Aegaeon

pre-history. Further literature in A. Götz *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients* München 1933 pp. 186—188 ('Die ägäische Wanderung').

i. 365 f. the grove of *Ammon*. M. Schede in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1912 xxxvii. 212—215 fig. 10 publishes a votive relief of island marble (height 1.17^m), found in 1910 at *Tigani* in Samos. This represents, in the style of s. i B.C. (?), a half-length herm of Zeus *Ammon* with a long sceptre in his raised right hand, a palm-tree at his left side, a shield (?) slung above his head, and an altar before him, on which stands a ram, presumably the gift of the woman suppliant. She holds a sprig of olive in her left hand and raises her right in prayer to the god. My fig. 863 is after A. de Ridder in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 414 fig.

i. 369 K. A. Neugebauer in *Gnomon* 1930 vi. 268 regards the Berlin bronze statuette of 'Poseidon from Dodona' (W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 172 pl. 63, c) as probably a Zeus *Náios* of late Hellenistic, eclectic, style.

i. 370 n. 4. The inscription may perhaps be read as ΛΙΥΙΑ for *Livia*, who by a play on Αἰβόα is linked with *Ammon*.

i. 373 Apollon *Karneios*. So F. Imhoof-Blumer 'Apollon Karneios auf kyrenäischen und anderen griechischen Münzen' in the *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* 1917 xxi. 1—17 pl. 1, followed by Sir G. Macdonald in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1918—1919 p. 18 f. ('convincing').

i. 376. M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 141 pl. 78 (= my fig. 864) publishes a *phryx*-vase at Bari, which shows a visit to the oracle of Zeus *Ammon*. On a wooden platform supported by Ionic pillars sits Zeus, a dismal white-haired figure, characterized as *Ammon* by his ape-like features and the palm-tree at his side. He grips his eagle by the throttle, and turns to face his visitor—an old man with pointed *pilos* and knotted staff, who is mounting the steps to the platform. Meantime the traveller's servant, with a stick in one hand, a basket and a pail in the other, and a bundle on his back, looks longingly at the provender.

i. 379 n. 7. To the bibliography of Siwah add the well-illustrated monograph by C. D. Belgrave *Siwa: the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon* London 1923 pp. 1—310 and the remarks of S. R[einach] in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 ii. 334 f. on the Libyan rock-cut inscriptions and the Greek inscription found there by M. de Prorok.

i. 390. E. D. J. Dutilh in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 437—440 describes a small bronze coin found in the oasis, with *obv.* a ram walking to the right, *rev.* ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ an eagle on a thunderbolt to the left and a six-rayed star before it ('Nous concluons ainsi qu'il s'agit, probablement, d'une pièce frappée sous un des premiers Ptolémées à l'Oasis').

i. 395 *verveceus Iuppiter*. Cp. Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4477 (at *Aziz ben Tellis* in Numidia) d. b. s. (*dis bonis sacrum?*) | C. Aponius | Secundus sacerdos agnu domino, tauru domino, ovicula Nutrici, berbece Iovi, ovicula Teluri, agnu Herculi, agna Veneri, edu | Mercurio, i verbe, Testimonio . . . m. . . l. xv (date?) (*instrumenta ad sacrificandum*), no. 4477^a (in the same place) d. b. s. | C. C. Primus, | sac. Saturni, agnu tauru domino, ovicula Teluri, berbece | Iovo, ovicula | [Nu]trici, capone | [H]erculi, edu Merc[ur.], aedua Veneri, ber[bec]e Testimonio | (*duo animalia*) [p]ecora | . . .

i. 395 n. 2. A. H. Krappe *Mythologie universelle* Paris 1930 p. 45, accepting the etymology of *Indra* propounded by H. Güntert *Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland* Halle (Saale) 1930 p. 13 f., views the name as 'dérivé d'une forme **indro*, apparentée au slave *jedro*, "testicule," tchèque *jadro*, "moelle," au pluriel "testicules," et dont la base commune est **oid*=tumescere. Comparer aussi *oidēw* et le v. nor. *eista*, "testicule." *Indra* est donc l'homme fort, viril, comme en Scandinavie *Thorr*, qui était souvent appelé *Thorrkarl*.' The sequel in Krappe is also ad rem. But other derivations of *Indra* are noted by Walde—Pokorný *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* ii. 332, and a timely warning is sounded by Schrader *Reallex.* ii. 247^b.

i. 395 n. 3. *Ἰνπav*. Better *Ἰνπav*, as J. Keil 'Meter Hipta' showed in the *Wiener Eranos zur fünfzigsten Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Graz* 1909 Wien 1909 p. 102 f. (O. Kern on Orph. frag. 199).

i. 396 n. 1 on the snake as phallic. Cp. P. de Lancré *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais Anges et Demons* Paris 1612 p. 224 'Que le membre du Diable s'il estoit estendu est long enuiron d'une aulne, mais il le tient entortillé & sinueux en forme de serpent.' See further E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 149 ff. and M. Oldfield Howey *The Encircled Serpent* London (1926) p. 126 ff. ('The Serpent as a Phallic Emblem').



b



a

Fig. 864.

i. 401 n. 7. Cp. Prob. in Verg. *eccl.* 1 prooem. (iii. 2. 329, 1 Hagen) hircus Libyca lingua *tityrus* appellatur.

i. 404 purple-fleeced sheep. A. D. Nock in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1925—1926 p. 16 n. 3 cites G. Rohde's remarks in F. Jacoby *Klassisch-Philologische Studien* Berlin 1925 v. 60 f.

i. 404 golden-fleeced sheep. E. L. Mijatovich *Serbian Fairy Tales* London 1917 pp. 141—149 ('The golden-haired Twins') tells how the Twins became successively two trees with golden leaves and golden blossoms, two boards of a bed made from these trees, two sparks from the fire that burnt the bed, 'two beautiful lambs with golden fleeces and golden horns,' two golden-haired boys. See also S. Thompson *Motif-index of Folk-literature* (FF Communications No. 106) Helsinki 1932 i. 296 B 105. 1 'Ram with golden fleece.'

i. 405 ff. the golden lamb of Atreus. C. A. J. Hoffmann 'Ueber den goldenen Widder des Atreus' in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* 1838 v. 1122—1137, O. Immisch 'Das goldne lamm des Atreus' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1890 xvii. 202—208, A. H. Krappe 'Atreus' Lamm' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1928 lxxvii. 182—184 (citing remarkable Iranian parallels for a great ram as 'ein Symbol der Königswürde, ein Regalium' [*sic*] from the 'Geschichte des Artachšir i Pāpakān,' founder of the Sassanid dynasty (T. Nöldeke in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1879 iv. 44 f., also in Firdusi *Le Livre des Rois* trad. J. Mohl Paris 1877 v. 230 ff.)).

Ach. Tat. *isagog.* 20 in schol. Arat. ed. Maass p. 48, 14 f. Ἀτρεὺς γὰρ εὖρε τῶν πλανήτων τὴν ἐναντίαν φερόν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡλίου ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν κυλιομένου καὶ φερομένου εἰς δυσμᾶς.

i. 406 the golden lamb identified with the sceptre. Cp. Sen. *Thyest.* 228 f. tergore ex huius novi | aurata reges scepra Tantalei gerunt.

i. 414 ff. the golden ram of Phrixos. G. Goerres *Studien zur griechischen Mythologie* (*Berliner Studien für klassische Philologie und Archaeologie* x 2) Berlin 1889 i. 72—120 ('Zeus Laphystios und die Athamassage'), A. H. Krappe 'The Story of Phrixos and Modern Folklore' in *Folk-Lore* 1923 xxxiv. 141—147, *id.* 'La légende d'Athamas et de Phrixos' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1924 xxxvii. 381—389 (contents that the myth arises from the fusion of two elements—the ancient custom of sacrificing the king or the king's eldest son in time of famine, and a familiar type of *Märchen*. Krappe attempts to reconstitute the original form of the story), J. A. Scott 'The origin of the myth of the golden fleece' in *The Classical Journal* 1926—1927 xxii. 541.

i. 416 a sanctuary of Leukothea. A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1910 pp. 378—382 no. 25 fig. 9 publishes a broken *stèle* of white marble, found at Larissa in Thessaly, which shows Danae daughter of Aphthonetos on her knees before Leukothea. The goddess, seated on two blocks of stone, raises her left hand to adjust her *himetion*. In the background is seen the doorway of her circular temple. The inscription, in lettering of the early third century B.C., runs: Λευκαθέα[ι] | Δανάα | Ἀτθον[ε]ῖ[α] (sc. *ὀνέθεικεν* or the like). See further L. R. Farnell 'Ino-Leukothea' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916 xxxvi. 36—44 (a Minyan myth under Cretan-Carian influence) and J. Wackernagel 'Λευκαθέα' in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 44—46 (cj. *λευκαθεόντων* in Hes. *sc. Her.* 146 *ὀδόντων*... *λευκά θεόντων*, cp. *λευκαθίζειν* 'weiss glänzen').

i. 419 n. 5. But, according to O. Rossbach, the text of the cod. Vaticanus gives in *qua ovīs in celum ascendit* (L. Deubner in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 51^b). It is tempting to conjecture in *qua ovīs in caelum ascendit*, 'wearing which the sheep (golden ram) went up to heaven.'

i. 420 n. o. R. Dussaud 'Une épreuve subie dans un chaudron' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1909 lviii. 309, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 185.

P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1932 xlv. 228 cites R. Mouterde in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1931 pp. 141—147 an inscription from 'Ahiré in *El Leja* recording a thunderstorm and a death by lightning Ἀ(γ)αθῇ Τύχη. | ὅτε ἡ κερα(υ)ν | ο-βολία ἐγένετο κατὰ (ἀ)πὸ ἐβρώθη (F. Cumont would read *καταπεβρώθη*) | Αὔσος Ἀμ(ε)λάθου ἐτους κρ.. (120 in the era of Bostra = 225/226 A.D.).

i. 422 human 'bears.' Cp. G. C. Moore Smith 'Straw-bear Tuesday' in *Folk-Lore* 1909 xx. 202 f. with two pls., V. Alford 'The Springtime Bear in the Pyrenees' *ib.* 1930 xli. 266—279 with pls. 9 and 10, *ead.* *Pyrenean Festivals* London 1937 pp. 16—25, 62 f., 108—111, 144, 225 f., 236 with fig. opposite p. 18 ('The Bear Hunt in French Catalonia'), Will-Erich Peuckert in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 893—896 ('Der B[är] als Vegetationsdämon').

i. 423 the 'fleece of Zeus.' W. Kroll in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1905 viii Beiheft p. 39 discusses the Scythian custom recorded by Loukian. *Toxar.* 48 [with which cp. Aristot. *hist. an.* 9. 45. 630 a 22 f.]: 'So wird auch das Sitzen des Mysten auf dem Fell zu erklären sein: er schliesst einen Bund mit dem Gotte, indem er die Haut des diesem geweihten Tieres betritt.' T. Zachariae 'Auf einem Fell niedersitzen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 635—638 adds Indian parallels.



Fig. 865.

i. 423 ff. figs. 305 and 306. H. Lewy in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 198 ff. deals with the Jewish rite of *Μοροποδάρια*. A. Rumpf in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1928 xiii—xiv p. xi with fig. 173 dates the Lambert *hydria* c. 470 B.C., notes that it is now in the Czartoryski collection at Goluchow near Posen, and interprets the central figure as 'der nackte bekränzte Bräutigam, neben ihm Schwamm und Waschbecken.' But W. Kroll in *Glotta* 1936 xxv. 154 observes that the vase is better figured by K. Bulas in the *Corp. vas. ant.* Pologne, Gofuchów p. 23 f. pl. 32, 3 a, 3 b, and that the queer object under the man's left foot is in reality non-existent! As Bulas remarks: 'La prétendue peau de mouton sous le genou droit de Thésée n'est que son pied gauche mal dessiné.'

i. 424. On the mouse in religion and folklore see J. V. Grohmann *Apollo Smintheus und die Bedeutung der Mäuse in der Mythologie der Indogermanen* Prag 1862 pp. 1—87,

W. R. Dawson in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1924 x. 83—86 (the mouse as folk-medicine), *id.* 'The mouse in fable and folklore' in *Folk-Lore* 1925 xxxvi. 227—248, J. U. Powell 'Rodent-Gods in Ancient and Modern Times' *ib.* 1929 xl. 173—179, J. U. Powell and A. R. Wright *ib.* 1929 xl. 392 f., H. Mørland in the *Symbolae Osloenses* 1929 viii. 96 f. (sorex 'mouse'), Riegler 'Maus' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1934 vi. 31—60, Ohrt 'Mäusegen' *ib.* pp. 60—62.

i. 429 n. 4. A marble purse-bearing Hermes found in a Delian shop has his *phallós* tipped with a ram's head (M. Bulard *La Religion Domestique dans la Colonie Italienne de Delos* Paris 1926 p. 261, *cp. ib.* p. 483).

i. 431 Mnevis. H. Bonnet in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1924 ii—iv p. ii with fig. 48 illustrates a *stèle* of New Kingdom date at Copenhagen (Valdemar Schmidt *Choix de monuments égyptiens* pl. 163) showing the worship of Mnevis, who appears a bull-headed man with solar disk and plumes.

i. 432 Apis with tokens of sun and moon. Late Egyptian terracottas represent Apis as a bovine bust with a solar disk and *uracus* set between his horns and a lunar crescent slung round his neck. So *e.g.* on a specimen in the Whitway Collection now in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge (fig. 865).

i. 436 f. Bouchis. After a series of newspaper notices (*e.g.* in *The Daily Telegraph* for Dec. 11, 1928, *ib.* Jan. 3, 1929, *ib.* Jan. 4, 1929 (six figs.), *ib.* Feb. 27, 1929 (six figs.), *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 12, 1931) and at least one official report (R. Mond and W. B. Emery 'A Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Armant' in the *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1929 xvi. 3—12 with figs. 1—9 and pls. 1—20) a full account of the excavations at Hermonthis (Armant) has been put together by Sir R. Mond, O. H. Myers, and H. W. Fairman *The Bucheum* (Forty-first Memoir of The Egypt Exploration Society) London 1934 i The History and Archaeology of the Site (pp. 1—203), ii The Inscriptions (pp. 1—92), iii The Plates (pls. 1—173)—a work reviewed by G. Brunton in *Antiquity* 1935 ix. 250 f. and by A. H. M. Jones in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1936 xxvi. 117. See also W. W. Tarn 'The Bucheum Stelae: a Note' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1936 xxvi. 187—189.

i. 436 n. 4. In Alkaios *frag.* 35. 3 Bergk⁴, 158. 3 Edmonds, 91. 3 Diehl *ap.* Athen. 430 B—C ὁ Βόκχι and in Alkaios *frag.* 46 B. 10 Diehl *ap. pap. Oxyrh.* 1234 *frag.* 3 καὶ πρὸς Βόκχιος the ancients took Βόκχις to be an Aeolic form of Βάκχς (*et. Allen* p. 216, 47 ff.=Herodion. *περὶ παθῶν frag.* 553 (ii. 351, 9 ff. Lentz) Βόκχις δνομα Αἰολικόν. παρὰ τὸ Βάκχς Βάκχις καὶ Βόκχις ὡς ἴππος ἴππυς καὶ οἶκος Οἶκς καὶ τροπὴ τοῦ αἰὲς ὡς βάθος), *cp.* H. L. Ahrens *De Graecae linguae dialectis* Gottingae 1839 i. 78, R. Meister *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1882 i. 58 (sceptical).

i. 437 ff. Recent literature on Io includes J. C. Hoppin 'Argos, Io, and the Prometheus of Aeschylus' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1901 xii. 335—345 with pl. (*supra* p. 633 f. n. o), G. Mellén *De Ius fabula capita selecta* Upsaliae 1901 pp. 1 ff., R. Engelmann 'Die Iosage' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1903 xviii. 37—58 pl. 2 (*supra* p. 634 n. 1), L. Deubner 'Zur Iosage' in *Philologus* 1905 lxiv. 481—492 with pl., F. Jacoby 'Ἰὼ ΚΑΛΛΙΘΥΕΣΣΑ' in *Hermes* 1922 lvii. 366—374, J. Vürtheim *Aischylos' Schutzflehende* Amsterdam 1928 pp. 49—53 ('Io').

C. Sourdille 'Une théorie récente sur la formation du mythe d'Epaphos' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1912 pp. 267—276, J. Vürtheim *op. cit.* pp. 30—41 ('Epaphos').

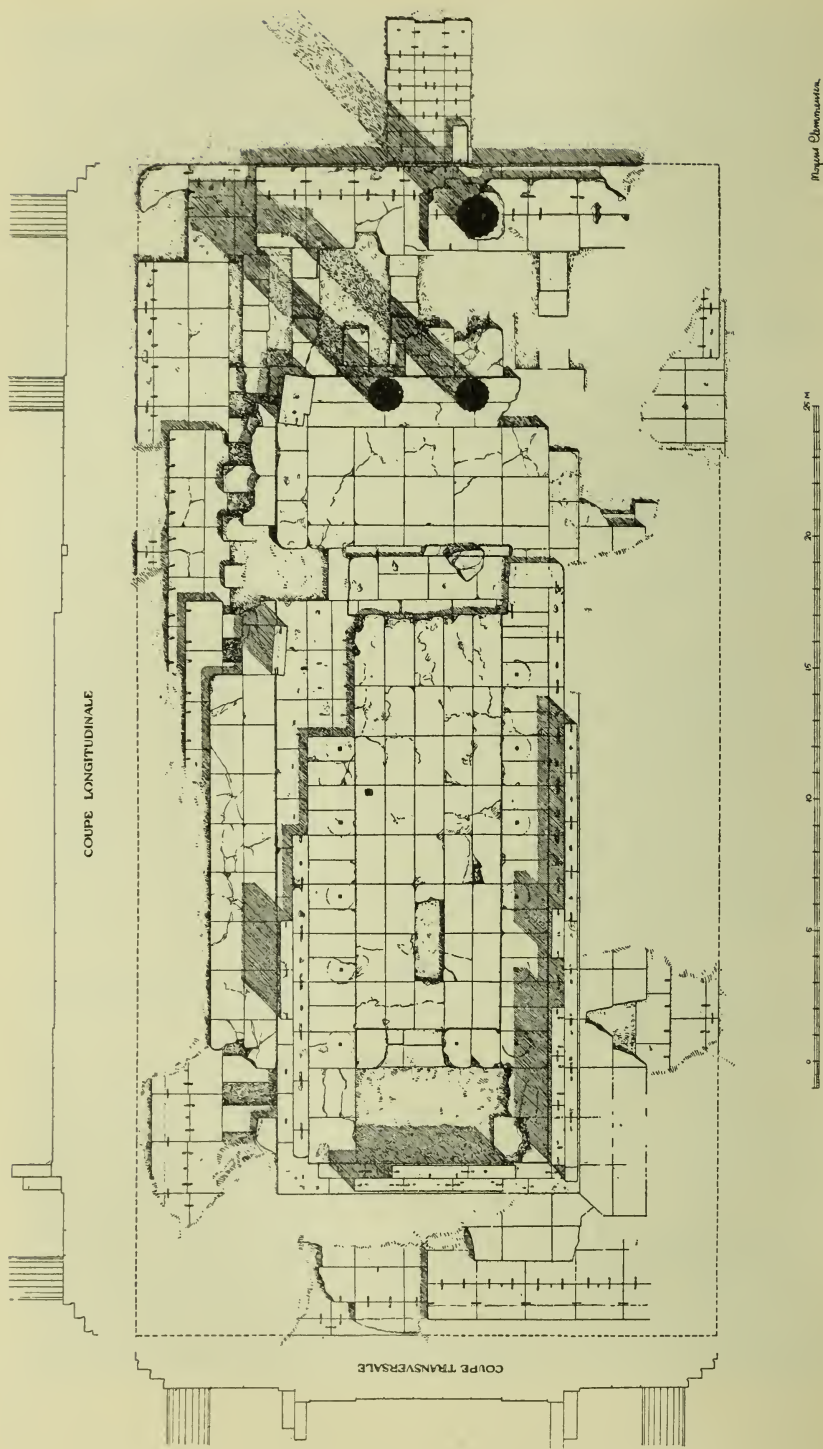
i. 438 *Bákchos* in Asia Minor. A. Götz in the *Kulturgegeschichte des alten Orients* München 1933 iii. 1. 195 notes the existence of a Lydian deity *Baki* (W. H. Buckler in *Sardis* vi. 2. 40 ff. no. 22 (pl. 9), 9 [=J. Friedrich *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* Berlin 1932 p. 117 no. 22, 9] *kavak bakillis*, 'priest of Bakis' (?), on a marble *stèle* of s. iv B.C. found in 1911 near the temple of Artemis at Sardeis), whom the Lydians themselves identified with Dionysos (see the bilingual inscription given by W. H. Buckler in *Sardis* vi. 2. 38 no. 20 (pl. 8) [=J. Friedrich *op. cit.* p. 116 no. 20] *nannas bakivalis artimul* | *Nánnas Διονυσιακλὸς Ἀρτέμιδι* on a marble statue-base found in 1913 near the temple of Artemis at Sardeis and referred to the second half of s. iv B.C.). *Cp.* also *Sardis* vi. 2. 39 no. 21 (pl. 9) an Ionic column from the same site inscribed [?] *ma[n]e[s] bakivalis man[e]lis*] *τ[α. q. ?]* [=J. Friedrich *op. cit.* p. 116 no. 21.

i. 441 ff. priests and priestesses with animal names. O. Gruppe in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1918 xli. 298 thinks that Peleïades (women dressed as doves) and Hyades (women dressed as sows) were 'alte Bezeichnungen für Zeus' Ammen.' Their *καταστερισμοί* came later. W. M. Ramsay 'Pisidian Wolf-priests, Phrygian Goat-priests, and the Old-Ionian Tribes' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1920 xl. 197—202 would interpret the Pisidian name *Gagadabos Edagadabos* with the help of Hesych. *δῶς...καὶ ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν λύκος* as 'Wolf-wolf the chief Wolf' implying 'an order of priests called Wolves,' the Phrygian

Attabokaoi with the help of ἀττηγός (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 589, 50 f., Eustath. in *Od.* p. 1625, 37 f.), *attagus* (Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 6), and Hipponax *frag.* 2 Bergk⁴, 46 Knox *ap. Tzetz. in Lyk. Al.* 425 and 741 *καύης* (W. H. Buckler—D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1913 xvii. 362 ff.), Hesych. *κοῖης· ἱερεὺς Καβείρων... οἱ δὲ κόης* as 'goat-priests,' and the Old-Ionian *Αἰγυκοεῖς* as priests wearing Athena's *aigis*. B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1922 xv. 155 ff. no. 1802 (a glossary of late second or early third century) *frag.* 3 col. ii, 29 ff. [μ]ε[λι]σαι· [αἰ] τῆς Δήμητ[ρος] ἱερεί[αι]. ἡ αὐτὴ Ἀπολλ[ωνία?] ἐν τῇ α' "ἐπ[άγου]σαν δὲ τὸν κάλαθον ταῖς Νύ[ν]φαις σὺν τῷ ἱσθῷ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς Περ[σεφόνης], ἃ μὲν παραγενέσθαι εἰς Πάρον καὶ ξενισ(τ)εῖσαν παρὰ | τῷ βασιλεῖ Μελίσσῳ χάρισσασθαι ταῖς τοῦτου θυγατρᾶσι οὖσαις ἐξή[κοντα] τὸν τῆς Φερσεφόνης ἱσθόν, καὶ πρῶταις αὐταῖς ἀναδοῦναι | τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν πάθη τε καὶ μυστήρια· ὅθεν καὶ μελίσσας ἔκτοτε | κληθῆναι τὰς θεσμοφοραζούσας (κληθῆναι) γυναῖκας." P. Clement 'New evidence for the origin of the Iphigeneia legend' in *L'Antiquité Classique* 1934 iii. 393—409 cites two Thessalian dedications to Artemis by devotees called *νεβροί* (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1123 *Δυναταί Μελανθίου Ἀρτέμιδι Παγαοτίδι νεβροῖς[α...]*, where F. Hiller von Gaertringen notes: 'An νεβ(ρ)εῖς[α]σα] ut ἀρκτηύσασα, i.e. postquam deae νεβρον [sic] nomine inservivit?' and N. I. Giannopoulos in the *Arch. Ἐφ.* 1931 p. 178 f. no. 18 fig. 1 the white marble cap-stone of a statue-base from Larisa inscribed Ἀρτέμιδι Θροσία Ἰππόλοχος Ἰππολόχειος ὑπ[έρ] | Εὐβιοτέας Ἀλεξιπείας νεβροῖς[α] | λύτρα). Clement interprets *Θροσία* as 'goddess of fertility' (*θορ- θρω- θρο- [supra i. 681 n. 4]*), derives *νεβρύν* from **νεβ-ος* a parallel of *νεβ-ρός*, and claims that the legend of Iphigeneia's sacrifice arose from the ritual of the *νέβρεια* in the cult of Artemis at Aulis—a most attractive hypothesis. F. R. Walton in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1935 xlv. 167—189, discussing the *Ichneutae* of Sophokles, contends that the chorus of Satyrs were conceived as a pack of hunting dogs, cp. Poll. 5. 10 *ἰχνευτῆς ἀνὴρ καὶ κύων* and *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1651 an inscription from the Asklepieion in the Peiraeus which ordains 3 ff. *Μαλεάτη πόπανα τρία· Ἀπόδλωνι πόπανα τρία· Ἐρμῇ πόπανα τρία· Ἰασοὶ πόπανα τρία· Ἀκεσοὶ πόπανα τρία· Παπακείαι πόπανα τρία· | Κυσὶν πόπανα τρία· Κυβνηγέται πόπανα τρία*). But it is far from certain that the *Κύνες* and *Κυνηγέται* of this inscription were human beings. G. Kaibel in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe* 1901 p. 506 points out that in Plat. *Phaon frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 674 ff. Meineke) *ap. Athen.* 441 E—442 A Orphanes, Konisalos, Lordon, Kybdasos, Keles are grouped with *Κυαί τε καὶ Κυνηγέταις* and infers that the latter, like the former, were Priapic deities. L. Ziehen in *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii. 70 ff. no. 18 after further examination concludes: 'Itaque inferos daemones *Κύνες* et *Κυνηγέταις* dici persuasum habeo' etc. C. M. Bowra *Greek Lyric Poetry* Oxford 1936 p. 43 ff. holds that Alkman's famous *parthénion* was sung at a joint festival of Dionysos and Helene. 'The *Λευκιπίδες*, led by their two leaders or *πῶλοι*, sing the song in competition with the *Πελεΐδες* before the presentation of some gift to the appropriate gods and a race at the dawn' (*ib.* p. 54). F. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 906—910 has compiled the latest and most serviceable list of these usages. But it would be possible, and profitable, to go yet further in the same direction. Many examples of mythical metamorphosis might be explained along these lines. To give but one instance—the *Κορωνίδες* of the Boeotian tale told by Ant. Lib. 25 (*ἱστορεῖ Νικάνδρος ἑτεροειδισμένων δ' καὶ Κόρυμνα γερόλων α')* and retold with variations by Ov. *met.* 13. 685 ff.

i. 447 ff. Kleobis and Biton. See also S. Eitrem 'Kleobis und Biton' in the *Christiania Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandlingar* 1905 No. 1 pp. 1—14 (criticised by L. Deubner in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Nov. 4, 1905 pp. 1402—1405), L. Weber 'Tellos, Kleobis und Biton' in *Philologus* 1926 lxxvii. 154—166.

i. 448 Zeus at Nemea. On the American excavations of 1924—1927 see C. W. Blegen 'The American excavations at Nemea, season of 1924' in *Art and Archaeology* 1925 xix. 175—184, *ib.* 1927 xxiii. 189, *id.* 'Excavations at Nemea 1926' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 421—440 figs. 1—14 (of which fig. 3 = my fig. 867), cp. M. Clemmensen 'Le temple de Zeus à Némée' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1925 xlix. 1—12 figs. 1—9 and pls. 1—2 (=my fig. 866) plan and 3—4 details of order, R. Vallois 'Remarques sur le temple de Némée' *ib.* pp. 13—20 figs. 10—14, Ernst Meyer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 2318—2322. The scanty remains of an archaic temple on the same site include blocks of *póros*, some with U-shaped lifting-holes, recut for use in the later building and a fragmentary antefix of terra cotta adorned with a polychrome palmette. A deposit of votive offerings found under the plaster of the later *temenos* yielded proto-Corinthian and Corinthian sherds, terracottas, and small bronzes. The new temple, built c. 330 B.C., was a Doric peripteral structure with 6 × 12 columns, 2 columns in the *prónaos*, but no *opisthódomos*. Inside were two rows of 6 Corinthian columns. At the western end of the *naós* 2 other columns marked off an *adyton*, which took the form of a sunken but unroofed



crypt with a flooring of white stucco (possibly of Roman date) laid some 1.98^m below the level of the *naos* and reached by a roughish flight of five steps (fig. 867); but the precise purpose of this semi-subterranean *sanctum* is unknown. The temple had a marble *simā* carved in relief with *akanthos*-work and lion-heads. Three of its lanky Doric columns are still standing. And parallel to the temple-façade are the foundations of a great sacrificial altar, prolonged at some period towards the north so that it now measures 40.58^m long by 2.42^m wide.

One or two individual finds deserve mention. A *pōros* base embedded in a wall at the west end of the Gymnasium was inscribed with a *boustrophedōn* dedication in lettering of s. vi B.C.: 'Ἀρίστis με ἀνέθηκε Δι Φρονίονι φάρακτι πανκράτιον νιφὸν τετράκis | ἐν Νεμέαι Φεῖδος Φυῖος τῷ Κλεοῦναίῳ (C. W. Blegen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 432 f. fig. 10, W. Peek in the *Ἀρχ.* 'Εφ. 1931 p. 103 f. no. 1). The inscription, which appears to be our oldest example of an agonistic epigram, was conceived as an elegiac couplet eked out by an iambic pentapody. H. N. Couch 'An Inscribed Votive Bronze Bull' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 44—47 figs. 1 and 2 publishes a solid-cast



Fig. 867.

bull (0.083^m in length, 0.070^m in height) found in 1927 near the sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea and now in the Museum of Classical Archaeology and Art at the University of Illinois. The bull bears on its left side the *pointillée* inscription ΑΛΕΑΤΙΣ | ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ. On artistic and epigraphical grounds it is assigned to the first half of the fourth century B.C.

i. 450 n. 1 'Other Authors.' See *Auth. Pal.* 3, 18 lemma.

i. 453 Io *Kallithyessa*. F. Jacoby 'ΙΩ ΚΑΛΛΙΘΥΕΣΣΑ' in *Hermes* 1922 lvii. 366—374 supports the main contention of A. Frickenhaus in *Tiryns* i. 19 ff. that there was an ancient cult of Hera at Tiryns (*supra* i. 454 n. o) against the criticisms of C. Robert in *Hermes* 1920 lv. 373 ff., but argues that the Tirynthian Io *Kallithyessa* (a Hesiodic, not Callimachean, tag) was split by Hellanikos 'Ιέπειαι τῆς Ἥρας αἱ ἐν Ἀργεὶ into two Argive figures—Kallithyia the first priestess and Io (cp. *Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 455 Jacoby).

i. 453 n. 8. On the pillar of Hera *Argela* see now P. Kastriotēs 'Ἥρας Ἀργελας ἔδαρον' in the *Ἀρχ.* 'Εφ. 1920 pp. 53—56 with figs. 1—3.

i. 456 Epimenides and the Nemean lion. G. W. Dyson in the *Class. Quart.* 1929 xxiii. 195 thinks that Epimenides perhaps claimed to be a reincarnation of the soul of the Nemean lion.

i. 457 Hera *Argela* and the Moon. A late Graeco-Roman relief in reddish marble (height 2 ft 1½ ins), found at Argos and now in London, shows a facing bust of Selene in an arched niche bearing the signs of the zodiac. The goddess has a horned moon on her head and seven stars grouped round her. Below has been added the 'Gnostic'

inscription *Ιατα · φραινφιρι · κανωθρα · λυκυσυντα · δωδεκακιστη · Σαβαωθ · αβωθερσας* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpt.* iii. 231 f. no. 2162 fig. 26 = my fig. 868, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 489, 1).

i. 461 n. 1 Zeus *Panóptes*. Anonym. *enarrat. brev. chronogr.* (dated c. 750 A.D. by K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*² München 1897 p. 424) 48 (in *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* i. 53 Preger) à propos of Julian and the bronze group at Kaisareia Paneas (*supra* p. 971 n. 1) says: *καὶ τὸ φυτόν δὲ κατέκασσε, καὶ Διὸς εἰδῶλον καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἀνατεθεικώς καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐν οἷς καὶ ναὸν οἰκοδομήσας ἐπέγραψε τάδε*: “θεῷ Διὶ Παντεπόπτῃ” Ἰουλιανὸς Πανεάδι εἰς δῶρον ἀγεί.”

i. 464 Theos Tauros. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 393 f. nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 (my fig. 321 is his no. 11 or 12) and *ib.* p. 393 n. 4 is able to cite four fresh examples of the inscription Θεοῦ | Ταύρου, making a total of six, all found at Thespiai. A gold coin of the city Pushkalāvati, with *rev.* Indian bull inscribed ΤΑΥΡΟΣ above and *Uṣabhe* below (E. J. Rapson in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 557, 587 pl. 6, 10) represents Nandi the bull of Śiva (*supra* i. 637, ii. 791 n. 2). Mosch. 2. 135 πῆ με φέρεις, θεόταυρε (*v.l.* ὦ ταῦρε); uses the compound of Zeus.



Fig. 868.

i. 469 n. 7. A. Fick ‘Asklepios und die heilschlange’ in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1900 xxvi. 313 ff. cj. *μῦθον < χαλκῆν > διώκων*, ‘playing at blindman’s buff.’

Fig. 325 is better published and discussed by Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 22, 16, ii. 108. Cp. J. H. Middleton *The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings* London 1892 p. 50 no. 23. See also Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 59 f. no. 43, 2 pl. 58 ‘*Polyeidos, Glaucos et Minos*’ with n. 5.

i. 472 ff. The Labyrinth continues to provoke discussion—witness the following monographs: R. de Launay ‘Les fallacieux détours du Labyrinthe’ in the *Rev. Arch.* 1915 ii. 114—125, 348—363, *ib.* 1916 i. 295—300, 387—398, ii. 119—128, 295—300, 413—421 (takes as his starting-point the Round Building of Early Helladic date (third millennium B.C.), some 28^m in diameter, at Tiryns (K. Müller in *Tiryns* iii. 80 ff. pls. 5, 29, 30), which appears to have been the earliest palace (Müller *loc. cit.* p. 87, G. Karo in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 1455)). E. Hommel ‘Zur Geschichte des Labyrinths’ in the *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung* 1919 xxii. 63—68 (holds that the maze-form in Crete and on Babylonian tablets represents the internal organs of man’s body. On which showing the Labyrinth is ‘a microcosm of the earth and a macrocosm of the human anatomy’ (W. F. J. Knight in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlv. 105)). H. Diels ‘Das Labyrinth’ in the *Festgabe A. v. Harnack* Tübingen 1921 pp. 61—72. W. H. Matthews *Mazes and Labyrinths* London 1922 pp. 1—254 (well illustrated). A. Piganiol *Recherches sur les jeux romains* Strasbourg 1923 p. 103 (le *ludus Troiae*). Humborg in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 312—321, G. Karo *ib.* 321—323, H. Kees *ib.* 323—326. R. Winter ‘Das Labyrinth in Tanz und Spiel’ in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft*

und Jugendbildung 1929 v. 707—720 figs. 1—6 ('Es ist hier versucht worden, Verbindungs-linien zwischen dem Süden und dem Norden Europas im Altertum nachzuweisen'). W. F. J. Knight 'Vergil and the Maze' in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 212 f., *id.* 'Maze Symbolism and the Trojan Game' in *Antiquity* 1932 vi. 445—458, *id.* 'Myth and Legend at Troy' in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlv. 98—121. R. Eilmann *Labyrinthos* Athen 1931 pp. 1—106 with figs. 1—25 (p. 12 criticises my contention (*supra* i. 476 f.) that the Cnossian coin-types originated in a *swastika*). C. N. Deedes *The Labyrinth* ed. by S. H. Hooke London 1935 pp. 1—42 (thinks that in Egypt the Labyrinth originated in the baffling defences of the royal tomb or, later, of the royal palace). J. Layard 'Maze-Dances and the Ritual of the Labyrinth in Malekula' [an island of the New Hebrides] in *Folk-Lore* 1936 xlvii. 123—170 (the Labyrinth provides a clue to the journey of the soul after death), *id. ib.* p. 170 'the horned dancers of Abbots Bromley are thus seen to be not far removed from the bull-headed Minotaur,' *id. ib.* 1937 xlviii. 115—182 'Labyrinth Ritual in South India: Threshold and Tattoo Designs.'

i. 481 the Labyrinth at Taormina. By a curious coincidence a square mosaic representing the Labyrinth, with battlements all round, angle-towers, and a gateway, has actually come to light at Taormina (P. Orsi in the *Not. Scavi* 1920 p. 340 ff. figs. 26—29).

i. 481 the Labyrinth-dance at Delos. The Delian dance had ropes (*ῥυμολ*) to guide the dancers (I. R. Arnold in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 455 [F. Dürbach *Inscriptions de Délos* Paris 1926 ii. 77 ff. no. 316, 75 ff.]).

i. 482 n. 1 the altar of horns at Delos. See further É. Cahen 'L'autel de cornes et l'hymne à Délos de Callimaque' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1923 xxxvi. 14—25 ('il est peut-être difficile de voir dans le *Kératôn* l'autel principale du culte apollinien à Délos. Ce sera plutôt, à côté du *βαμύς* centre de la liturgie officielle, comme un autel très antique, où s'attachaient les souvenirs les plus vénérables de la religion délienne, avec les rites primitifs de la *γέρανος*, de la *διαμαστίγωσις*, d'autres encore' [Kallim. *h. Del.* 300—324, Hesych. s.v. *Δηλιακὸς βαμύς*]), R. Vallois 'Topographie délienne. i. L'Artémision, le Monument des Hyperboréennes, l'Olivier sacré et le *Kératôn*' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 411—445.

The archaic temple of Dreros, built for Apollon *Delphínios* (*supra* i. 729 n. 2) early in s. viii B.C., was perhaps half a century later furnished with an altar of unusual form. A hollow structure of vertical slabs set against the back wall was covered by a wooden (?) lid with a circular hole in it (0·15^m across), which itself was closed by a carefully rounded potsherd. On this box-altar stood three statuettes of hammered bronze (one male, two smaller female) together with two small iron knives: within it were numerous horns (mostly left horns) of young goats—clearly a *keratôn* comparable with that of Delos (*supra* i. 482) (S. Marinatos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1936 lx. 224 f., 241—244 figs. 17, 18, pls. 26, 27, *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1936 li Arch. Anz. pp. 215—222 and 227 with figs. 1—4).

i. 483 *swastika* and maeander. A. S. Georgiades in the *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1914 p. 195 pl. 5 figs. 1, 2, *ib.* 1915 p. 94 fig. 1 publishes a fine *swastika*-pattern, which he calls the '*Ἐπερικὸς μαλανδρὸς*,' from the monastery of S. George at Eretria.

i. 485 Theseus and the Minotaur as central panel of the Labyrinth. C. Bursian *Aventicum Helvetiorum* Fünftes Heft Zürich 1870 (= *Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* xvi. Abth. 1. Heft 5) p. 58 pl. 29 publishes a handsome mosaic, found in 1830 at Cormerod in the canton of Freiburg and now in the Freiburg Museum: the design shows a Labyrinth with towers at the angles and Theseus with the Minotaur in the centre.

i. 490 ff. the Minotaur. Materials bearing on this vexed problem may be here assembled. Sir J. Marshall *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* Part I, 1913—14 Calcutta 1915 p. 25 f. pl. 23 fig. c publishes an enamelled terra-cotta relief, found by M. Duroiselle in the ruins of the Shwegugyi pagoda in Burma (s. v. A.D.), showing among the subjects that relate to Buddha's fight with Mara two bull-headed beings with human bodies and limbs, nude except for a loin-cloth. The type is suggestive of the Greek Minotaur.

F. Quilling *Minotauros. Der Veredarienstein im Saalburgmuseum* Leipzig 1919 pp. 1—40 (severely criticised by E. Anthes in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* April 3, 1920 pp. 322—326).

Prof. Max Semper of Aachen, in a letter to me dated Dec. 14, 1926, maintains that there is no convincing representation of the Minotaur in 'Minoan' or Mycenaean art, and that the seal-impression always cited as such would never have been so understood had not the wish been father to the thought. He holds that the mixed creatures of human + animal type, which occur first in the 'Late Minoan' age, are due to the impact of

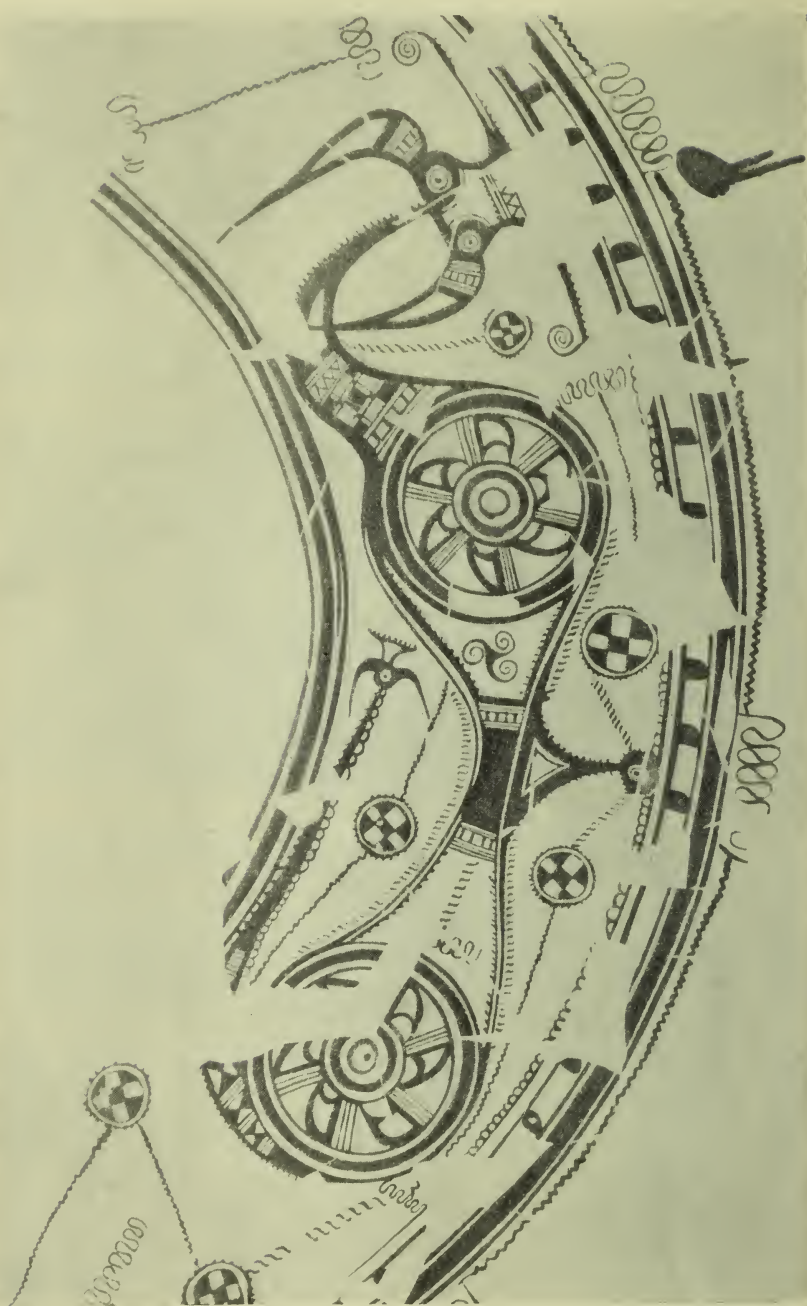


Fig. 869.



Fig. 870.



Fig. 871.

Caucasian immigration and a change in the ruling race. Such *Mischwesen* had long been known to the peoples of the eastern Pontos and may well have been introduced as a novel *motif* into 'Minoan' art by the victors. Semper surmises that the Minotaur was first discovered by the Hellenes, probably to represent some traditional 'Minoan' word, whose true sound and sense remain obscure. He notes that the legend of the Minotaur is known from Greek sources only and involves an element of sex (*τεπὸς γάμος*), which points to the presence of a non-'Minoan' factor in the population of Crete. This factor he regards as 'urägaïschen' and believes to have been racially connected with Asia Minor, whereas the genuine founders of the 'Minoan' civilisation were a Mediterranean folk racially akin to the Libyans.

Eva Fiesel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 270 f. comments on a bronze Etruscan mirror (F. Borie 'La mort du Minotaure' in the *École française de Rome. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 1898 xviii. 51—63 pl. 1—2), which shows not only Minos, Athena, Ariadne, and Herakles (*mine, menrva, ariaba, hercle*), but also the bull-headed Minotaur (*θεεrumines*). P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1931 xix. 216 had pointed out that this Etruscan compound was the equivalent of [Ta]ῖπος Μινώιος on a 'Chalcidian' *hydria* from Caere (*Cervetri*) [Louvre F 18, best published by A. Rumpf *Chalkidische Vasen* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 13 no. 12, 175 fig. 3 pl. 26].

A. Schulten *Numantia* München 1931 ii. 213 notes the prevalence of the bull-cult throughout Iberia. *Id. ib.* ii. 262 f. pls. 24 and 25 (= my fig. 869) gives the black painted decoration of a red pottery *dolium*, which in a highly stylized geometric manner (A. del Castillo in Ebert *Reallex.* ix. 138) renders a couple of bulls. *Id. ib.* ii. 257 pl. 16 (= my figs. 870 and 871) shows the designs on a polychrome jug, which represents two male dancers wearing bulls' horns on their arms and bulls' hoofs (?) on their feet. The dance may be that mentioned by Strab. 164 as celebrated by night *ἀνδρώμεν τῷ θεῷ*. In any case the previous existence of such a bull-cult in Spain explains in part the age-long popularity of the Spanish bull-fights. See further V. Alford *Pyrenean Festivals* London 1937 p. 193 f. on the Basque *Toro de Fuego* or 'Fire Bull' ('probably... a form of bull devotion, separate from, though existing side by side, with the *corrida* or bullfight').

T. L. Shear in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 540 fig. 1 (J. Charbonneaux in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1935 xlviii. 83 fig. 2) publishes a gold ring from a Mycenaean tomb found near the 'Theseion' at Athens: 'The scene represented on the ring is of unusual interest. On the right a man is striding to the right. He has the head of an animal with long ears or short horns. In one hand he carries a branch or spear, and with the other holds the end of a double cord, which is attached to the waist of the foremost of two women behind him. The women have veiled heads, high ruffs around their necks, and pleated skirts. On the extreme left is a sacred pillar, and a small object resembling a bird or butterfly appears in the background above the figures. A group consisting of a bull-headed man who is leading two captive women recalls the legend of the Minotaur and the Athenian maidens. The new discovery in Athens may illustrate an early version of the later familiar myth.' But Shear's interpretation of the scene is far from certain.

E. Sjöqvist in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 344—347 fig. 11 gives the upper part of a terra-cotta statuette from *Aija Irini* in Kypros, which portrays a priest wearing a bull's mask drawn over his head. Sjöqvist cites analogous figures and concludes: 'Es scheint daher, als ob die Tiermaskenverkleidung eine rituelle Tracht wäre, besonders mit zereemoniellen Prozessionen und Tänzen verknüpft. Es ist sicher kein Zufall, dass die mit Sicherheit bestimmbar Priestermasken Stierköpfe sind. Die Reminiszenzen in Aija Irini von einem ursprünglichen Stiergott sind sicher noch lebendig gewesen, und der Stier war sein heiliges Tier und sein Symbol, auf gleiche Art, wie es mit Hadad in Syrien und seinem Gegenstück in Anatolien der Fall war. Indem der Priester sein Bild anlegte, ging er eine greifbare Vereinigung mit der Gottheit ein, auf gleiche Art wie Demeters Priester in Pheneos bei gewissen Kultakten die Maske der Göttin anlegte [*supra* ii. 1136 n. 4]. Der Brauch hat bereits während der Bronzezeit eine grosse Verbreitung auf Cypern und innerhalb des syro-hettitischen Kulturgebietes gehabt und scheint sporadisch auch in dem minoisch-mykenischen Kreise spürbar zu sein.'

With this conclusion I have long been in substantial agreement (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 120—132 ('The Cult of the Bull')). It would, I conceive, be true to say that all round the shores of the Mediterranean in early times the thunder-god was envisaged as a bellowing bull, whose human representative, the king or priest, identified himself with the deity by donning a bull-mask or at least by wearing bull-horns. Even Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah, when he claimed to speak in the name of the Lord, 'made him horns of iron' (1 Kings 22. 11).

i. 497 ff. 'Minoan' Bull-fights. Sir A. J. Evans in *Archaeologia* 1914 lxx. 90 f. fig. 96 illustrates a couple of *rhyta* from 'Early Minoan' ossuaries in the Messara, Crete, showing bulls with acrobatic performers ('the earliest record of these sports'). W. Crooke 'Bull-

baiting, Bull-racing, Bull-fights' in *Folk-Lore* 1917 xxviii. 141—163 discusses the subject with many parallels from India, Nigeria, etc. Ella Bourne 'Ancient Bull-fights' in *Art and Archaeology* 1917 v. 142—153 cites *inter alia* fig. 9 a marble relief from Smyrna, now at Oxford, inscribed ΤΑΥΡΟΚΑΘΑΪΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΑ Ϝ Β (R. Chandler *Marmora Oxoniensia* Oxonii 1763 ii. 105 no. 58 pl. 8, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 526 no. 1. Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 257 f. fig. 9, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3212) and a similar marble relief from Sardeis inscribed [ΤΑΥΡΟΚΑΘΑΪΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΝΗΓΙΩΝ?] ΗΜΕΡΑΣ Γ (H. C. Butler in *Sardis* i. 1. 95 fig. 96, W. H. Buckler—D. M. Robinson *ib.* vii. 1. 88 f. no. 82 fig. 69), with which cp. a relief found west of the theatre at Ephesos (R. Heberdey in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1899 ii Beiblatt p. 46 fig. 12) and an inscription from the Ephesian stage Μ[η]ρόφιλος Μνηοφίλου τὸ κλισίον | καὶ τὸ πε[ρ]ὶ αὐτὸ τοῖς Ταυρεασταῖς τοῖς Κρεοντέλοις (*id.* in *Forschungen in Ephesos* Wien 1912 ii. 182 no. 75). Sir A. J. Evans 'On a Minoan Bronze Group of a Galloping Bull and Acrobatic Figure from Crete' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 247—259 figs. 1—12. *Id.* *The Palace of Minos* London 1936 Index p. 21 s.v. 'Bull-sports.' Ziehen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v A. 24—27 (concluding with some friendly criticism of my own views).

i. 500. On the horn-bearing woman of Laussel see now M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*³ Wien 1925 p. 166 fig. 2, p. 167 fig. 1, p. 601 ff., R. de Saint-Périer *L'art préhistorique (Époque paléolithique)* Paris 1932 p. 29 pl. 8, 4.

i. 500. On the significance of the drinking-horn see H. Thiersch 'Kretische Hornbecher' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1913 xvi. 78—85 figs. 30—45 (p. 83 f. 'Die Vorstellung, dass das Trinken aus solchem Horne überirdische Kräfte verleihe, ist ja nur die weitere Konsequenz des ganz allgemein verbreiteten Gedankens, dass die Kraft des Tieres auch noch in dem von ihm abgetrennten Horne weiterlebe, dass dieses darum auch zur Abwehr allerlei dämonischer Angriffe in hohem Masse geeignet sei').

i. 503 f. bull-carrying. Cp. L. Ziehen in *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii. 49 ff. no. 12, 30 ff. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 84, 30 ff. (an Athenian decree of 421/0 B.C.) τὸς δ' ἐβ[ο]ῦ[ς] ἐχέσεναι αὐτοῖς σ[τ]ήν[η]ν γοῦσ[ιν] αἰρεσθαι πρὸς τὸν βομὸν· ἡοῖτω[ς] δὲ ἀρόνται τὸς βοὺς ἐφέβος ἡο[ι] | ἡεροποιοῖ[ν] ἡαιρέσθον· διακοσίος ἐχ[ς] Ἀθε[ν]αίων and *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 467, 10 f. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 1 no. 1028, 10 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 610, 10 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 717, 10 f. (an Athenian decree of 100/99 B.C.) ἥσαντο δὲ καὶ τοῖς μυστηρίοις τοὺς βοὺς | ἐν Ἐλευσίνι τῇ θυσιᾷ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβουθύησαν ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ with the notes of Ziehen and Dittenberger *ad loc.* See also E. Maass s.v. βοάσαι in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 222 f., L. Ziehen 'Zum Opferritus' in *Hermes* 1931 lxvi. 227—234, and F. Cumont in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1937 xxvii. 67 n. 20.

R. C. Bosanquet drew my attention (7 June 1915) to Hesych. Γάνδαρος· ὁ ταυροκράτης, παρ' Ἰνδοῖς. The reference is apparently to the Graeco-Buddhist art of ancient Gandhara in north-western India.

i. 506 ff. Ritual Horns. In addition to the important articles of I. Scheftelowitz 'Das Hörermotiv in den Religionen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 451—487 (*ib.* p. 473 f. 'Hörner am Altar als Symbol der Heiligkeit') and J. A. MacCulloch 'Horns' in J. Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 791^b—796^a (p. 794^b 'conventional representations of an earlier βουκράνιον') consult W. Gaerte 'Die Bedeutung der kretisch-minoischen Horns of Consecration' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1922 xxi. 72—98 (starting from P. E. Newberry's Egyptian hieroglyph of a desert mountain (*supra* ii. 555 n. o, cp. 545 n. o), Gaerte p. 82 takes the Cretan horns to be 'die Kultsymbole der in Kreta zu jener Zeit verehrten grossen Erdgöttin, einer der kleinasiatischen *Magna Mater* und der griechischen Rhea verwandten Gestalt') and H. Sjövall 'Zur Bedeutung der altkretischen Horns of Consecration' *ib.* 1925 xxiii. 185—192 pls. 1 and 2 (Sjövall connects the Cretan horns with the 'Mondbilder' of north-European art (*supra* i. 507), which he regards as andirons). See also G. Karo in Ebert *Reallex.* v. 392 ('eine reine Schmuckform'), A. E. Napp *Bukranion und Guirlande. Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der hellenistischen und römischen Dekorationskunst* Wertheim a. M. 1933 pp. 1—49, W. Deonna 'Mobilier délien ii ΒΩΜΟΙ ΚΕΡΑΟΤΧΟΙ' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1934 pp. 381—447 figs. 1—53.

i. 514 bees from bulls. A. E. Shipley 'The "Bugonia" myth' in the *Journal of Philology* 1915 xxxiv. 97—105 endorses the view of C. R. Osten Sacken *On the Oxen-born bees of the Ancients* Heidelberg 1894 pp. 1—80 that the honey-bee (*apis mellifica*) was confused with the drone-fly (*eristalis tenax*), which superficially resembles the honey-bee and is often found in a stray carcase or in rotting vegetation.

i. 518 ff. the altar as object of cult. See further E. Maass 'Bomos und Verwandtes'

in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 227 n. 4, and cp. the mediaeval use of *Deus* 'pro ipso altari ubi Dominicum Corpus asservatur' (Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat.* ii. 829 s.v. 'DEVS').

R. Kittel in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* 1925 xlv. 123—153 deals at large with the transformation of sacred places or objects into deities (*Qadesh* 'sanctuary,' *Ashera* 'sacred post,' *Hamman* 'pillar')—summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 487.

i. 521 ff. The Marriage of the Sun and the Moon in Crete. S. Eitrem 'Zur Apotheose iv. Die heilige Ehe' in *Symbolae Osloenses* 1932 xi. 11—21 deals with 'Die Theogamie des Herrscherkultus,' points out that Caligula as *ὁ νέος Ἥλιος* (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 798, 3 Kyzikos) married the Moon (Suet. *Calig.* 22, Dion Cass. 59. 27), and does not scout the hypothesis of 'eine althellenische Theogamie, zwischen Sonne und Mond vollzogen' (p. 18 n. 1).

i. 522 f. the wooden cow. Suet. *Ner.* 12 inter pyrricharum argumenta taurus Pasi-pham ligneo iuvencae simulacro abditam iniit, ut multi spectantium crediderunt.

Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Taboo p. 113 (Hindus born again by being enclosed in the golden image of a cow and dragged through the usual channel or, failing that, through an image of the sacred *Yoni*).

Lady Sterry, wife of Sir Wasey Sterry, kindly sent me the following note (Aug. 21, 1931): 'According to the Christians of the Lebanon, the Druses have a sacred calf used in their worship. The calf is said to be made of wood hollowed out inside, and at one of their feasts cakes and sweetmeats are passed through the calf, which are considered blessed and are distributed to their friends, not necessarily only to Druses. The calf is said to be kept in their place of worship, which is open only to the initiated, and women are not allowed to be initiated.'

i. 525 the cult of *Hellotis*. C. W. Vollgraff in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1919 xlvii. 162 no. 7 publishes a squared block of limestone, found at Argos, which is inscribed in lettering of s. v B.C. *ορος : ηελλωτιο*, that is *ὄρος Ἑλλωτίου*, and infers that the Cretan goddess *Ἑλλωτίς* must have had a shrine *Ἑλλώτιον* near the road to Mantinea.

A. Lesky 'Hellos—Hellotis' in the *Wiener Studien* 1926/27 xlv. 152—173, *ib.* 1928 xlv. 48—67 and 107—129 would recognise a *ἱερὸς γάμος* between the earth-goddess Europa, who in Crete was originally named Hellotis, and the sky-god Zeus, who in pre-Greek times had the form of a bull. Lesky finds traces of the same beliefs at Dodona in the Helloi and their eponym Hellos (cp. Hellas, Hellenes, etc.), also at Corinth and Marathon in Athena *Hellotis*, and less certainly in Helle of the Hellespont.

i. 530 n. 2. O. Könnicke in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1914 lxix. 547—551 discusses the golden basket of Europe (Mosch. 2. 37 ff.) viewing it as Moschos' attempt to outshine the wooden bowl of Thyriss (Theokr. 1. 27 ff.).

i. 531 n. 3. On the name *Εὐρώπη* see also W. Aly in *Glotta* 1913 v. 63—74, who connects it with *εὐρός, εὐρώεις, εὐρώδης, εὐρωπός* (e.g. Eur. *I. T.* 626, Opp. *de pisc.* 3. 20) in the sense of 'dark' (Hesych. s.v. *εὐρώεντα, εὐρωπών*, Soud. s.v. *εὐρώεις*, schol. *Od.* 23. 322, schol. Soph. *At.* 1190), and concludes: 'so stammt der Name, wie seine Bildung zeigt, aus jener Schicht, die zutage tritt, wenn wir Thessalien mit Arkadien vergleichen, ein Resultat, das für die Einordnung der Göttin zeitlich und räumlich bedeutsam sein dürfte. Neben Europe in Böotien und Europe in Sekyon finden wir nun erstere auch in Kreta und zwar genau in dem Teil der Insel, wo in Gortyn neben peloponnesischem Einfluss auch unmittelbar thessalischer bereits anderweitig nachgewiesen ist.'

i. 534 n. 2. A. von Sallet 'Die Umschrift der Europa auf Silbermünzen von Gortyna' in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1879 vi. 263 ff. (Mt Tityron), J. N. Svoronos 'The inscription *Τίσυροι* on coins of Gortyna' in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1887 vii. 126 ff. (an ethnic = *Γορτυνίοι*, cp. *Καρτεμυίδες* (*supra* i. 471) and *Κορύσσιοι* (Hesych. *Κορύσσιοι οἱ Γορτυνίοι*)), A. Skias '*Τίσυρος, Κρητική πόλις*' in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1891 p. 191 f. (citing schol. Theokr. 3. 2 (*supra* i. 534 n. 2)).

i. 536 fig. 407. With the type of Epiktesis in the relief from Loukou cp. that of Salus on a *sestertius* struck by Commodus in 184 A.D. (H. Mattingly—E. A. Sydenham *The Roman Imperial Coinage* London 1930 iii. 416 no. 439 pl. 16, 328: Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 713, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 300 fig. 3).

i. 542 n. 5. See now Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 921 ff. no. 1478 pl. 246, 22 London and no. 1479 pl. 246, 23. The reverse of the latter is inscribed *ΧΕΡΣΟΝΑΣΙ[ON]*. Babelon comments: 'La belle tête de Zeus *Κρηταγενής*...est inspirée de celle du Zeus 'Olympie sur les statères d'Elis....'

i. 549 ff. Ba'albek and its cults. The official record of the German excavations has now been published in three stately volumes—T. Wiegand *Baalbek*. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1878 bis 1905. Vol. i by B. Schulz and H. Winnefeld with the assistance of O. Puchstein, D. Krencker, H. Kohl, G. Schumacher. Berlin—Leipzig 1921. Vol. ii by D. Krencker, T. von Lüpke, and H. Winnefeld with the assistance of O. Puchstein, B. Schulz. Berlin—Leipzig 1923. Vol. iii by H. Kohl, D. Krencker, O. Reuther, F. Sarre, and M. Sobernheim. Berlin—Leipzig 1925.

See also Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 396 f., F. Cumont 'Le Jupiter héliopolitain et les divinités des planètes' in *Syria* 1921 ii. 40—46, *id.* 'À quels dieux étaient consacrés les temples de Baalbek?' *ib.* 1925 vi. 202, H. Thiersch 'Zu den Tempeln und zur Basilika von Baalbek' in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe* 1925 p. 1 ff. (assigns the smaller temple to the Syrian *Magna Mater*), U. Wilcken 'Zu den



Fig. 872.



Fig. 873.

"Syrischen Göttern" in the *Festgabe für Adolf Deissmann zum 60. Geburtstag* 7. November 1926 Tübingen 1927 pp. 1—19, H. Seyrig in *Litteris* 1928 pp. 165—179 (assigns the smaller temple to Hermes assimilated to the Semitic Gennaïos), *id.* 'La Triade Héliopolitaine et les Temples de Baalbek' in *Syria* 1929 x. 314—356 with pls. 82—86 (p. 346 n. 6 denies the solarly of Iupiter *Heliopolitanus*), D. Krencker in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xlv Arch. Anz. pp. 169—181 figs. 1—7 (discusses the successive phases in the construction of the temple of Zeus), and cp. M. Rostovtzeff 'Hadad and Atargatis at Palmyra' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 58—63 with pl. 9, 1—10 (clay *tesserae* etc.).

i. 551 n. 2. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi. 4 no. 36803.

i. 567 ff. Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* and the Bull. R. Dussaud 'Heliopolitanus' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 50—57. Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* iii. 31 ff. no. 829 fig. (= my fig. 872) publishes a small altar (height 0.65^m), of local limestone, from *Niha* a village of Lebanon at the foot of *Djebel Sannin*, which shows the god holding whip and corn-ears, with a *pólos* on his head, a necklace with central medallion on his chest, and stiff drapery with six four-leaved rosettes arranged in panels. He stands on a pedestal, the front of which has a goddess in a niche. And he is flanked by two bulls. Mendel *ib.* iii. 613 ff. no. 1404 fig. (= my fig. 873) adds a statuette (height 0.76^m), of local limestone, from *Soukhné* to the north-east of Palmyra, which shows a similar type with even richer decoration. On the breast is engraved the god himself, flanked by Helios and Men: on the abdomen, Hera or Demeter, flanked by Athena and Hermes(?). On the base is inscribed in lettering of s. ii—iii A.D. *I(ovs) • O(ptimo) • M(aximo) • H(eliopolitano) | Sex(tus) • Rasius • Proculus • praef(ectus) • coh(ortis) • II • Thrac(um) • v(otum) p(osuit)*. But



Fig. 874.



Fig. 875.

the most important monument of the cult yet found is the idol of gilded bronze (height 0.384^m) from Ba'albek itself, slashed and broken by some fanatic but skilfully repaired by M. André for the Charles Sursock collection and admirably published by R. Dussaud in *Syria* 1920 i. 3—15 pls. 1—4 (of which 1 and 2 = my figs. 874 and 875), S. N. Deane in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1921 xxv. 94 fig. 2, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* v. 10 no. 5, *The Illustrated London News* for May 2, 1931 p. 743. The bronze, which may be dated c. 150 A.D., represents the god as he stood with his usual attributes, wearing a *kálathos* (of interlaced reeds?) decked with four corn-ears and a disk between globules perhaps meant for schematized *uraci*, a long *chiton* with short sleeves, and a cuirass-like sheath with numerous reliefs (on the chest, a winged disk; below, seven busts—Helios and Selene, Athena and Hermes, Zeus and Hera, Kronos; and above the feet a lion-head for Gennaïos (*supra* p. 888): behind, another winged disk, an eagle, two rams'-heads to suggest Zeus *Ammon*, six four-leaved rosettes or stars of diminishing size: at the sides, two elongated thunderbolts). The whole figure is erect on a cubical plinth adorned with a relief of Tyche (turreted crown, rudder, *cornu copiae*). And the plinth, flanked by a pair of young bulls, rests on a larger base, which is pierced with a circular opening (c. 0.073^m across)—possibly a letter-box for the *codicilli* of persons consulting the god (Macrob. *Sat.* i. 23. 14 ff. (*supra* i. 552 f.)). See further R. Cagnat in *Syria* 1924 v. 108 ff. and S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 pp. 15, 141 n. 4, 187, 218—222 pl. 39, 1.

The biggest harvest of fresh facts bearing on the Ba'albek cults is, however, that garnered in the posthumous work of Sébastien Ronzevalle *Jupiter Héliopolitain, Nova et Vetera* (Notes et Études d'Archéologie Orientale. Troisième Série, ii) in the *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* xxi, i Beyrouth 1937 pp. 1—181 with 17 figs. and 51 pls. (reviewed by F. R. Walton in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1938 xlii. 435 f.). This monograph publishes a mass of new or little known material, including altars, *stélai*, engraved gems, lead seals, bronze rings, etc. In particular it furnishes a full account of the rock-cut relief in the quarry at Ferzol (pp. 29—71) and of the carved octagonal altar at Fikî or Fâkyé on the west slope of Antilibanos (pp. 87—129). Incidentally it discusses many, if not most, of the associated deities of Koile Syria. And it ends (p. 138 f.) by laying stress on the symbolic corn-ears of Ba'albek (*supra* i. 558, 569, 572, iii. 1093): 'C'est dans cet épi que se concentre finalement toute l'essence de la religion héliopolitaine sous l'empire romain. Issue de la triade familiale [*supra* i. 553 f. Hadad, Atargatis, Seimios] groupée autour du grand dieu syrien du tonnerre et de la pluie, Hadad, cette religion devint progressivement celle du *dieu du Ciel*, B'el-Samîn, embrassant dans ses flancs les traits qui, dès l'époque hellénistique, méritèrent à Ba'albek la dénomination d'Héliopolis, et firent d'elle avec le temps le centre coelésyrien de tous les cultes solaires de l'époque romaine. Tout se résolvait pratiquement dans l'adoration de l'astre brillant du jour, dans ses fonctions de dispensateur de vie et de prospérité agraire, telles qu'elles nous sont résumées dans l'image récemment découverte à Doura du B'el-Samîn—*Zeûs theôs*, image par laquelle je mets fin à toute cette étude (pl. XLII)' [M. Rostovtzeff *Dura-Europos and its Art* Oxford 1938 p. 63 f. pl. 11, 1 'Bas-relief of Zeus Kyrios,' p. 68 ff. pl. 13 'Painted decoration of the *cella* of the temple of Zeus Theos. (Restoration by F. Brown);' *The Excavations at Dura-Europos* Prelim. Report vii—viii. Yale Univ. Press 1939, pp. 180 ff. (The Temple of Zeus Theos), 284 ff. (The Temple of Zeus Kyrios)].

i. 571 n. 2 leonine gods. At *Bir-Derbal* near *Ghardimaou* in Tunisia a Punico-Roman sanctuary containing a dedicatory inscription to Saturn was found; also other rustic sanctuaries of s. ii A.D., which could boast life-size statues of terracotta and many statuettes. One life-size head had the face of a lioness wearing fillets and is thought to have represented the *Genius Terrae Africae* (L. Carton 'Note sur des édicules renfermant des statues en terre cuite, découverts dans la région de Ghardimaou (Tunisie)' in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1918 pp. 338—347, W. N. Bates in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1919 xxiii. 320), because a *denarius* issued by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio in 47—46 B.C. shows Sekhet with leonine head, disk, and *ankh* accompanied by the legend Γ·Τ·Α (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 280 no. 51 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 572 no. 8 pl. 121, 4 and no. 9 (*Genius Tutelarîs Africae* or *Genius Totius Africae*?).

i. 581 the golden thunderbolt of Adad. Cp. Liv. 22. 1 (when prodigies occurred in 217 B.C.) *decemvirorum moniti decretum est, Iovi primum donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret*, etc. Aristoph. *av.* 1750 (*supra* p. 59).

A magnificent relief in basalt from *Arslan-Tash*, dating from the reign of Tiglath-pileser iii (746—727 B.C.), shows Adad, with a double three-pronged thunderbolt in either hand, standing on the back and head of a bull as he advances rapidly from left to right (*L'art de la Mésopotamie ancienne au Musée du Louvre* Paris 1936 v. 300 fig. A).

i. 586 Atargatis with her lions. R. Dussaud 'Patère de bronze de Tafas' in *Syria* 1924 v. 212—215 with pl. 54, 1 and 2 (E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 342) describes a bronze *patèra* of Roman date, found at *Tafas* in the *Hauran* but later stolen from the Mohammedan Museum at Damaskos. The central relief shows a



Fig. 876.

lion standing in front of a column on which is an image of Priapos. The lion rests his forepaw on a *scabellum* (?). At the left is a musician playing the double flutes; at the right, a woman with a timbrel, towards whom the lion turns his head. Dussaud thinks that the lion of Atargatis prefers the native timbrel to the foreign flutes!

i. 586 figs. 448 and 449. See further A. L. Frothingham in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 204—211 fig. 40.

i. 590 fig. 450. See now *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Arabia* etc. pp. xxxii, 28 pl. 4, 15 and 16.

N. Glueck in *The Illustrated London News* for Aug. 21, 1937 p. 298 ff. publishes finds from a Nabataean temple known as *Khirbet et-Tannur* and situated on a hill in southern Transjordan, directly south of the *Wadi el-Hesa* (the 'brook Zered' of Deut. 2. 13, cp. Num. 21. 12). Excavations in March 1937 yielded bearded heads probably representing Zeus (Adad) (p. 298 fig. 3, p. 299 fig. 11); a relief of Zeus (Adad) enthroned between two young bulls, his neck encircled by a lion-headed torque, his right hand raised perhaps to hold a double axe, his left hand grasping the bull's ear and partly concealed by a conspicuous thunderbolt (p. 299 fig. 15 = my fig. 876 from a photograph kindly supplied by Mr Glueck); an incense-altar with reliefs of Zeus (Adad) and Tyche (p. 298 figs. 7—9); the bust of Atargatis in relief with leaf-like decoration (fish-scales? A. B. C.) on forehead, cheeks, and chest (p. 299 fig. 6); the bust of Atargatis in relief with head-dress formed of two fishes (p. 299 fig. 5); a snake-entwined eagle standing on a wreath with a plaster basin below (p. 300 fig. 18); etc. For a fuller account of these important finds see N. Glueck 'The Nabataean Temple of Khirbet et-Tannûr' in the *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* for October 1937 No. 67 pp. 6—16 figs. 2—8, *id.* 'A newly discovered Nabataean temple of Atargatis and Hadad at Khirbet et-Tannûr, Transjordan' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1937 xli. 361—376 figs. 1—15, C. Picard 'Les sculptures nabatéennes de Khirbet-et-Tannour et l'Hadad de Pouzzoles' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1937 ii. 244—249 figs. 1—4.

i. 592 n. o the sacred 'cock.' H. Gressmann 'Der heilige Hahn zu Hieropolis in Syrien' in the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* Giessen 1925 Beiheft xli. 88—95 (cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4000, 5 (Ikonion) as read by Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1918 xxxviii. 157 *φαίδλευκον ἀλέκτορα*], and modern Palestinian customs (J. A. Jaussen 'Le coq et la pluie dans la tradition palestinienne' in the *Revue biblique internationale* 1924 xxxiii. 574—582)).

i. 598 n. 1 Zeus at the Italian Lokroi. S. Mirone 'Copies de statues sur les monnaies de la Grande Grèce' in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1926 xxix. 134—138 deals with Zeus *Ἐκνυθέριος* at Tarentum, Metapontum, and Lokroi Epizephyrioi.

i. 602 eagle on pyramidal structures at Tarsos and Seleukeia Pieria. F. Cumont 'L'aigle funéraire des Syriens et l'apothéose des empereurs' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1910 lxii. 119—164 with figs. 1—22 and pl. 1, *id.* (citing A. H. Gardiner) 'A propos de l'aigle funéraire des Syriens' *ib.* 1911 lxiii. 208—214, S. Ronzevalle 'L'aigle funéraire en Syrie' in the *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale: Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth* 1912 v. 2. 1*—62* with 9 figs., 105*—115* with 4 figs., L. Deubner 'Die Apotheose des Antoninus Pius' in the *Röm. Myth.* 1912 xxvii. 1—20 figs. 1—4, F. Cumont *Études Syriennes* Paris 1917 pp. 35—118 ('L'aigle funéraire d'Hiérapolis et l'apothéose des empereurs') with figs. 9—43.

i. 602. For ∇ as the womb of a mother-goddess see the evidence collected by F. Dornseiff *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 21 f., M. Mayer 'Delta praehistoricum' in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Jan. 19, 1929 pp. 91—94, E. Wüst in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1932 lviii. 1. 142.

i. 603 n. 5 Di-Sandas. R. Rochette in the *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres)* Paris 1848 xvii. 161 insists 'qu'il faut certainement lire de cette manière: Δι-Σανδάν.'

604 the rock-carvings near Boghaz-keui. These are now well published by K. Bittel *Die Felsbilder von Yazılıkaya* Bamberg 1934 with bibliography, map, plan, 28 photographic pls., and panoramic drawing, *id.* *Die Ruinen von Bogazköy* Berlin—Leipzig 1937 pp. 1—107 with 63 figs., chronological table, and 3 plans. It appears that the great procession of Iasily Kaya may be dated between 1350 and 1330 B.C. (C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1937 ii. 256).

i. 604 ff. Zeus *Dolichaetos* and Iupiter *Dolichenus*. To the bibliography given on p. 604 n. 8 should be added F. Cumont *Études Syriennes* Paris 1917 pp. 173—202 ('Dolichè et le Zeus Dolichénos') with figs. 55—70, *id.* 'Groupe de marbre du Zeus Dolichénos' in *Syria* 1920 i. 183—189 pl. 17 (found 'entre Marash et Biredjik': Zeus stands on bull supported by altar with base inscribed *Κρόπος καὶ Σιλβα[ν]ίος*), K. A. Neugebauer *Antike Bronzestatuetten* Berlin 1921 p. 118 f. fig. 65 (Genius of Iupiter *Dolichenus* from Mar'ash, now in the Antiquarium at Berlin), p. 120 fig. 63 (Iupiter *Dolichenus* from Berlin—Lichtenberg, now in the Antiquarium at Berlin), *id.* in *Gnomon* 1930 vi. 269, J. Leipoldt in H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 ix—

xi. 15 f. figs. 116—122, W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 227 f., S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 292 (temple at the western corner of the Aventine, shrine on the Esquiline, shrine in *Reg. xiv*), *The Illustrated London News* for Aug. 17, 1935 p. 290 (recent finds on the Aventine, including a photograph of the sanctuary, a marble statue of the god holding a double axe in his right hand and a thunderbolt in his left, an inscription mentioning Commodus, etc.), G. I. Kazarow 'Denkmäler des Dolichenus-Kultes' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1932 xxvii. 168—173 figs. 105—108 (finds made in 1930 at *Jassen* near *Widin* (Bononia) in Bulgaria, including a triangular bronze plate with well-preserved reliefs of the god on his bull and his partner on her hind, a bronze tablet inscribed *I. O. M. Dol. | Aur. Bas[sus] sac. | servus eius*, and the left half of another bronze tablet with the *pointillée* inscription *I. O. [M. Dol.] | Fl. Sabin[us...] | Valeria V[...] | Tinsadno... | suo ex iusso [dei]*).

i. 611 f. eagle between horns of bull and on short column beneath bull. Perhaps cp. the terra-cotta group published in pl. lxxvii, *a* and *b*.

i. 619 n. 4. A rosette on the forehead of a bull is a commonplace in ancient art: see J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 480, 1914 ii. 3. 1310. A couple of examples will suffice. A gold earring of Greek work (s. iv—iii B.C.), found in Palestine and now in my possession, shows a bull's head with a spiral rosette on the forehead. A gold strap-buckle of the La Tène period, found in the tomb of Chilperich i at Tournai in 1653 and stolen from the Cabinet des Médailles in 1831, had also a spiral rosette on the forehead (F. Dahn *Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker* Berlin 1883 iii. 480 fig. 18 f., J. Déchelette *op. cit.* ii. 3. 1308 fig. 570, 2). Both are possibly symbolic.

S. Ronzevalle *Jupiter Héliopolitain* Beyrouth 1937 p. 51 ff. publishes a pair of monuments from the Haurān. A basalt *stèle* (0·875^m high) from Tell Aš'ari near Tafas, now in the Museum at Damaskos, shows a bull-headed god *en face*. His horns make a large crescent enclosing a rosette. Under his left arm is a smaller rosette. And across his body is a sword (pl. 14 *bis*, 51 and 52). An almost exact replica of this relief (0·80^m high) is to be seen in a niche at 'Awās south of Salḥad (fig. 12). Ronzevalle cp. a square altar of basalt (0·88^m high) from Salḥad, on which a bull's head appears in relief between the two parts of a Greek dedication to *Zeὺς μέγας ὁ κύριος* (M. Dunand *Le Musée de Soueïda: Inscriptions et monuments figurés* Paris 1934 p. 99 no. 200 Δὲ μεγάλῳ τῷ κυρίῳ | ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας | Μονίμου Βασιλίσκου Κ[ύρ]ου || Ἄνος οἰκοδόμος εὐσεβῶν ἐπόησε).

i. 624 the Milky Way and Hera. So in Siberian mythology a Buriat tale explains the Milky Way as the overflow from the breasts of the Heaven-goddess Manzan Görmö (U. Holmberg *Finno-Ugric, Siberian Mythology* Boston 1927 pp. 414, 434).

i. 625 n. 1 the stars as flowers. Cp. Basil. *hom. in hexaem.* 6. 1 (xxix. 117 c Migne) τὸς τοῖς ἀστέροι τοῦτοις διαποικίλῃς τὸν οὐρανόν and the remarks of A. von Humboldt *Cosmos* trans. E. C. Otté London 1849 ii. 395.

i. 626 the Byzantine list of planets, metals, plants, and animals. S. Langdon in the *Museum Journal: University of Pennsylvania* 1918 ix. 151—156 with fig. describes a Babylonian tablet of c. 1600 B.C. dealing with symbolism in the Cassite period. W. N. Bates in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1919 xxiii. 179 summarises: 'The text explains the divine powers which are controlled or symbolized by various substances and utensils employed in the rituals. Thus the jar of holy water signifies Ninhabursildu, queen of incantations; the tamerisk signifies the god of the heavens; the head of the date palm, Tammuz; the cypress, the aid of Adad; the censer invokes the god of the spring sun, Urasha, etc. It also gives the only information yet recovered about the mystic meanings of metals. Silver is the god of the heavens, gold the earth god, copper the god of the sea, lead the great mother goddess.' Prof. Langdon adds in a letter of Oct. 31, 1919: 'the sky god is symbolized by silver...because for astronomical reasons the Moon (or the silver god) was identified with the sky god at the summer solstice.' See further C. O. Zuretti *Alchemistica signa* (*Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs viii*) Bruxelles 1932 p. 1 ff.

i. 626 ff. Akin to the silvered or gilded plates of Iupiter *Dolichenus* is one of *repoussé* bronze, found by E. Cunningham in 1882 at the Romano-Celtic temple in Maiden Castle and now in the Museum at Dorchester (fig. 877, *a* front, *b* back, from the official photographs). It represents Minerva standing *en face* with helmet, spear, Gorgon's head, and shield, the whole on a raised oblong surrounded by the usual spear-head and lily-work (R. E. M. Wheeler in *The Antiquaries Journal* 1935 xv. 272). At the bottom edge are the remains of one or two letters, part of a lost inscription (Lt.-Col. C. D. Drew in a communication dated March 20, 1938). Minerva is known elsewhere on the plates of *Dolichenus* (*supra* i. 616 fig. 487, 619 with fig. 490), and it is conceivable that the cult of this maiden goddess, domiciled in the fourth-century temple (for which see R. E. M.



a

Terra-cotta group in the British Museum, p. 1

I am indebted to Mr C. M. Robertson for the following official
on bull's head, all on a flat square base. This now stands on a
though both are no doubt antique. They were acquired among



b

connected with the cult of Iupiter *Dolichenus* (?).

See page 1098.

ion: '1907. 5—20. 69 Terracotta eagle with wreath in beak standing
a column, but it is not certain that they originally belonged together,
collection formed at Odessa from excavations of tombs at Olbia.'



A bronze mace from Willingham Fen,
now in the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, Cambridge.

See page 1099 f.

Wheeler *loc. cit.* p. 270 ff. pls. 33, 34, 2, 37, 38, 2, Miss M. V. Taylor in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1935 xxv. 220 f. pls. 40 and 41, 1, *ead. ib.* 1937 xxvii. 242 f.), contributed something to the popular etymology of *Maiden* (properly *Mai-Dun*) Castle. The temple itself may have been that of *Dolichenus*, a Celtic form of whom is suggested by a votive offering found in 1934 just outside the south-east corner of the building, *viz.* a three-horned bull (*supra* i. 639) made of tinned bronze and bearing a triad of busts, one *minus* its head (R. E. M. Wheeler *loc. cit.* p. 272 pl. 39 (=my fig. 878), Miss M. V. Taylor *loc. cit.* p. 220 pl. 41, 2).



a

b

Fig. 877.

Another power associated with *Dolichenus* in the Celtic area as a pendant to Minerva with her spear was Hercules with his club (*supra* i. 616 fig. 487). And here we must take into account the interesting bronze mace found in 1857 by a ploughman on Willingham Fen, ten miles north-west of Cambridge (M. Rostovtseff—M. V. Taylor 'Commodus-Hercules in Britain' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1923 xiii. 91 ff. pl. 3 (inadequate), L. C. G. Clarke in *The Antiquaries Journal* 1926 vi. 178 f. pl. 31, F. M. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 925 f., *id.* in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 1935—1936 xxxvii. 56 ff. pl. 4, b). The mace had been deliberately broken, perhaps by way of *damnatio memoriae* after Commodus' assassination in 192 A.D., and enclosed in a wooden chest along with a number of votive bronzes—soldiers on horseback, a bull's head, an eagle, an owl, etc. The three fragments of the mace, which together measure c. 0'345^m in height and had once a

wooden core, are decorated as follows (pl. lxxviii): (1) A bust of Commodus, wearing the *paludamentum*, forms the handle. (2) On the shaft is a nude beardless god with right hand uplifted (as if to brandish a bolt) and left hand raised (as if to hold a sceptre or spear). He sets his left foot on the bearded (?) head of a giant emerging from the ground. To the left an eagle, now headless, is perched on a globe, which rests on a six-spoked wheel marked with rays. To the right projects the head of a bull with three horns, one of which is now broken off. At the back plunges a dolphin. (3) The mace terminates as a knotted club. It is clear that the artist was primarily concerned to identify Commodus with Hercules (*supra* ii. 255 n. o, 903 n. 2). But, since Commodus also posed as a youthful Iupiter holding thunderbolt and sceptre (*supra* i. 276 n. 5



Fig. 878.

fig. 202, ii. 1185 figs. 987, 988), a corresponding figure appears on the shaft. Further syncretism equates this Iupiter with the Germanic Ziu, the victorious rider of the Iupiter-columns, who tramples his giant under foot (*supra* ii. 74 ff.). It equips him also with the eagle-on-globe and the radiate wheel as a sky-god, with the three-horned bull perhaps as an earth-god (? *Dis pater*. But F. M. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 2281 f., 2453 ff. stresses 'Beziehungen zur Wassertiefe' and suspects connexion with Tarvos *Trigaranus* (*supra* i. 482 n. o)), and even with the dolphin as a sea-god—thereby completing his claim to universal dominion.

i. 630 ff. 'where iron is born.' M. P. Charlesworth in a note to me (Oct. 29, 1934) cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 33. 118 Iuba minium nasci et in Carmania tradit, Timagenes et in Aethiopia, etc. But a closer parallel is furnished by the *Kalevala* runo 9. 25 ff. Kirby, where Väinämöinen says 'Well I know the birth of Iron, | And how steel was first created.' He goes on to tell how—

- Ukko, God of realms supernal,
 40 Rubbed his mighty hands together.
 Both his hands he rubbed together,
 On his left knee then he pressed them,
 And three maidens were created,
 Three fair Daughters of Creation,
 Mothers of the rust of Iron,
 And of blue-mouthed steel the fosterers.
 Strolled the maids with faltering footsteps
 On the borders of the cloudlets,
 And their full breasts were o'erflowing,
 50 And their nipples pained them sorely.
 Down on earth their milk ran over,
 From their breasts' o'erflowing fulness,
 Milk on land, and milk on marshes,
 Milk upon the peaceful waters.
 Black milk from the first was flowing,
 From the eldest of the maidens,
 White milk issued from another,
 From the second of the maidens,
 Red milk by the third was yielded,
 60 By the youngest of the maidens.
 Where the black milk had been dropping,
 There was found the softest Iron,
 Where the white milk had been flowing,
 There the hardest steel was fashioned,
 Where the red milk had been trickling,
 There was undeveloped Iron.

i. 631 n. 8. A. H. Sayce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1910 xxx. 315 notes: 'Αλύβη, or rather 'Αλύβη, corresponds with a Hittite Khaly-wa, "the land of the Halys," just as 'Αρξύβη[η] corresponds with Arzawa. The Halizonians are the Khalitu of a (cuneiform) inscription of the proto-Armenian king Rusas II. (B.C. 680),...who says that he had made a campaign against "the Moschians, the Hittites, and the Khalitu." The silver-mines of the Taurus, which were worked by the Hittites, were the chief source of the silver supplied to the early oriental world: hence the metal was a special favourite with the Hittites, from whom the rest of the world obtained it.' Cp. Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 1. 169 n. 2. More hazardous conjectures in J. Karst *Die vorgeschichtlichen Mittelneuvölker* Heidelberg 1931 pp. 71 f., 254, 348.

i. 632 n. 5. Add Iul. Obs. 39 (Lycosthenes) mures in aede Iovis aurum roserunt.

i. 633 ff. The monograph of L. Malten 'Der Stier in Kult und mythischem Bild' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii. 90—139 has a useful collection of evidence from Egypt (pp. 92—98 figs. 1—11), Mesopotamia (pp. 98—107 figs. 12—27), Asia Minor (pp. 107—114 figs. 28—41), Syria (pp. 114—117 figs. 42—51), Palestine (pp. 117—119 figs. 52—54), Phoinike (p. 120 fig. 55), Crete (pp. 121—137 figs. 56—89), a brief notice of survivals in classical cults and myths (p. 137 f.), and some consideration of the Bull's significance from first to last (p. 138 f.).

i. 636 bull with body-marks. The best example is one from Ur published by C. L. Woolley in *The Antiquaries Journal* 1923 iii. 331 pl. 34 fig. 1, a: 'U 239 is a part of a shallow bowl of steatite originally surrounded by four bulls, of which one is preserved intact. The carving is remarkably good; the ground is inlaid in ivory with designs of sun, moon and stars; on the bull's body are trefoil marks resembling those on the Hathor cows of Egypt, on its shoulder and leg round spots arranged in the order of the stars of the Great Wain; it is the "great Bull of Heaven." A fragmentary inscription assigns it to the Third Dynasty.' Mr Sidney Smith kindly informs me (March 24, 1938) that the original is in the Baghdad Museum and should be dated c. 2200 B.C. or a little earlier: he adds that there is a poor cast of it in the British Museum. P. S. Bartoli *Museum Odescaechum* Romæ 1752 ii. 99 ff. pl. 42 shows a marble base with relief of a bull walking to the right. On his side is a crescent moon ☾, and above him the inscription BVE API. *Id. ib.* ii. 122 pl. 53 shows a similar (other surface of same) base with relief of a bull walking to the right. On his side is a six-rayed star.

i. 638 bull in bowl surrounded by millet. Cp. perhaps the seated goddesses (of fertility?) and other discoid figures in clay found along with grains of barley, beans, and peas in urns of the Bronze Age at Tarxien, Malta (Sir T. Zammit *Prehistoric Malta*

Oxford 1930 p. 48 ff. pls. 15, 1, 16 and figs. 3—10, G. W. Elderkin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 366).

i. 638 f. H. Frankfort in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 14, 1935 p. 430 fig. 6 publishes the ornament from a Sumerian harp of c. 3000 B.C., which was found at Khafaje, Iraq. It is a bull's head in copper with inlaid eyes and forehead. The white of the eyes is shell, the iris lapis lazuli, and the triangle on the forehead mother-of-pearl.

i. 639 n. 2 the Celtic cult of bulls. See now an important paper by A. D. Lacaille 'The Bull in Scottish Folklore, Place-names, and Archaeology' in *Folk-Lore* 1930 xli. 221—248 pls. 3—8, F. M. Heichelheim s.v. 'Tarvos Trigaranus' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 2453—2457, Wirth s.v. 'Stier' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1936 viii. 482—486.

i. 639 n. 4. Cp. A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1911 xlv. 4.

i. 642 n. 4. On Zeus as 'tyrant' in Aisch. *P. v.* see G. Thomson 'Zeὺς Τύραννος' in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 3—5.

i. 643 Mount Tābōr. See further J. Boehmer 'Der Name Tabor' in the *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* 1929 vii. 161—169, O. Eissfeldt in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxviii. 25 n. 3.

i. 643. Soph. *frag.* 348 Dindorf (assigned to the *Λημνία*), 708 Nauck², 776 Jebb *ap.* schol. vet. Theokr. 7. 76/77 d. and *ap. et. mag.* p. 26, 16 ff. 'Ἄθως σκιάζει νῶτα Λημνίας βοός (so, without Sophokles' name, Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iv. 96, 17 ff., Zonar. *lex. s.v.* 'Ἄθως, Eustath. in *Il.* p. 980, 45 f. Schol. B. L. V. *Il.* 14. 229 ὄντα for νῶτα!) already implies the proverb which later writers commonly quote as 'Ἄθως καλύπτει πλευρά Λημνίας βοός (Greg. Kypr. 1. 73, *alii*). A Latin form of it perhaps in Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 7. 25 'cornu <τ>a taurum umbram iaci', which O. Ribbeck *Trag. Kom. frag.* p. 311 would restore as '<Atós> in cornuátam taurum umbrám iacit'). Paroemiographers etc. explain that the allusion is to the shadow of Mt Athos which touched a white marble cow on Lemnos (Makar. 1. 46, Apostol. 1. 57, Arsen. *viol.* p. 25 Walz, Soud. s.v. 'Ἄθως). Plout. *de fac. in orb. lun.* 22 and *et. mag.* p. 26, 17 f. state, with greater probability, that the cow was of bronze. Others add that the shadow at the solstice reached the marketplace of Myrina (Ap. Rhod. 1. 601 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 73, Solin. 11. 33, cp. Stat. *Theb.* 5. 49 ff.). The fullest discussion of the facts is that of A. C. Pearson in his edition of *The Fragments of Sophocles* Cambridge 1917 iii. 26 f. It is tempting to conjecture that the bronze cow of Lemnos, thus associated with sun and shadow, was akin to the bronze cattle of Mt Atabyron. If so, it had a Hittite ancestry.

i. 643 the bull of Perillos. On the bull-headed furnace at Byzantion, known as ὁ Βούς and used for the burning of criminals, see E. Oberhammer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1072. The principal text is Kodinos *de signis Constantinopolitanis* 25 D—26 A (p. 46 Bekker)=Anonymos *πάρτρα* 2. 53 (p. 180, 8 ff. Preger) *περί τοῦ Βοός. εἰς δὲ τὸν καλούμενον Βοὺν κάμινος ἦν ἐκεῖσε παμμεγέθης ἐκτισμένη βοὺς ἔχουσα κεφαλὴν· ἔνθα καὶ οἱ κακοῦργοι ἐτιμωροῦντο· ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς προφάσει τῶν καταδίκων πολλοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ κατέκανσεν Χριστιανούς. ἦν δὲ ἡ κάμινος βοὺς τύπος παμμεγεστάτου θεάματος· οὐ κατὰ μίμησιν καὶ ἐν τῷ Νεωρίῳ βοὺς ἀπετυπώθη. ἦν δὲ ἡ κάμινος ἕως Φωκᾶ (602—610 A.D.), ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Ἡρακλείου (610—641 A.D.) ἔχωνεύθη λόγῳ φλόγων. This bronze Bull is said to have been brought from Pergamon, where it had been used for the martyrdom of Antipas (Kedren. *hist. comp.* 323 v (i. 566 Bekker) *ὅτι ὁ χαλκοῦς βοὺς ἐκ Περγάμου ἦλθε, κάμινος δὲ ἦν ἐν ᾗ πέφλεκται ὁ ἅγιος μάρτυς Ἀντίπας*, Zonar. 14. 14 (iii. 304, 11 ff. Dindorf) *τὸ δὲ δούστηνον σῶμα (sc. of Phokas) καθῆναι κατὰ τὸν Βοὺν, ἔνθα κάμινος ἦν, ὥς λέγεται, ἐκ χαλκοῦ κατεσκευασμένη, σχῆμα βοὺς ἔχουσα, ἥπερ ἐκ Περγάμου κεκόμειστο, ἐξ ἧς καὶ ὁ τόπος ὠνόμαστο*). A. G. Sofiano *Pergame Moderne et Antique* Athènes 1930 p. 111 figures St Antipas being burnt in the copper bull, and *ib.* p. 112 observes: 'Ce bœuf avait été élevé par Attale I^{er} en mémoire de sa victoire sur les Galates; plus tard, il fut transporté à Constantinople où on le fit servir à diverses exécutions: y furent brûlés, entre autres, Théodore et Stéphane, ministres de Justinien.' See further S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 iv. 136 S. Antipas (April 11), 304 S. George of Cappadocia (April 23), v. 66 S. Pelagia (May 4), x. 319 SS. Eustathius, Theopista, Agapius, Theopistus (Sept. 20). The last-mentioned holocaust is figured in the *Ecclesiæ militantis triumph* Paris s.a. pl. 9.*

A final trace of the Hittite bull-cult, drawn from some classical source and modified by mediaeval imagination, may be detected in *Perceval le Gallois ou le conte du Graal* trans. S. Evans London 1903 p. 214 ff. Branch 18 Title 9 '...he came to the Castle of Copper. Within the castle were a number of folk that worshipped the bull of copper and believed not in any other God. The bull of copper was in the midst of the castle

upon four columns of copper, and bellowed so loud at all hours of the day that it was heard for a league round about, and there was an evil spirit within that gave answers...' with the sequel.

i. 645 n. 4 on the 'shields' of the Idaean Cave see also F. W. von Bissing in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix. 211 ff.

i. 648 Orphism in Crete. Cp. O. Kern 'Orphiker auf Kreta' in *Hermes* 1916 li. 554—567 and the satisfactory handling of the whole matter by W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 pp. 108 ff., 146 f.

i. 650 n. 1 the *ρόμβος* or 'bull-roarer.' See further R. Battaglia 'Sopravvivenze del rombo nelle Provincie Venete' in the *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 1925 i. 3. 190—217 with 7 figs., A. S. F. Gow 'ΙΥΓΞ, ΠΟΜΒΟΣ, RHOMBUS, TURBO' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1934 liv. 1—13 with figs. 1—11.

i. 651 n. 1 *Zagreus* as the god 'of Mt *Zágros*.' The same derivation is propounded independently by F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 p. 721 n. 3.

i. 653 the Praisians sacrifice to a pig. Cp. Loukian. *Iup. trag.* 42 'Ἀσσύριοι περιστερᾶ (sc. *θύοντες*).

i. 655 on the etymology of *Títán*. A. Nehring 'Griechisch *τίταξ*, *τιτήνη* und ein vorgriechisches *k*-Suffix' in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 153—192 discussing *inter alia* the word *Títán*, *Τίτην* (p. 167 ff.) postulates an original *Títán* as a 'Lallwort' meaning 'Vater' 'Väterchen,' cp. *τίταξ*, *τίταξ* (Hesych. s.v. *τίταξ* cited *supra* i. 655 n. 2) and relates the whole group to Etruscan and the languages of Asia Minor.

i. 657 n. 2 *Minos* *δλοόφρων*. K. Marót 'Ἀτλας δλοόφρων' in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 22, 1926 pp. 585—590 concludes 'dass sich das Epitheton des Atlas *δλοόφρων* nicht auf eine moralische Schuld, sondern bloss auf die Boshaftigkeit eines "Täters," d. h. auf ein mythisch-vorethisches "Verderbensinnen" beziehen kann.'

i. 662. W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 p. 109 would amend my rendering of Firm. Mat. 6. 4 and 5 *pro tumulo extruit templum* and *deus factus est qui habere non potuit sepulturam* by translating 'he built a temple in place of a tomb' and 'has made a god out of one who was not able to find burial.'

i. 664 n. 1 on Epimenides *περί Μίνω καὶ Παδαμάνθων*. Further discussion by H. Gressmann in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Juli 26, 1913 pp. 935—938, J. Rendel Harris in the *Expositor* 1915 pp. 29—35, T. Nicklin in the *Class. Rev.* 1916 xxx. 33—37, Sir W. M. Ramsay *Asiatic Elements in Greek Civilisation* London 1927 pp. 32—39.

i. 665 ff. on the origin of tragedy. My hypothesis is dismissed with little argument but much contumely by K. Ziegler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 1952 f. Greater weight attaches to the courteous and clear-headed *critique* of A. W. Pickard-Cambridge *Dithyramb Tragedy and Comedy* Oxford 1927 pp. 208—220—in a context neatly summarised by Pfister *Rel. Gr. Röm.* 1930 p. 229: 'Bei der Behandlung der Tragödie schätzt er (m. E. mit Recht) gegen v. Wilamowitz und Kranz das Zeugnis des Aristoteles sehr gering ein und verwirft die Hypothesen von der Entstehung der Tragödie, die Ridgeway (aus dem Heroenkult), Murray (aus *δρώμενα* zu Ehren des Dionysos) und Cook (aus dem kretischen Ritual der Dionysos-Zagreus) aufgestellt haben, und ist selbst der Ansicht, dass die Tragödie nicht aus dem Satyrspiel stammt, dass *τραγῳδός* "singer at the goat-sacrifice" oder "singer for the goat-prize" bedeutet. Bei Behandlung der Komödie wird der *κῶμος*, aus dem sie entstand, ausführlich besprochen und Cornfords Hypothese (Entstehung aus einem Ritual, das dem Jahresdämon galt) widerlegt.'

i. 671 pillar with Dionysiac mask or masks. See now W. Wrede 'Der Maskengott' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1928 liii. 66—95 with pls. 1—4, supplementary pls. 21—28, and figs. 1—4 (E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1929 xxiii. 554 f.).

An oracle (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 243) *ap.* Clem. *Al. Strom.* i. 24 p. 102, 11 f. Stählin has *στύλος Θηβαίοισι Διώνυσος πολυγηθής*, cp. Eur. *Antiope frag.* 203 Nauck² *ap.* Clem. *Al. loc. cit.* p. 102, 13 ff. Stählin *ἐνδον δὲ θαλάμοις βουκόλων | κομῶντα κισσῷ στυλον Εἵλον θεοῦ*.

i. 674. Apollodoros of Athens no doubt lived in 'The second century B.C.' and wrote his great work *περί θεῶν* in 24 books (R. Münzel *De Apollodori περί θεῶν libris* Bonnæ 1883 pp. 1—35, W. von Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* München 1920 ii. 1. 395 f.). But the extant *βιβλιοθήκη*, long attributed to him, is now believed to be a work of Hadrianic date based on a handbook of mythology compiled between 100 and 55 B.C. (C. Robert *De Apollodori Bibliotheca* Berolini 1873 pp. 1—91, E. Schwartz in

Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2875 ff., Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*² Cambridge 1906 i. 137, Sir J. G. Frazer *Apollodorus* New York i p. ix ff.).

i. 675 the caldron of divinisation in the cult of Leukothea. See further L. R. Farnell 'Ino-Leukothea' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916 xxxvi. 36—44, especially p. 42 f.

i. 675 Dionysos done to death as a kid by worshippers who took the name of 'kids'? An interesting Scandinavian parallel is the *Bukkevis* described by B. S. Phillpotts *The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama* Cambridge 1920 p. 125 f.: 'The performers are three boys, two of whom personate "father and son," while the third is dressed up as a goat. The doggerel recited by the "father and son" is corrupt, but it recounts the slaughter of the goat and its resurrection, and this is accompanied by appropriate action on the part of the third performer. The Norwegian verses appear to retain a memory of the partition of the goat-skin: "how much wilt thou give for the goat its skin?—wool?" We have here another case of the actual performances of a slaying and resurrection, with the additional primitive feature of a beast-skin disguise shed by the victim and at one time apparently allotted to one of the persons present.' Cp. E. K. Chambers *The English Folk-play* Oxford 1933 p. 211: 'Perhaps, therefore, we may go a step further, and guess at the existence...of some original European *ludus*, with just this Mock Death and Revival as its central point and with men dressed as animals for its performers.'

i. 677 n. o. K. Buresch *Aus Lydien* Leipzig 1898 p. 160 found at *Kaleh* near Temenothyrai 'ein marmornes, dem Zeus Γαλάκτιος geweihtes Altärchen' and inferred that the site bore the name Galaktion—an inference accepted by L. Büchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 514. See also J. Keil in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir W. M. Ramsay* Manchester 1923 p. 260 no. 8, E. Fehrlé in *Roscher Lex. Myth.* vi. 615.

i. 677 n. 4 the Lupercalia. See further G. F. Unger 'Die Lupercalien' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1881 xxxvi. 50—86, W. Mannhardt *Mythologische Forschungen* Strassburg 1884 pp. 72—155 ('Die Lupercal'), J. A. Hild in *Daremberg—Saglio Dict. Ant.* iii. 1398—1402 s.v. 'Lupercalia, Lupercal, Luperci,' E. Lefébure 'Le bouc des Lupercales' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1909 lix. 73—81, W. F. Otto 'Die Luperci und die Feier der Lupercalien' in *Philologus* 1913 N.F. xxvi. 161—195, Alberta Mildred Franklin *The Lupercalia* New York: Columbia University 1921 pp. 1—106, A. Marbach in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiii. 1815 f. s.v. 'Lupercal,' 1816—1830 s.v. 'Lupercalia,' 1830—1834 s.v. 'Luperci,' 1834—1839 s.v. 'Lupercus,' F. Altheim *A History of Roman Religion* trans. H. Mattingly London 1938 pp. 206—217.

No ancient representation of the Lupercalia is known. Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 77 no. 77 pl. 77 'Sacrifice des Lupercales,' a stone published at Paris in 1732 by Lévêque de Gravelle, is an obvious forgery.

i. 679. W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 p. 132 adds 'the *Bassarids* of Aeschylus which told of the dismemberment of Orpheus.'

A doublet of the myth of Pelias may perhaps be seen in that of Minos done to death in a hot bath at Kamikos by Kokalos or his daughters (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 360, Poland in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xv. 1918 f.).

i. 681 n. 4 Διθύραμβος. The suffix is discussed by H. Petersson 'Die altindischen Wörter auf -amba' in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1924 xxxiv. 222—249.

Zacher 'Die Ursprünge und der Name des Iambus' in the *Jahres-Bericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur* 1904 lxxxii Abteilung iv. 3 f. hit upon a derivation of Διθύραμβος near akin to mine: 'Endlich müsste διθύραμβος sein = ὁ διθυράβων, d. h. wohl den Δίθυπος besingend. Δίθυπος könnte eine Nebenform von Διόνυσος sein, und wie dieses bedeuten "Sohn des Zeus" (θυπος von θεῖν? θύπος die Zeugungsruhe?).' This acute conjecture is too summarily dismissed by Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 188.

W. M. Calder 'The Dithyramb—an Anatolian Dirge' in the *Class. Rev.* 1922 xxxvi. 11—14, dissatisfied with all previous views, mine included, proposed to connect διθύραμβος with two Phrygian words or loan-words διθρεπα and διθρεψα. The first of these occurs in an inscription from Tyriaion (J. G. C. Anderson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 121 f. no. 67 = J. Friedrich *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* Berlin 1932 p. 132 f. no. 31), the second in another from Ikonion (W. M. Calder in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 188 ff. no. 49 = J. Friedrich *op. cit.* p. 135 no. 49). It is claimed that 'διθρεπα must be a noun, and διθρεψα must be either a noun or an adjective...meaning "monument" or some sepulchral attribute or characteristic,' possibly the "double door" (δι + θρεπα = *dhvara*, *thúra*, *fores*) of the Phrygian family-tomb 'symbolically leading in two directions—outwards to the world of life, inwards to the world of death.' On this showing διθύραμβος means "grave-song" or "dirge," and we must regard the θρήνων ἐξάρχους of *Il.* 24. 721 as the counterpart of τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον in Aristot. *poet.* 4 1449 a 11.

Calder's explanation, though ingenious and attractive, is however—as he frankly admits—beset by difficulties and uncertainties. Moreover it seems hard to reconcile with the Platonic equation *διθύραμβος* = *Διονύσου γένεσις* (*supra* i. 682 n. 1). Are we to assume that the 'dirge' dealt with Dionysos' birth, and compare the funereal character of the Attic *Γένεσις* (P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1131, *id. Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*³ München 1920 p. 227 f.)? Or to argue with J. A. K. Thomson (in a letter to Jane Harrison dated March 31, 1921) 'that the Dithyramb celebrated the *γένεσις* of Dionysos, his grave-ritual.... The Early Christians celebrated the *γένεσις* or *γενέθλια*, "birth-day," of a martyr on the day of his martyrdom, because he was then truly born—"born again"?'

Calder returns to the charge in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 214 with a shrewd emendation of Glaukos Rhég. *frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 24 Müller) *ap.* [Plout.] *de musica* 10 ἥρωικῶν γὰρ ὑποθέσεων σπαράγματα (for πράγματα codd.) ἐχουσῶν κ.τ.λ. 'For such was the theme of the dithyramb (διασπασμὸν τινα καὶ διαμελισμὸν) according to Plutarch de Ei *apud Delphos* 389 A.'

W. Brandenstein in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1936 liv. 34—38 would interpret *λαμβος*, *θρίαμβος*, *διθύραμβος* as 'Zweischritt, Dreischritt, Vierschritt.'

i. 682 n. 1. Of the three Pindaric dithyrambs published by B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1919 xiii. 27 ff. no. 1604 one (O. Schroeder *Supplementum Pindaricum* Berolini 1923 p. 5 f. *frag.* 70^a) describes a festival of Dionysos held by the gods in heaven, another (Schroeder *op. cit.* p. 7 *frag.* 70^b) speaks of a Dionysiac banquet, and the third (Schroeder *op. cit.* p. 7 f. *frag.* 70^c) must also be concerned with the same deity since it mentions wreaths of ivy. See further J. U. Powell *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* Third Series Oxford 1933 pp. 48—51.

Cp. *Anth. Pal.* 9. 524. 5 Διογενή, διγνον, διθύραμβογενή, Δίδνυσον, *ib.* 19 Σεμελη-γενήτην, Σεμελῆα.

i. 684 n. 11. L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 65 f. pl. 3, 1 and 3, thinks that this vase represents the Haloia and cites modern usage in Herzegovina ('hier stellt man, wenn die Wintersaat aufgeht, auf dem Felde durch eine tiefe Furche den Umriss eines erigierten Phallos mit Hoden her. Diese Form des Fruchtbarkeitszaubers wurde früher auf dem Balkan allgemein angewandt' (*Vgl. R. N. Salaman, *Man* 30, 1930, 48)').

i. 684 date of the ritual marriage unknown. L. Deubner in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1927 xlii. 177 ff. argues that the marriage of Dionysos and the *Baslinna* is both represented (figs. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 16) and parodied (fig. 6, cp. fig. 19) on the 'Choenkännchen' and must therefore have taken place 'am Choentage' (Anthesterion 12). But the argument is insecure, for—as Deubner himself admits (*Attische Feste* p. 97)—'Nicht alle Bilder, mit denen die grossen oder kleinen Kannen der typischen Choenform geschmückt sind (es sind jetzt 300—400 bekannt), brauchen sich auf das Choentfest zu beziehen.' And it remains possible to urge that these little vases are simply children's toys, often decorated with Dionysiac scenes, but not necessarily illustrative of the *Chôes*.

i. 687 n. 3 trees planted on graves as a vehicle for the soul. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 790 n. 1 gives further references for this folk-belief. See also H. Marzell in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 955 'Der B[aum], der aus der Erde hervorsprosst, und besonders der aus den Gräbern Verstorbener hervorstehende B[aum] soll die Seele beherbergen.'

i. 689 n. 5 the Boeotian Xanthos or Xanthios slain by the Neleid Melanthos with the aid of Dionysos *Melinaigis*. A doublet in Plout. *quaest.* Gr. 13 ἐκ δὲ τούτου μονομαχοῦσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς, καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰναχιῶν Ἱπέροχον ὁ τῶν Αἰνιάνων Φήμιος ὁρῶν μετὰ κυνὸς αὐτῷ προσφερόμενον οὐκ ἔφη δίκαια ποιεῖν, δεύτερον ἐπάγοντα μαχόμενον· ἀπελαύνοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἱπέροχου τὸν κύνα καὶ μεταστρεφόμενον, λίθῳ βαλὼν ὁ Φήμιος αὐτὸν ἀναιρεῖ. κτησάμενοι δὲ τὴν χώραν, τοὺς Ἰναχιεῖς μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκβαλόντες, τὸν μὲν λίθον ἐκείνον ὡς ἱερὸν σέβονται καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῷ δημῷ περικαλύπτουσιν. W. R. Halliday 'Xanthos—Melanthos and the Origin of Tragedy' in the *Class. Rev.* 1926 xl. 179—181 and in his note on Plout. *loc. cit.* thinks that both the Attic and the Boeotian tale were 'a purely secular traditional legend to which no esoteric meaning need be attached.'

i. 694. A. J. B. Wace 'More Mummung Plays' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1912—1913 xix. 248—265 figs. 1—6 concludes 'That the festival is really a winter festival and has in different places been transferred to a different season. Secondly, that it is, by no means a typically Greek festival, for it occurs only in North Greece where there is much mixed blood, and is known to almost all the other South Balkan races.'

i. 695 Athenian substitute for dramatic omophagy. W. M. Lindsay in the *Class. Quart.* 1916 x. 108 cites a newly discovered note of Fest. in *Isid. orig.* 8. 7. 6 Hos

Hyginus (*eginus* cod.) primum frustra[m] hircinae carnis praemium accepisse dicit et inde nomen traxisse, scilicet a trago quem Latini hircum vocant.

i. 697 n. 4. P. Kretschmer comments on Σιληνός again in *Glotta* 1915 vi. 308. But F. Solmsen 'Σιληνός Σάτυρος Τίτυρος' in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1912 xxx. 1—47 connects the word with *σολός, *silus*, a by-form of σιμός, 'snub-nosed.'

i. 698 n. 1. No. (10) is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: see Miss M. H. Swindler in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1915 xix. 412 ff. figs. 8 and 9, L. D. Caskey *ib.* 1918 xxii. 110 f. fig. 3, J. D. Beazley *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 130 f. fig. 81 (the 'Penthesilea Painter'), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 339 no. 10, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 276 no. 52. Add no. (16) Red-figured *kýlix* in the Museo Villa Giulia at Rome (E. Boehringer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii Arch. Anz. p. 166 with fig. 29) = nude human figure with goatish head, horns, and tail dancing before Persephone, whose head emerges from the ground.

In the fourth century these goatish dancers were assimilated to the south-Italian Pan, e.g. on an 'Apulian' vase published by T. Panofka *Musée Blacas* Paris 1829 pl. 23 (F. Weege *Der Tanz in der Antike* Halle/Saale 1926 p. 3 fig. 2) or on an Italiote bell-*kratér* at Lecce published by Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 106 pl. 80, 3 (F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 106 fig. 144, L. Séchan in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 1044 fig. 6069). Yet A. Hartmann certainly goes too far when he says at the end of his article on 'Silenos und Satyros' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 53: 'So bleibt es dabei, dass die bocksartige Bildung von Satyrn erst ein Erzeugnis der in der hellenistischen Zeit aufkommenden Einmischung des Pantypus in den Satyr- und Silentypus ist.'

i. 700 n. 4. E. M. W. Tillyard has since discovered the faint inscription ΚΑΛΟΣ ΗΦΑΡΣΤΟΣ (*sic*), which makes it probable that the central figure is Hephaistos carrying his axe. If so, the scene shows Dionysos persuading Hephaistos to accompany him to Olympos—a scene perhaps drawn from Achaios' satyr-play 'Ηφαίστος' (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 750 f. Nauck²) (E. M. W. Tillyard *The Hope Vases* Cambridge 1923 p. 79 ff. no. 136 pl. 23).

i. 704 early seal-stones portraying human goats etc. Any serious attempt to discuss these much-disputed figures must nowadays take into account analogous types found over a wide area of the ancient world. A sample or two will suffice to show the sort of data required. A whorl of green steatite from Hagios Onuphrios near Phaistos shows a horned figure with human legs (A. J. Evans *Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 118 fig. 52, *a*, *id.* *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* Oxford 1921 i. 69 fig. 38 A). A prism-seal in black steatite from Karnak shows a human figure with bovine head running (*id.* *Scripta Minoa* i. 123 fig. 58, *c*, *Palace of Minos* i. 69 fig. 38 B, *c*). Both these are assigned to the 'Early Minoan i' period (3400—2800 B.C.). Sir J. Marshall *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* London 1931 ii. 389 fig. 356 on pl. 111 notes two human figures (from seals no. 227 and no. 230) with the hoofs, horns, and tail of a bison. *Id. ib.* ii. 389 fig. 357 on pl. 111 gives a seal on which a similar figure is seen struggling with a fabulous horned tiger. Sir John compares the type with that of Enkidu the companion of Gilgameš. H. R. Hall, lecturing at Cambridge on Oct. 31, 1928, quoted an 'ibex-headed man on a proto-Elamite tablet' and an 'animal-headed man on a seal from South Caucasus' as evidence of Mesopotamian priority to the fantastic sealings from Zakro (*supra* p. 845 n. 3). See also Addenda to i. 67 n. 3.

i. 705. R. C. Flickinger 'Tragedy and the Satyric Drama' in *Class. Philol.* 1913 viii. 261—283 (especially pp. 269—272) discusses the derivation of τραγῳδία, defending the goat-prize tradition and rejecting the goat-men conjectures. *Id.* *The Greek Theater and its Drama* Chicago 1918 pp. 13—15, *ib.*⁴ 1936 pp. 13—15, maintains the same standpoint. E. Rostrup *Attic Tragedy in the light of Theatrical History* trans. I. Andersen Kjøbenhavn—Kristiania—London—Berlin 1923 p. 64 ff. denies the dancers 'costumed as he-goats' and holds, on anthropological grounds, that the τράγοι were young men who had undergone puberty-rites and were known by an animal name—the χοροὶ παιδῶν, χοροὶ τραγῳδῶν, and χοροὶ ἀνδρῶν representing successive age-groups. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge *Dithyramb Tragedy and Comedy* Oxford 1927 pp. 149—166, after a careful discussion of all the possibilities, reverts to the view that τραγῳδός may well mean 'singer at the goat-sacrifice' or 'singer for the goat-prize.' 'The two may even be reconciled, if the goat was first won and then sacrificed' (p. 165).

i. 706 Zeus Asels. W. M. Calder in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1913 xxxiii. 103 compares this appellative with an Old Phrygian text from *Euyuk* in Kappadokia (J. Friedrich *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* Berlin 1932 p. 127 no. 15 *a*, 3 *τερκοσασιεκμορ*), of which

he says: 'it can hardly be doubted that *terkos* is the "Hittite" *tarku* meaning "god" or a particular god, and it is very tempting to read the name of the god in the following letters. Whether we read *Asie kmor...* or *Asi ekmor...*, we appear to be dealing with the dative of the divine name *Asis*, which is attested elsewhere, and may be not unconnected with the name which the Greeks gave to the lands east of the Aegean.... Ramsay is probably right in taking ACEIC [*supra* i. 706 fig. 521] as a non-Phrygian name; if our interpretation of the Euyuk inscription is correct, *Asis* is the name of a god who belonged to the religion which the Phrygians found in the country when they entered it, and who was worshipped at the old Hittite centre of Euyuk at the date to which this inscription belongs.... The name Ἀσιοκώμη expresses the proprietorship of the god *Asis* in a village on his estate, just as the village-name Ἀρυοχωρίον in Phrygia indicates that the village belongs to Atys. In the Lydian genealogies *Asies* figures as the nephew or as the brother of Atys [E. Meyer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1579 f., 2262]. The name *Atios* occurs on an Old-Phrygian inscription (if Phrygian it be) found by Garstang at Tyana [J. Friedrich *op. cit.* p. 127 no. 19 a, 3 ατιουι, 5 ατιος].... The name is written with the symbol ṯ, which suggests that the names *Attis* and *Asis* were originally identical.' Not impossible, then (cp. *supra* ii. 293), Zeus ACEIC meant *ab origine* 'Father' Zeus, while Ἀσία was the 'Fatherland.'

i. 707 n. 2 with fig. 524. This red-figured *hydria* from Girgenti is attributed to 'the Syleus Painter' (c. 480 B.C.) and perhaps shows Zeus bringing the infant *Dionysos* to the Nymphs. To the bibliography add J. de Witte in the *Nouv. Ann.* 1836—1837 i. 357—372 pl. 9, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 237, 1 and ii. 260, 1, H. Heydemann *Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit* (Winckelmannsfest- Progr. Halle 1885) p. 18 f., *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1891 vi. 47, J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 66 no. 1, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 438 no. 9, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 162 no. 23.

i. 708 ff. E. Fiechter—R. Herbig *Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen* Stuttgart 1935 ii (Die Skulpturen vom Bühnenhaus). 36 pls. 9—16 accept my interpretation of the reliefs from the stage of Phaidros, but regard my restorations as 'keineswegs immer glücklich.'

i. 709 n. 1 no distinctive art-type for *Hestia*. Yet see Porph. *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 11. 7 = *Lyd. de mens.* 4. 94 p. 139, 2 ff. Wünsch καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡγεμονικὸν τῆς θείας δυνάμεως Ἔστια κέκληται, ἥς ἄγαλμα παρθενικὸν ἐφ' ἑστίας ἰδρύται· καθ' ὃ δὲ γόνιμος ἡ δύναμις, σημαίνουσιν αὐτὴν γυναικὸς εἶδει προμάστου.

i. 710 Aigeira. This town possessed a notable sanctuary of Zeus with a seated image of the god wrought in Pentelic marble by Eukleides of Athens (Paus. 7. 26. 4). Local coins issued by Septimius Severus and Plautilla show Zeus seated on a high-backed throne in the attitude of Zeus *Olympios* with Nike on his right hand and a long sceptre in his left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Peloponnesus* p. 17 no. 5 pl. 4, 10 Plautilla (my fig. 879 is from a cast), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm.* Paus. ii. 90 pl. S, 6 Plautilla, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 412). Portions of this cult-statue are still extant. O. Walter 'Ein Kolossalkopf des Zeus aus Aigeira' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1919 xix—xx. 1—14 figs. 1—9 pls. 1 (=my fig. 880) and 2 published the large head (height 0'87^m) which he had found on Aug. 31, 1916, inside the temple. The marble is hollowed at the back and, as the dowel-holes prove, was eked out before and behind with adjusted pieces. The eyes were inlaid. *Id.* 'Der Arm der Zeusstatue von Eukleides' *ib.* 1932 xxvii. 146—152 figs. 94—97 was able to add the left arm, found by the villagers of *Vlowoka* in 1920 close to the same building, and one finger of the right hand, found in 1925 inside it. The fragments (now in the National Museum at Athens, nos. 3377 and 3481) are all of Pentelic marble, imply a figure about thrice life-size, and suit the pose of the god as shown on the coins. See further D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 480. O. Walter 'Eine archäologische Voruntersuchung in Aigeira' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1919 xix—xx Beiblatt pp. 5—42 figs. 1—26 and 'Versuchsgrabung in Aigeira' *ib.* 1932 xxvii Beiblatt pp. 223—234 figs. 109—115 gives a good account of the town and temple, from which it appears that a large *podium* at the west end of the *cella* bore a base designed for a much smaller statue. It seems likely that, at some date later than Pausanias' visit, the big Zeus was damaged and

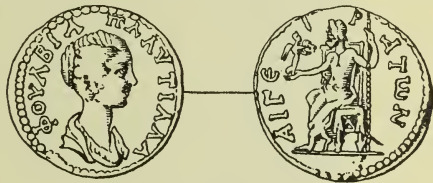


Fig. 879.

replaced by a life-sized figure, perhaps that of a Roman emperor. Otherwise we should have to conclude that the temple to which the big Zeus belonged is still to seek. Eukleides, to judge from the style and technique of this statue, may be regarded as a contemporary of Damophon and dated c. 200 B.C. (A. Hekler 'Eukleides' *ib.* 1922 xxi-xxii. 120-122), though O. Walter and G. Lippold would place him in the middle of the fourth century B.C. or a little later (Lippold in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. v. 220).

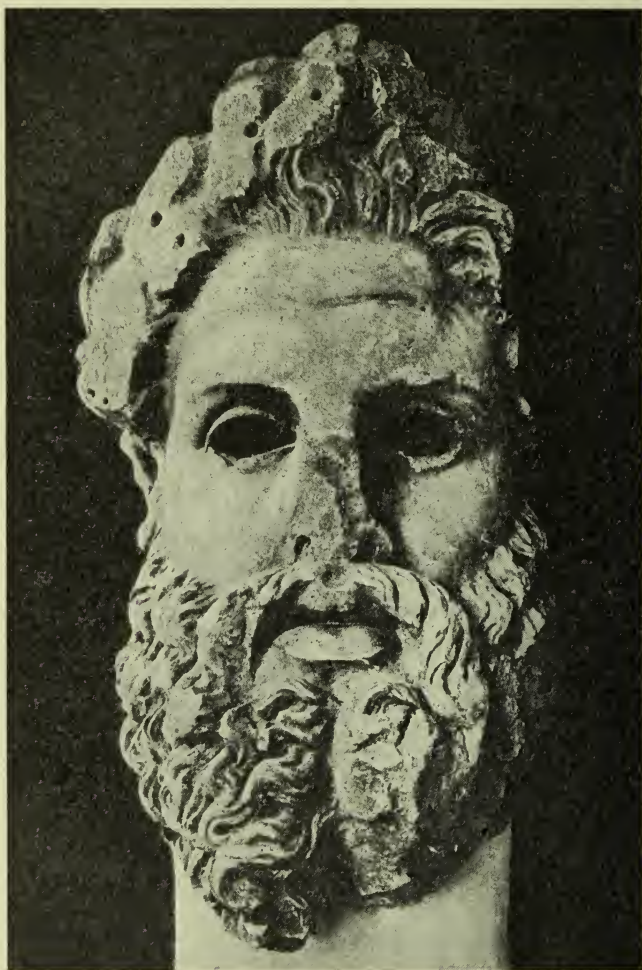


Fig. 88o.

i. 710 Eros with crossed legs. On this attitude see W. Deonna 'Croiser les jambes' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 344-352, W. N. Bates in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1914 xviii. 502 f.

i. 710 Theseus. M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin-Leipzig 1920 p. 18 f. pl. 7, 2 takes this figure to be Nero (cp. E. Strong in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 327 n. 2). In any case see Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* no. 3078 pl. 200.

i. 711 Vediovis. See further L. Preller 'Studien zur römischen Mythologie. 2. Vejovis und Dijovis' in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1855 pp. 202—215, J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 669 f. s.v. 'Veiovis,' A. L. Frothingham 'Vediovis, the Volcanic God: a Reconstruction' in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1917 xxxviii. 370—391, G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 174—176 s.v. 'Veiovis,' F. Altheim *A History of Roman Religion* trans. H. Mattingly London 1938 pp. 262 f., 352.



Fig. 881.

i. 713. A figure-oinochôe (Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 408 f.) in my collection shows the infant Dionysos, with a *kantharos* in his right hand, mounted on a vigorous goat (fig. 881). The vase, which was polychrome, has traces of pink (flesh), red (cloak), yellow (hair, *kantharos*), and blue (wreath) on a white ground. Height, exclusive of the handle which is in part restored, 5½ ins.

i. 713 n. o. On the cult-statue of Apollon see a mutilated relief from the Amyklaion published by B. Schröder in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxix. 24—31 fig. 2, also E. R. Fiechter 'der Amykläische Thron, Bericht über die Untersuchungen im Amyklaion 1907' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv Arch. Anz. pp. 66—70, *id.* 'Amyklae.

Der Thron des Apollon' *ib.* 1918 xxxiii. 107—245 figs. 1—90 pls. 4—20, P. Bersakes 'Ο θρόνος τοῦ Ἀμυκλαίου Ἀπόλλωνος' in the *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1912 pp. 183—192 figs. 1—26, W. Klein 'Zum Thron des Apollo von Amyklæ' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1922 xxxvii Arch. Anz. pp. 6—13, E. Buschor—W. von Massow 'Vom Amyklaion' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1927 lii. 1—85 (especially p. 19) figs. 1—40 pls. 1—23 supplementary pls. 1—12.

i. 717 n. 2 bulls sacrificed to Zeus. Add Xen. *Cyrop.* 8. 3. 11 πρῶτον μὲν ἤγοντο τῷ Διὶ ταῦροι πάγκαλοι εἰς τέτταρας καὶ οἱς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν οἱ μάγοι ἐξηγοῦντο. Also the Ταυροφόνια at Mylasa (*supra* ii. 582 n. 5, iii. 570). See, however, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 12. 120 sic in Thracia civitatem condens Aeneas, quam mox fuerat relicturus, contra morem Iovi de tauro sacrificavit (*Aen.* 3. 20 f.), Isid. *orig.* 12. 1. 28 iuvenus dictus eo quod iuvare incipiat hominum usus in terra colenda (*supra* p. 591 n. 1), vel quia apud gentiles Iovi semper ubique iuvenus immolabatur et nunquam taurus. nam in victimis etiam aetas considerabatur.

i. 717 n. 3 goats sacrificed to Zeus. W. M. Lindsay in the *Class. Quart.* 1916 x. 109 cites Fest. in Isid. *orig.* 8. 11. 84 Ioui Cretenses capram immolabant.

i. 720 the golden hound of Crete. An Attic black-figured *skyphos* found at Kameiros and now in the Louvre (A 478) (Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* i. 171, *id.* *Vases antiques du Louvre* Paris 1897 p. 20 pl. 17) is interpreted by L. D. Barnett in *Hermes* 1898 xxxiii. 638 ff. as illustrating the discovery by Iris and Hermes of the golden hound in the house of Pandareos—an interpretation now commonly accepted (H. N. Fowler in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1899 iii. 304, W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1502 n. **, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 328).

i. 723 the *cire perdue* method of hollow-casting in bronze. Miss van der Kolf in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 2084 is disposed to adopt my explanation of the Talos-myth ('eine ansprechende Vermutung'), but regards both myth and method as 'ziemlich jung.' S. Casson *The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture* Oxford 1933 is more precise: 'One thing is certain—that the Minoans had no knowledge at all of hollow casting by the *cire-perdue* process' (cp. L. R. Farnell *supra* ii. 644 n. 1). But is that so certain? K. Kluge, our greatest authority on Greek bronzes, in his *Die antiken Grossbronzen* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 91—102 ('Der antike Wachserguss') cites the pottery mould for an axe to be cast by the *cire perdue* process, which was found in the seventh stratum at Troy and is now in the Berlin Museum (W. Dörpfeld *Troja und Ilion* Athen 1902 i. 405 fig. 404, 408 f. supplementary pl. 46, viii a, viii b). Again, Kluge 'Die Gestaltung des Erzes in der archaisch-griechischen Kunst' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xlv. 1—30 (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 456 f.) says (p. 6): 'Bereits in primitiven Kulturlagen—es sei an die Güsse von Benin erinnert—wird diese Methode des Wachsergusses beherrscht, und in der ägyptischen Kunst können wir den steilen Anstieg dieses Könnens verfolgen....' Indeed, Mr H. Frankfort in *The Illustrated London News* Oct. 8, 1932 p. 528 figs. 7—9 shows a statuette from Khafaje in Iraq representing a bearded priest cast in bronze by the *cire perdue* process c. 3000 B.C. Mr Sidney Smith (Jan. 1, 1926) refers me further to F. Thureau-Dangin in the *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 1924 xxi. 26 n. 3 and 155, who cites A. Ungnad in the *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin* Leipzig 1909 Heft viii. 51 no. 103 ('un quurru reçoit 2/3 de mine de cire pour la fabrication d'une clé en métal; c'est le procédé de la cire perdue'). For modern *cire perdue* casting see A. Toft *Modelling and Sculpture* London 1911 pp. 187—191.

i. 723 n. 3. For proof that the Sardinians of the Bronze Age worshipped a bull-god in their subterranean temples see R. Pettazzoni 'Le antichità protosarde di Santa Vittoria' in the *Bullettino di paleontologia italiana* 1910 xxxv. 159—177, A. Taramelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1915 xxiii. 313—436 (especially p. 352 ff.), T. Ashby in *The Times Literary Supplement* for Jan. 22, 1920 p. 50, H. Philipp in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 2488, J. Whatmough *The Foundations of Roman Italy* London 1937 p. 373 ('Of especial interest are the temples discovered in recent years by Taramelli. These are circular in construction and were regularly built over a sacred spring or well. With them is associated the cult of the sacred pillar and also of a deity who took the form of a bull, as the large stone bulls' heads from the front of the temples show. It is difficult not to admit in these the evidence of oriental influence, as also in the indications of ordeal by water, and of "incubation"...').

i. 725 Talos, nephew of Daidalos, and the saw. G. M. A. Hanfmann in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1935 xxxix. 189—194 figs. 1—5 pl. 25, A, B publishes a magnificent gold *bullia* of Etruscan workmanship, found near Ferrara (?) and now in the Walters Art

Gallery, Baltimore. Two archaic winged figures in relief, with incised retrograde inscriptions, show Daidalos (ΔΑΙΔΑΛΟΣ) and Ikaros (ΙΚΑΡΟΣ), the former holding a saw in his left hand and an adze in his right, the latter a double axe and a square. E. Fiesel *loc. cit.* pp. 195—197 thinks that the inscription originated in Central Etruria, probably in the fifth century B.C. *Taitle* and *Vikare* are correct Etruscan forms of Δαΐδαλος and Ίκαρος, the one being Greek, the other—to judge from the suffix *-ap-*—pre-Greek or Aegean. A cornelian scarab, from the Hamilton collection, now in London, again represents Daidalos, *Taitle* (?), as a beardless winged figure, flying above waves, with an adze in his right hand, a saw in his left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 67 no. 329 pl. E, *ib.*² p. 82 no. 663 pl. 11). A second cornelian scarab, from the Blacas collection, also in London, has a somewhat similar, but uninscribed, Daidalos flying with saw in right hand and adze (?) in left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 68 no. 330 pl. E, *ib.*² p. 89 f. no. 727 pl. 12, cp. Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 19, 28, ii. 93 ('Geflügelter Dämon'), Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 25, 7 p. 171 ('Eros')). Lastly, a *stèle* from Bologna, assigned to the date 390—360 B.C., includes among its reliefs the same beardless Daidalos flying through the air with square and double axe in his right hand and saw in his left (E. Brizio in the *Not. Scavi* 1890 pp. 139—142 pl. 1, 3).

The art-type of the winged male figure posting through the sky with a double axe may be traced back to a very early date (sub-'Minoan'?) in the Archipelago: see the Melian (?) gem *supra* ii. 544 fig. 419. From Melos to Ikaros (Ikaria) is a bare hundred miles. Talos, Daidalos, and Ikaros were perhaps all originally independent but analogous figures (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 250 n. 2; Heeg in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 986, G. M. A. Hanfmann *loc. cit.* p. 194), various forms taken by the winged sun-god.

i. 726 ff. Talos, nephew of Daidalos, and the partridge. L. Mercklin *Die Talos-Sage und das sardonische Lachen in den Mémoires présentées à l'Académie impériale des sciences de St-Petersbourg par divers savants* Saint-Petersbourg 1854 vii. 110 (74) n. 203 cp. the romantic tale of Meles and Timagoras (Paus. i. 30. 1) or Timagoras and Meletos (Soud. s.v. Μελήτρος *ter*), on which see W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2626 and Scherling in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xv. 491 f. But this has been adequately explained on other lines by C. T. Seltman in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1923—1925 xxvi. 101—104.

J. D. Beazley 'Icarus' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1927 xlvii. 222—233 illustrates *inter alia* (p. 231 fig. 6) a small red-figured *lékythos* of c. 470 B.C., in New York, on which a winged youth sinking into the sea (?) has above his head a bird 'flying almost straight down'.... 'The bird acts as the directional arrow in cartography.' H. J. Rose 'Ikaros and Perdix on a Fifth-century Vase?' *ib.* 1928 xlviii. 9 f. acutely conjectures that the painter 'had in his mind the mythical Perdix.'

On περδίκιον see R. M. Dawkins *ib.* 1936 lvi. 8 (botanical identifications).

i. 732 Zeus paired with Selene. Cp. S. Eitrem 'Die heilige Ehe' in *Symbolae Osloenses* 1932 xi. 18 n. 1.

i. 733 n. 6. On Zeus Νόστος of Miletos see now gr. Kruse in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 1053, who, after mentioning the late sixth-century offering Δι Νόστῳ (in inscription no. 31, 9 a sacrificial calendar on the wall of the old hall in the Delphinion), adds: 'Νόστει findet sich dann noch in einer Inschrift nr. 186, einer "Schreibübung eines Steinmetzen," aus der Zeit vor der Perserkatastrophe.... Auch v. Wilamowitz G G A 1914, 100 hält Δι Νόστῳ für gesichert, fügt aber mit Recht hinzu: "es kann wohl nur ein νούσιος sein, so sehr es befremdet."'

i. 735 f. Zeus as a Satyr. Titian's 'Jupiter and Antiope' in the Louvre shows the lustful god, with the ears and legs of a goat, just twitching the last garment off a recumbent and sleeping Antiope (Sir J. A. Crowe—G. B. Cavalcaselle *The Life and Times of Titian*² London 1881 ii. 317 with pl., J. Addison *Classic Myths in Art* London 1904 p. 57 f. with pl.).

H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3309 takes Sil. It. 3. 103 ff. (lascivo genitus Satyro nymphaque Myrice | Milichus indigenis late regnarat in oris | cornigeram attollens genitoris imagine frontem) to mean that Meilichos the horned king of Spain was the son of the nymph Myrike by Zeus in the form of a Satyr.

Zeus Πειώλης is attested by Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 264 f. 'Ἐπιθετα Διός... 86 πειώλους, 266 'Ἐπιθετα Διός... 74 πειώλους. The epithet, a derivative of πέος (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vi. 743 D—744 A), would suit a god of Satyr-like propensities, 'soll also wohl den Zeus als Gott der Fruchtbarkeit bezeichnen, wenn es nicht christlich-apologetischen Ursprungs ist' (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1752).

i. 735 n. 3 Lykourgos. Bronze coins of Alexandreia struck by Antoninus Pius represent Lykourgos with his double axe attacking Ambrosia, who according to Nonn. *Dion.*

21. 17 ff. was transformed by Gaia into a vine (K. D. Mylonas in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 233 ff. (wrongly numbered 153 ff.) and J. N. Svoronos *ib.* p. 466 ff.).

i. 737 Epopeus as an embodiment of Zeus. To the same effect A. W. Pickard-Cambridge in J. U. Powell *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* Third Series Oxford 1933 p. 106 n. 1.

i. 741 Aphrodite and her dove in Kypros. W. N. Bates 'Aphrodite's Doves at Paphos in 1932' in the *Am. Journ. Philol.* 1932 liii. 260 f. notes that the church of St George at New Paphos, built over a temple of Aphrodite (?), has in front of its iconostasis five white doves, which hold in their beaks cords supporting lamps. A larger church recently erected in the neighbourhood again has the same arrangement of five white doves holding lamp-cords. Finally the twelfth-century monastery of St Neophytus, some seven miles from Ktima, can boast the bones of the saint kept in a wooden box made by himself. 'Above them is a sort of canopy surmounted by two rude wooden doves gilded.' Bates rightly concludes that 'Aphrodite's doves still have a place in their ancient home.'

i. 741 n. 4 Zeus Μαΐεύς. Cp. F. Solmsen in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1897 xxiv. 49 n. 2: 'Auch in Μαΐεύς: ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Φρυγίᾳ Hes. wird wohl nur der pers. *Aura-mazdā* zu erkennen sein, wie schon de Lagarde annahm.'

i. 744 n. 3. On the inscription here cited see further A. Brinkmann in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1914 lxix. 585 f., M. N. Tod in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1915 xxxv. 269.

i. 750. For the star on the shoulder of a lion cp. a basalt relief from the level of Thutmose iii (B.C. 1501—1447. Breasted) at Beisan, which shows two scenes of a lion attacked by a Molossian mastiff (G. Contenau *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1931 ii. 1047 with fig. 727: 'Nous noterons sur ce bas-relief une particularité de facture: à l'épaule du lion, les poils forment une sorte de rosace en étoile à raies courbes; on la retrouvera plus tard sur un lion d'Arslan-Tash; à Zendjirli la plupart des lions portent au même endroit du corps deux traits croisés en X').

i. 751 Zeus conceived as dwelling in the starry sky. Cp. Soph. *Trach.* 1106 ὁ τοῦ κατ' ἄστρα Ζητὸς ἀδθηθεὶς γόνος.

i. 753 Tios or Tion in Bithynia. L. Robert in the *Rev. Arch.* 1934 i. 93 f. figs. 1—5 gives an account of his visit to the place with views of its *akropolis* etc.

i. 754 Zeus ringed with the zodiac. R. Wood *The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tedmor of the Desert* London (1753) p. 45 pl. 19. A publishes the circular medallion of a ceiling, which shows Zeus surrounded by six deities and a zodiacal ring. The spandrels are occupied by four eagles. The whole decorates the soffit of the temple of Sol at its southern end—a temple restored by Aurelian (see his letter to Cerronius Bassus in Vopisc. v. *Aurelian.* 31. 7 ff.).

i. 754 traces of astrology in early Greece. See A. Engelbrecht 'Vermeintliche Spuren altgriechischer Astrologie' in the *Eranos Vindobonensis* Wien 1893 pp. 125—130, who argues that there are 'von einer eigentlichen Astrologie mindestens bis zum vierten vorchristlichen Jahrhundert keine positiven, wohl aber negative Spuren in den Schriftwerken,' and W. Capelle 'Älteste Spuren der Astrologie bei den Griechen' in *Hermes* 1925 lx. 373—395, who claims to find such traces in the Hippocratic *περὶ διατρῆς* 4. 89 Littre (iv. 426 ff. Jones) at the end of s. v B.C. and probably also in Demokrit. *ap.* Aët. 2. 15. 3 (H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*³ Berlin 1912 ii. 32).

i. 754 ff. Zeus as lord of the constellations. G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 p. 90 fig. 17 (= my fig. 882) reproduces the fine illustration of Arat. *phaen.* 1 given in cod. Bonon. 188 fol. 20^v. An eagle with spread wings carries a thunderbolt in his claws and Zeus recumbent, with globe, sceptre, and rayed *nimbus*, on his back. Background blue, framework vermilion, eagle brownish yellow, flesh dark brown, *nimbus* and globe silver, diadem yellow, *himation* rose.

i. 756 n. 6 Zeus Βῆλος. J. Cantineau 'Textes palmyréniens provenant de la fouille du temple de Bêl' in *Syria* 1931 xii. 119 f. no. 3 publishes a bilingual inscription of the year 504 = 193 A.D., which (Greek 4 ff.) mentions an ἀρχιερεὺς κ[αὶ] | [σ]υμποσιάρχ[ης ἱερῶν] μεγίστου θεοῦ | Διὸς Βή[λου]. See further P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1932 xlv. 227.

i. 766 the Dioskouroi on Etruscan mirrors. C. Brakman 'De Iuturna et Dioscuris' in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1931 lix. 427—430, following up the trail blazed by F. Altheim *Griechische Götter im alten Rom* Giessen 1930 pp. 4—39 ('Juturna und die Dioskuren') [cp. F. Altheim *A History of Roman Religion* trans. H. Mattingly London 1938 pp. 243—245], claims that the Etruscans when in Asia had taken over from Greeks or pre-Greeks the cult of the Dioskouroi. These they would have called **Diutures*, 'sons of Zeus,' cp. *Diuturna* [Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3856] > *Iuturna*, 'daughter of Zeus,' hybrid formations. 'A stirpe **Diu* (Iove) per suffixum patronymicum -*thur* vel -*tur* derivatum

est **Diutur*, unde per Etruscum formans -*na* formatur *Diuturna*.... **Diutures* responderet igitur **Tivdarpous*, quod per prae-Graecum suffixum -*dap-* eandem vim habens atque Etruscum -*thur* vel -*tur* derivatum est a *Tiv*, quod idem est in lingua Etrusca valens *Δία*. Itaque *Tivdarpou* vel amplior forma Laconica *Tivdaplidae* synonymum est Dioscurorum.

But, if Brakman is indebted to Altheim, Altheim in turn owes much to others. G. Maresch 'Der Name der Tyndariden' in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 298 f. had already suggested that *Tivdaplidae* or *Tivdaplidae* was simply the Etruscan name for Zeus—*tin*, *tins*, *tinia*—with an Asia-Minor patronymic suffix -*dap-* and a Greek patronymic suffix -*id-* ('so hätten wir denn das spätere *Διόσκουροι* für eine griechische Übersetzung des vorhellenischen Namens *Tivdaplidae* anzusehen'). And P. Kretschmer in an article of cardinal importance

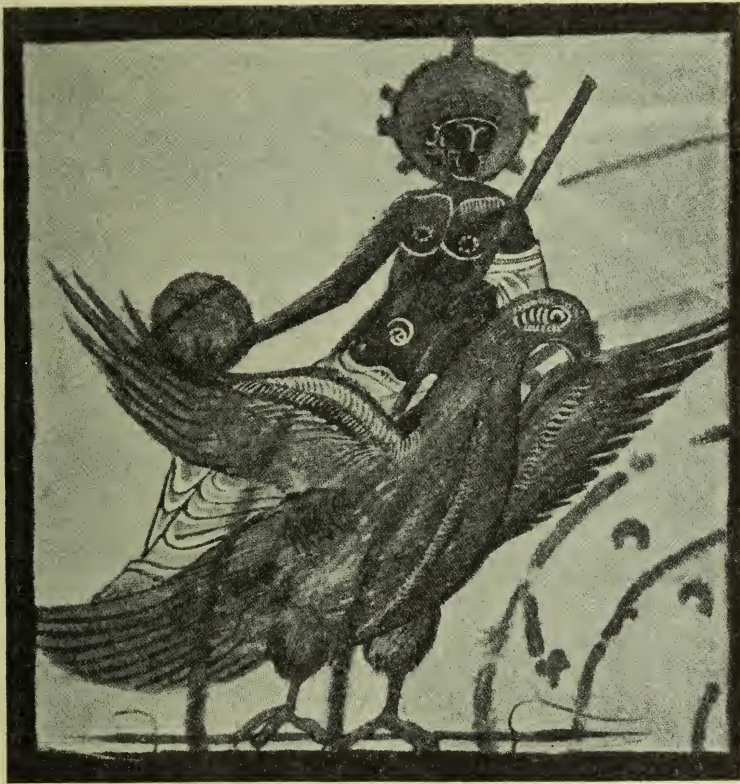


Fig. 882.

had proposed *ib.* p. 303 ff. *Tivdaplidae* = Etruscan *Tin-* (Zeus) + Etruscan patronymic -*thur* or -*tur* (cp. *tinthur* as a personal name in a tomb-inscription at Naples). He supposes that the *θ* or *t* of the Etruscan suffix became *δ* under the influence of a personal name **Tivdarpous* related to the place-name *Tivdη* as *Ilvδapos* to *Ilvδος* or *Mivδapos* to *Mivδη*. These northern names carry with them the northern suffix -*ap-* [cp. Addenda to i. 725]. Kretschmer concludes *ib.* p. 308: 'Die vorgriechische Bevölkerung, in der die unidg. Urbevölkerung und die protidg. Zuwanderer verschmolzen waren, nannte also die mit Zeus gepaarte Göttin einfach mit dem Appellativum für Frau. Der Gott hiess *Tin-*, woneben vermutlich unter dem Einfluss einer jüngeren Schicht **Taus*, **Teus* trat; ihm stand eine Göttin als seine Frau, *lada* [*supra* i. 763 n. 4], zur Seite. Ihre Zwillingsöhne hießen **Tintor-* oder ähnl. Wenn wir zu dem Ergebnis kommen, dass diese Tyrrhenopelager bereits den idg. Zeus-Kult nach Hellas gebracht hatten, so wird damit zugleich das Rätsel der berühmten Iliasstelle II 233 gelöst: *Ζεῦ ἄνα Δαδωναίε, Πελασγικέ, ...*'

i. 768 n. o. See now O. Huth 'Die Kulttore der Indogermanen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1937 xxxiv. 371—377 (in continuation of *id.* 'Der Durchzug des Wilden Heeres' *ib.* 1935 xxxii. 193—210).

i. 776 Zeus *Amários*. A. Aymard 'Le Zeus fédéral achaïen Hamarios—Homarios' in the *Mélanges offerts à M. Octave Navarre par ses élèves et ses amis* Toulouse 1935 pp. 453—470 (defends the form *Ἀμάριος*, cp. the summary in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1936 xlix. 349). *Id.* 'Le rôle politique du sanctuaire fédéral achaïen' in the *Mélanges Franz Cumont (Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves iv)* Bruxelles 1936 i. 1—26.

i. 781. A. D. Knox in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1915 xlv. 695 (Cambridge Philological Society, Feb. 25, 1915) suggested that in Phoinix of Kolophon *frag.* 2. 4 *ὁς οὐκ ἰδ' ἀστέρ' οὐ Δίαν ἐδίδητο* the word *Δίαν* or the like is Persian for heaven, taken with *vv.* 5, 6 from (Ktesias) *ap.* Strab. p. 733, following or correcting Hdt. i. 132.' But the text as given in cod. A of Athen. 530 E *ὁς οὐκ ἰδ' ἀστέρ' οὐ διδῶν ἐδίδητο* is very corrupt. Emendations are numerous (see the note of J. U. Powell *Collectanea Alexandrina* Oxonii 1925 p. 232). Knox himself in the Loeb edition (London 1929) *frag.* 1. 4 now prints *ὁς οὐκ ἰδ' ἀστέρ' οὐ [δίδ]ων ἐδίδητο*, and E. Diehl *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*² Lipsiae 1936 i. 3. 108 *frag.* 3. 4 is still content with Naeke's *ὁς οὐκ ἰδ' ἀστέρ' οὐδ' ἰ<δ>ὼν ἐδίδητο*.

i. 782 on Saint George as dragon-slayer. Add S. A. Matson *St. George and the Dragon*² London 1893 pp. 1—22 (popular), M. Oldfield Howey *The Encircled Serpent* London (1926) pp. 174 ff. ('St. Michael and the Dragon'), 177 ff. ('St. George and the Dragon').

i. 784 bull-carrying on a coin of Nysa. Brüder Egger *Auktions-Katalog xlv* Griechische Münzen (Sammlung des Herrn Theodor Prowe, Moskau, u. a.) Wien 1914 p. 70 no. 1511 pl. 24 ('Stier auf den Schultern von sechs nackten Epheben getragen, davor schreitender Flötenspieler') Maximus. See also K. Kourouniotes in the *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 1921—1922 vii. 4 fig. 2 (enlarged).

i. 784 Syro-Hittite bulls enclosing human victims. We may perhaps compare the hollow bronze horse containing the body of a man, found by Gyges in Lydia (Plat. *rep.* 359 D, Apostol. 15. 85).

i. 785 statuette of gilded bronze from the Syrian sanctuary on the Ianiculum. Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 293 no. 2 'Atergatis?', H. Gressmann in the *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1923—1924* Leipzig—Berlin 1926 p. 186 pl. 5, 10 'Atargatis.' But the statuette, which is now in the Museo delle Terme, has been cleaned and proves to be a male figure, possibly that of Adad (T. Ashby in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1914 p. 14) or Chronos (R. Paribeni *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*⁴ Roma 1922 p. 120 f. no. 188). J. Leipoldt in D. Hans Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 ix—xi p. xiv f. fig. 109 is content to say 'Syrischer Gott vom Janiculum.'

ii. 3 n. o pot-Zeuses. Cp. Aristoph. *ran.* 22 *Διώνυσος, υἱὸς Στραμνίου* with schol. *δέον εἰπεῖν υἱὸς Διὸς, κ.τ.λ.* H. J. Rose in the *Class. Quart.* 1932 xxvi. 58 aptly explains Hesych. *Ἐγγχώ· ἡ Σεμέλη οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο* as a comic formation from *ἐγγχεῖν*.

ii. 6 n. 3. So Plout. *v. C. Gracch.* 14 *καὶ τότε μὲν ὁμβρου γενομένου διελύθησαν· κ.τ.λ.*

ii. 7 n. 1. See also O. Casel 'Vom heiligen Schweigen' in the *Benedictiner Monats-schrift* 1921 p. 417 ff., and G. Mensching *Das heilige Schweigen* Giessen 1926 pp. 1—162 (reviewed by O. Casel in *Gnomon* 1928 iv. 142—149).

ii. 8 n. 7. G. H. Macurdy in the *Class. Quart.* 1926 xx. 179 f. treats *Ἐκτωρ* as a short form of *Ἐχέλαος* (Attic *Ἐχελος*).

ii. 9 apotheosis by lightning. See now H. J. Rose in the *Class. Quart.* 1924 xviii. 15 f.

ii. 12 Keraunos. H. Günter *Über Reimwortbildungen im arischen und altgriechischen* Heidelberg 1914 p. 215 f. regards the god *Κεραυνός* as a rime-word to the Slavonic **Peraunos*.

R. Ganszyniec 'Zeus Keraunos' in *Eos* 1930/1931 xxxiii. 66 cp. 'Schiblé, der Gott des Donners, des Krieges und der Gerechtigkeit' worshipped by the Adighe or Circassians, who treat as sacrosanct any tree or man struck by lightning (F. Bodenstedt *Die Völker des Kaukasus und ihre Freiheitskämpfe gegen die Russen* Frankfurt 1848 p. 201).

ii. 13 ff. Zeus *Kataibátes*. See now H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 pp. 108—114 ('Zeus Kataibates'). A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1924 p. 146 f. no. 389 fig. 3 publishes a *stèle* of blackish marble found in the wall of the church of Hagia Kyriake at *Selos* near Pythion in Thessaly. The *stèle* has an *aktoma* with *akroteria* above, below which is a smooth space originally occupied by a painting, and below that an inscription in letters of *c.* the beginning of s. iii B.C. *Διὶ Καταυβάτη· ἥρωι*

'Επ[ικράτει. This Epikrates was either a chthonian hero or, more probably, a man killed by lightning and worshipped as a hero. On the Thessalian festival Καταΐβασία see Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2461 f. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 71 n. 4 adds the base of a bronze statue found in Thasos, which bears a dedication of Roman date to Zeus Kataibátēs (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1923 xlvii. 537). And G. Daux in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 245 f. no. 25 records an inscription from Thasos (on a block of local marble, once a statue-base, to be dated c. the beginning of our era) Διὸς Καταΐβάτου.

ii. 19 n. ο ἀλευρομάντεις, ἀλφιτομάντεις, κριθομάντεις. See now Boehm 'Aleuromantie' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 258—260, 'Alphitomantie' *ib.* i. 310 f., 'Kriothomantie' *ib.* 1933 v. 594—596, and Eckstein 'Mehl' *ib.* 1934 vi. 89—110.

ii. 21 n. 5. G. W. Elderkin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 32 conjectures that this *ábaton* of Zeus Kataibátēs marks the spot on which Demetrios Poliorketes [*supra* i. 58, cp. K. Scott 'The Deification of Demetrius Poliorketes' in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1928 xlix. 217—239 summarised by P. Cloché in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 228] 'descended in a blaze of glory' from his chariot—a descent parodied by Plaut. *Cure.* 413 ff. where Curculio announces himself as Summanus, the god who sends nocturnal lightnings, and explains that at night he sometimes 'descends in a shower' (*summiano*)!

ii. 23 n. 2 Numa's law about the man struck by lightning. E. Bickel in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1931 lxxx. 279—298 cj. *hominem fulmine* (or *fulmini*) *Iovos occisit*, and examines in detail relevant religious and linguistic usage.

ii. 24 Orpheus slain by a thunderbolt. Paus. 9. 30. 5 εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ φασὶ κεραννωθέντι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβῆναι τὴν τελευτὴν 'Ορφεΐ· κεραννωθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν λόγων ἕνεκα ὧν ἐδίδασκεν ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις οὐ πρότερον ἀκηκόους ἀνθρώπων, Diog. Laert. *prooem.* 5 τὸ δ' ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐπύραμμα, κεραννωθῆναι αὐτόν, λέγον οὕτως· 'Ὁρῆϊκα χρυσοῦρρην τῆδ' Ὀρφέα Μοῦσαι ἔθαψαν, | δν κτάνεν ὑψιμέδων Ζεὺς ψόδοντι βέλει' = *Anth. Pal.* 7. 617. 1 f., cp. Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 99. 1 f.

ii. 30 n. 3 etymology of *Brundisium*. P. Skok 'Brendisium und Verwandtes' in the *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung* 1925/26 i. 81—90.

ii. 31 *téras*. See further P. Stein TEPAΣ Marpurgi Cattorum 1909 pp. 1—66. He classifies the uses of the word and connects *Teipestas* with it, but does not elucidate its etymology. Schrader *Reallex.*² ii. 143^b, 481^{a-b} and H. Lewy in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1930 lviii. 30 f. connect *téras*, *telpea*, *Teipestas* and suppose that the word, which originally meant 'star,' was widened to include omens in general.

ii. 32 the *Tarentum* at Rome. P. Boyancé in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome* 1925 xlii. 135—146 discusses the site of the *ara Ditis* in *Tarento* and concludes that it was in low ground near the Tiber, probably in the *Ghetto* (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 221). But see the criticisms of S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 508 f.

ii. 33 ff. Zoroastres. A masterly exposition of Zoroaster's life, teaching, and works will be found in J. Bidez—F. Cumont *Les Mages hellénisés: Zoroastre Ostanès et Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque* Paris 1938 i. 1—297 ('Introduction'), ii. 1—241 ('Les Textes').

ii. 36 ff. the Elysian Way. See now P. Capelle 'Elysium und Inseln der Seligen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 244—264, *ib.* 1928 xxvi. 17—40 (the etymology is dealt with on p. 32 f.), J. Charpentier 'Νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ' in *Symbolae philologicae O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatae* Upsaliae 1932 p. 27 ff., Stegemann 'Milchstrasse' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 1934 vi. 367—374.

ii. 44 the 'straight light like a pillar' (Plat. *rep.* 616 B) without a counterpart in astronomical fact or fancy. But what of the zodiacal light (J. F. Julius Schmidt *Das Zodiacallicht* Braunschweig 1856 pp. 1—110)? J. Helmbold *Der Atlasmithus und Verwandtes* Mülhausen i. E. 1906 (Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Gymnasiums zu Mülhausen i. E.) p. 5 fig. shows the zodiacal light looking much like an obelisk with rounded top. He thinks that the pillars of Atlas (*Od.* i. 52 ff.), the pillar of Prometheus, the Elysian Way, the tower of Kronos, etc. were all zodiacal myths. Prof. R. A. S. Macalister subsequently, but independently, hit upon the same explanation. In a letter to me, dated Jan. 19, 1929, he says: 'Apropos of the Sky-pillar... I have been wondering if you considered the possibility that it might have been suggested by the *Zodiacal Light*. This soft beam of light, which rises vertically from the evening horizon in Spring and the morning horizon in Summer, is not often to be seen in our latitudes: I have often looked for it, in vain. But I have seen it in Palestine, where it looked just like a faintly

luminous pillar with tapering point.... I never saw it as a complete belt across the sky, as some have seen it in high tropic latitudes.'

ii. 45 the 'spindle of Ananke.' P. M. Schuhl in the *Rev. Arch.* 1930 ii. 58—64 pls. 6 and 7 and fig. 1 holds that the spindle of Ananke may be derived from the ancient oriental theme of a spindle-holding goddess, 'la Dame au fuseau' [for which see U. Holmberg 'Der Baum des Lebens' in the *Annales Academiæ Scientiarum Fennicæ* ser. B 1922—1923 xvi. 3. 106 ff.].

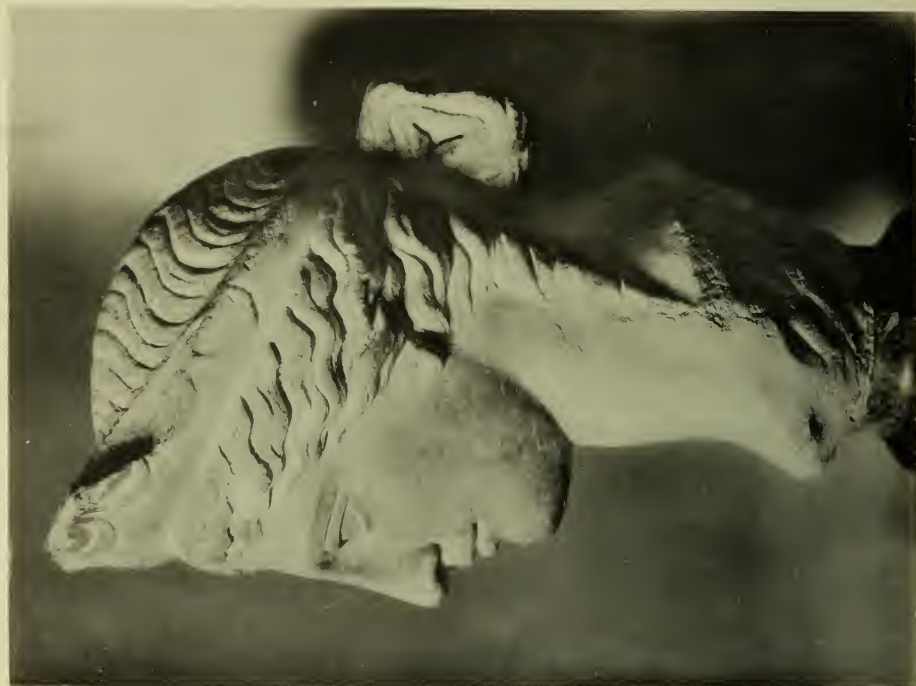
ii. 52 n. 2 *Iringes wec.* Add Stegemann in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 1934 vi. 373 n. 36.

ii. 52 ff. (cp. iii. 418 n. o) the *Irmînsûl* as a sky-prop. G. Dottin in J. Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 138: 'This belief in the fall of the sky is seen frequently in the oaths of Irish epic poetry.' Frazer *Worship of Nature* i. 148 notes that, according to the Uptos of the Upper Congo, 'The day will come when the sky will collapse and flatten us all out, blacks and whites alike' (a reference that I owe to my friend Dr J. Rendel Harris). H. J. Rose in *The Hibbert Journal* 1927 xxv. 381 n. 1 cp. our own proverb 'If the sky should fall, we should all catch larks' [W. G. Smith *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* Oxford 1935 p. 210 f.], but refuses to believe that this ever expressed a real fear. Weiser-Aall in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 1930 ii. 1527: 'Das Weltgebäude ist nach der Vorstellung vieler Völker wie das Wohnhaus aufgebaut. So muss der Himmel wie das Dach durch eine Säule bzw. durch den Weltbaum gestützt werden' etc. (Scandinavians, Lapps, Celts, Germans). A. H. Krappe *Mythologie universelle* Paris 1930 p. 130 f. defends my view against criticism and supplies a parallel from the *Veda* (H. Oldenberg *La religion du Vêda* Paris 1903 p. 60 n. 2 'Pourquoi le ciel ne tombe-t-il pas sur la terre?—Parce qu'un grand bouc à une seule patte lui sert de pilier' [cp. A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 73 f.]). J. Erdödi in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1932 l. 214—219 discusses the Sanskrit *Skambha*, 'himmelstützender Baum' (*Atharva-Veda* 10. 8. 2 'Vom Skambha wird der Himmel und die Erde | Ewig gehalten auseinander, | Auf Skambha (ruht) dies beseelte All, | Was atmet, was die Augen schliesst'), as source of the Finnish *Sampo*, which in the *Kalevala* denotes 'eine wunderbare Mühle, Glücksmühle,' but is akin to the Wotyak *sammäs*, 'Säule, Wetterhahn,' and Estonian *sammäs*, 'Säule, Pfosten.'

Further evidence for the sky-prop in belief and practice is collected by U. Holmberg in the *Annales Academiæ Scientiarum Fennicæ* ser. B. 1922—1923 xvi. 3. 9—33 figs. 2—15 ('Die Weltaule'). *Id.* in J. A. MacCulloch *The Mythology of all Races* Boston 1927 iv (Finno-Ugric, Siberian). 221 f. says: 'the Samoyeds (Turuhs District) call the North Star the "nail of the sky," "round which the heavens revolve." The ancient Finns had also a corresponding but now forgotten term, as proved by the name of the North Star, borrowed by the Lapps from the Finns, Bohi-navile ("the nail of the north"); its counterpart among the Estonians being the Põhjaneel.... This nail is, at the same time, regarded as supporting the sky.... Missionaries relate that the Lapps sacrificed to their highest god Veralden rade ("Ruler of the world") so that "he should not let fall the sky," erecting at the altars a tree either split in two or forked naturally, or also, at times, a high pillar, called the "pillar of the world" (Veralden tshuold) for the god to "support the world with, and keep it in its present form and condition, that it might not grow old and fall from its former nature." The tree was besmeared with blood from the sacrifice. A "pillar of the world" of this description was seen by Leem in the vicinity of the Porsanger Fjord [*supra* ii. 423 n. 3 with fig. 326].... That these pillars of the Lapps had a heavenly counterpart is shown by the fact that, in some places, the name of the North Star is "pillar of the world" (Veralden tshuold). It is probable that the Lapps obtained both their ideas and their sacrificial customs from the Scandinavians...; the "nail" may be compared with the Scandinavian Veraldar nagli, the "world-nail." *Id. ib.* p. 333 ff.: 'From this belief spring the curious names given by the Altaic stocks to the North Star. The Mongols, Buriats, Kalmucks, and the Altai Tatars and Ugurs call the star in question "The golden pillar"; the Kirghis, Bashkirs and certain other Siberian Tatar tribes call it "The iron pillar"; the Teleuts "The lone post," and the Tungus-Orotshons "The golden post." From the similarity of the names given it by these widely separated peoples we may conclude that the conception of a sky-supporting pillar reaches back among the Altaic race to a comparatively early period.... Although none of the available sources mention directly that the peoples of the Altaic race made images of this great world-pillar, we can still be reasonably certain that they did so from the fact that several of the more northern peoples have kept up this custom even to our days.... The Ostiaks call these wooden images of the pillar, "town-pillars" or "the strong pillars of the town's centre." Those more simple in construction are erected by being slightly sunk



a



b

Marble head of Iuno *Lucina* (?), now at Queens' College, Cambridge.

into the earth, and are hardly ever observed to be shaped at all in any way. The pillar of the village of Tsingala is about two fathoms in height, a squared, slender log, not very old.... This pillar of Tsingala, which the Ostiaks of that place regard as a deity, is called by them "The iron pillar man," a similar name being given to the post of another village of Irtysh, resembling greatly the afore-mentioned "Iron pillar" of the Tatars.... Some peoples in North-West Siberia, who have a similar custom, place on the world-pillar a wooden figure of a bird, which sometimes has two heads.... The pillars, on which these birds are placed and which have sometimes cross-pieces like branches, are, according to the Dolgans, a symbol of the "never falling props" before the dwelling of the Supreme God. On the cross-pieces, so it is said, dwell the sons of God.'

E. Jung 'Irminsul und Rolandsäule' in *Mannus* 1925 xvii. 1—34 figs. 1—14, taking a hint from J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 119 and 394, claims that the *Rolandsäule* of Niedersachsen, Westfalen, Obersachsen, and Thüringen was a Christianised survival of the pre-Christian *Irminsul* (summary by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 502). See further P. J. Hamilton-Grierson in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 420^a ('Irmensäulen, Rolandsäulen, *perrons*, and many of the market-crosses of Scotland').

ii. 57 ff. Iupiter-Columns. These are now published and illustrated in detail by Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* (Index in x. 253 'Chapiteau,' 266 'Restes de colonnes,' 275 f. 'Quatre divinités') and *Bas-reliefs de la Germanie Rom.* (Index p. 480 'Cavalier et anguipède,' 'Colonne votive,' p. 484 'Quatre divinités'). Add R. L[antier] in the *Rev. Arch.* 1939 i. 276—278 fig. 1 (group from Neschers).

ii. 61 n. o Iuno *Lucina*. In 1934 on the dispersal of the Harland-Peck collection I acquired a fine marble head (Sotheby's *Sale Catalogue* 1934 p. 11 no. 48: height 22 inches), which represents Iuno wearing a *stephane* adorned with nine crescents (pl. lxxix). I take her to be Iuno *Lucina* as goddess of childbirth—the Roman copy of a Greek type resembling Hera Ludovisi.

ii. 62 f. the Wild Hunt or Furious Host. See further F. Liebrecht *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imperialia* Hannover 1856 pp. 173—211 ('La Mesnie furieuse, ou la Chasse sauvage'), K. Meisen *Die Sagen vom Wütenden Heer und Wilden Jäger* Münster 1935 pp. 1—144.

ii. 63 Wodan. Cp. G. Neckel 'Regnator omnium deus' [*Tac. Germ.* 39] in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung* 1926 ii. 139—150.

ii. 69 ff. the octagonal *Wochengötterstein*. F. Cumont in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1938 xxviii. 88 suggests that the influence of Syrian religious art may account for these eight-sided blocks, mounted on a square plinth and supporting a cylindrical column with its crowning group of cavalier and anguiped.

ii. 86 n. 3. L. Barbedette 'Le symbolisme des tombeaux gallo-romains' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1926 i. 273—277 deals with Lussois and Eriac, deities of the hot springs at Luxovium. Numerous local reliefs show persons holding a bottle or box in the left hand, a glass or cup in the right. Several such *cippi* bear the sepulchral dedication D·M.

ii. 88 the world-pillar in Rhenic Germany. Miss J. R. Bacon in 1929 kindly drew my attention to Skymn. Chi. *per.* 188 ff. τούτων δὲ (sc. τῶν Κελτῶν) κείται λεγομένη τις ἐσχάτη | στήλη βόρειος· ἐστὶ δ' ὕψηλὴ πᾶν | εἰς κυματώδες πέλαγος ἀνατείνουσ' ἄκραν. | οἰκοῦσι τῆς στήλης δὲ τοὺς ἐγγὺς τόπους | Κελτῶν ὅσοι λήγουσιν ὄντες ἐσχατοί | "Ἐνετοί τε καὶ τῶν ἐντὸς εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν | Ἰστρον καθηκόντων· λέγουσι δ' αὐτόθεν | τὸν Ἰστρον ἀρχὴν λαμβάνειν τοῦ βέβματος.

ii. 88 n. 3 Jack and the Beanstalk. On which see L. Mackensen 'Bohnenranke zum Himmel' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1933 i. 299—301.

ii. 97 n. o Nero as Zeus. A. D. Nock in the *Class. Rev.* 1926 xl. 18 notes *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 75 no. 7 (Dioshieron) *ὄνν. ΣΕΥΣ | ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ* heads of Zeus to left and Nero to right, face to face. Nock cites Calp. Sic. 4. 142 f. tu quoque mutata seu Iuppiter ipse figura, | Caesar, ades etc.

ii. 107 n. 4. For the spiral column see also the materials collected by M. Avi-Yonah in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1930 l. 303—309.

ii. 111 n. o Zeus *Tropaiophoros*. A. M. Woodward in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1926—1927 xxviii. 117 no. 1 publishes an inscription from Klazomenai [Δία τροπ]αιοφόρον | [-----] ἀνέθηκεν | [ἐπιμελ]ής θέντος Τιβερίου | [Κλαυδίου] Θεοδώρου.

ii. 111 n. 1 La Turbie. See now A. Blanchet *Forma orbis Romani: carte archéologique de la Gaule romaine* Fasc. 1 *Alpes-Maritimes* by P. Couissin sections 4—6 pls. 1—3 Paris 1931 (noticed by W. W. Hyde in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 520),

P. Casimir *Le trophée d'Auguste à la Turbie* Marseille 1932 pp. 1—168, S. F. Gimenez 'Ce que j'ai vu à la Turbie' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1933 pp. 165—168 (built round a pre-existing monument, perhaps several centuries older).

ii. 114 ff. the Pillar of Light. Kallisthenes of Olynthos *frag.* 8 (*Script. hist. Alex. Mag.* p. 13 f. Müller)=*frag.* 20 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 646 f. Jacoby) *ap. Sen. nat. quaest.* 6. 26. 4 (*cp. ib.* 7. 5. 3—5) inter multa...prodigia, quibus denuntiata est duarum urbium Helices et Buris eversio, fuere maxime notabilia columna ignis immensi et Delos agitata. But this fiery pillar was presumably a species of comet (O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 p. 656 n. 1). The Jewish tragedian Ezekiel (s. ii. B.C.: see A. Jacoby in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 278 n. 1) *ap. Euseb. praep. ev.* 9. 29. 16 locates Moses' rock at Elim and says τὸθεν δὲ φέγγος ἐξέλαμψε νιν, | κατ' εὐφρόνην σημειὼν ὡς στύλος πυρός—apparently combining the 'pillar of fire' (Ex. 13. 21 f., *alib.*) with the 'rock in Horeb' (Ex. 17. 6, *cp. Num.* 20. 8), if not with the 'rock that followed them' (1 Cor. 10. 4).

R. Vallois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1931 lv. 327 f. regards the blaze in Krastonia as a ritual epiphany of Dionysos, citing Suet. *Aug.* 94 Octavio postea, cum per secreta Thraciae exercitum duceret, in Liberi patris luco barbara caerimonia de filio consulenti, idem affirmatum est a sacerdotibus, quod infuso super altaria mero tantum flammae emicuisset, ut supergressa fastigium templi ad caelum usque ferretur, unique omnino Magno Alexandro apud easdem aras sacrificanti simile provenisset ostentum. Vallois compares the Theban myth of Dionysos πυριγενής [Eustath. in *Il.* p. 346, 32] and the nativity of the Cretan Zeus (Ant. Lib. 19: *supra* ii. 928 n. o).

ii. 117 n. 7 Quint. Smyrn. 14. 223 ff. H. J. Rose in the *Hibbert Journal* 1927 xxv. 380 remarks that Quint. Smyrn. is here imitating Ap. Rhod. 3. 160 f.

ii. 119 'star-flung Thunderbolt.' K. Kerényi 'Ἀστεροβλήτα κεραυνός' in the *Égyetemes Philologiai Közlöny* Budapest 1927 li. 81—87=*id.* 'ΑΣΤΕΡΟΒΛΗΤΑ ΚΕΡΑΤΝΟΣ' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1928 xxvi. 322—330, *cp. id. ib.* 1933 xxx. 288 n. 1.

ii. 121 'I have fallen as a kid into milk.' C. W. Vollgraff ΕΠΙΦΟΣ ΕΣ ΓΑΛ' ΕΠΕΤΟΝ (*Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afdeling Letterkunde Deel 57, Serie A, N°. 2) Amsterdam 1924 pp. 1—35 (in Dutch, with summary in French) holds that the formula means 'I, become a kid, flung myself upon the milk,' *i.e.* upon the breast of the deity. *Cp.* the Villa Item fresco, where a Satyrus suckles a kid [A. Maiuri *La Villa dei Misteri* Roma 1931 p. 140 f. fig. 53 and col. pl. 5 f.].

ii. 121 n. 3 vases showing Thracian women tattooed. To the six examples listed add: (7) A *kytyle* from Caere, now at Schwerin, signed by the potter Pistoxenos [Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 372 f. no. 3 fig., J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 259 no. 1) shows young Herakles followed by an old crone Geropros, who is tattooed in the Thracian manner with parallel strokes on neck, forearms, and feet (the best publication is that of J. Maybaum in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1912 xxvii. 24—37 fig. 1 pls. 5—8). (8) A fragmentary *kalýx-krater* from Tarentum, now at the Hague (C. Watzinger in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 355—361 pl. 178), represents the assailants of Orpheus with numerous tattoo-marks on arms, legs, and necks. 'Dieser Körperschmuck besteht nicht nur aus geometrischen Mustern, senkrechten und wagrechten Strichen, Zickzack- und Mäanderbändern und punktierten Sternen [on which solar symbol see *supra* i. 296 fig. 219, C. T. Seltman *Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* Cambridge 1924 p. 55 ff., *id. Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 51 pl. 4, 1, and S. Casson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1935 xxxix. 514 ff.], sondern an Armen und Beinen sehen wir auch sich emporringelnde Schlangen und hochbeinige Vierfüssler, Rehe und Hirsche und einmal am Arm wohl eher ein springendes Reh als einen Hasen' (p. 359).

ii. 123 n. o ritual tattooing. See further F. J. Dölger *Antike und Christentum* Münster in Westfalen 1930 ii. 100 ff. ('Die Gottesweihe durch Brandmarkung oder Tätowierung in ägyptischen Dionysoskult der Ptolemäerzeit'), 107 ff. ('Zur Frage der religiösen Tätowierung im thrakischen Dionysoskult...'), 297 ff. ('Religiöse Tätowierung im Atargatiskult von Hierapolis in Syrien'), 1932 iii. 257 ff. ('Der Sinn der sakralen Tätowierung und Brandmarkung in der antiken Kultur').

ii. 124 ladder as soul-path. Hence perhaps that favourite *motif* in Pompeian art—Eros on a ladder (*e.g.* Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 85, 3—5, p. 91, 4).

ii. 124 n. 2 pl. vi. J. D. Beazley in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1927 xlvii. 230 n. 29 justly objects that I have ignored the explanation of the scene offered by F. Hauser in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1909 xii. 96 fig. 56 (Ἀδωνιάζουσαι: the woman on the ladder personates Aphrodite).

ii. 128 Jacob's ladder. C. F. Coxwell *Siberian and other Folk-Tales* London 1933

p. 988 (in Little Russia the staircase seen by Jacob is formed of seven heavens—blue, green, violet, yellow, white, pink, and fiery red).

ii. 128 n. 2. See now T. Dombart *Der babylonische Turm* Leipzig 1930 pp. 1–36 with 9 figs. in text and 4 pls.

ii. 129 n. 2. Prof. Max Semper of Aachen, in a letter dated Dec. 14, 1926, kindly points out to me that in Chwolsohn's translation from Makrissi 'Leiter' means, not 'ladder,' but 'leader' ('etwa die Bedeutung von "spiritus rector"').

ii. 130 votive ladders. W. Deonna 'Ex-voto déliens' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1932 lvi. 410–420 ('L'échelle aux serpents') observes that, from the year 364 B.C. onwards, the official inventories of the Artemision at Delos mention a small ladder in gilded wood round which a couple of silver snakes were twined (T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1886 x. 461 ff. line 102 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 815, 102 ff. (364 B.C.) κλιμάκιον ξύλινον περιεχρυσωμένον ὄφεσιν ἀργυροῖς διεζωμένον | ἄσπατον, T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1890 xiv. 389 ff. (B) 35 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 833, 35 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 161 B 35 f. (279 B.C.) κλιμάκιον ξύλινον περιχρυσον ὄφεσιν ἀργυροῖς διεζωμένον, ἄσπατον, *ib.* ii no. 162 B 28 f. (278 B.C.) κλιμάκιον ξύλινον περ[ε]χρυσον ὄφεσιν ἀργυροῖς διεζωμένον, ἄσπατον, *ib.* ii no. 203 B 86 (269 B.C.) κλιμάκιον [ξ]ύλινον ἐπιχρυσον ὄφεσιν δύο ἔχον ἀργυροῖς, E. Schulhof in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 64 ff. no. 12, 23 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 208, 23 f. κλιμάκιον ξ[ύ]λινον ἐπιχρυσον ὄφεσιν δύο ἔχον ἀργυροῖς)). For the snakes of the ladder Deonna cp. the vision of St Perpetua (*supra* ii. 133), a fresco of c. 300–350 A.D. from the crypt of St Marcus and St Marcellianus in the Cemetery of St Balbina (H. Leclercq in F. Cabrol *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* Paris 1910 ii. 149 f. with fig. 1229, cp. *ib.* 1921 iv. 1718 fig. 3900), and the twelfth-century *Hortus Deliciarum* by Herrade de Landsberg (*supra* ii. 136 n. 3). Does the same symbolism survive in the modern game of 'Snakes and Ladders'?

ii. 131 the terra-cotta disks from Tarentum. See now P. Wullemumier 'Les disques de Tarente' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1932 i. 26–64 with 4 pls. and 2 figs. K. Kerényi in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 271–307 with fig. on p. 270 adds an interesting example in the Museum at Brindisi ('"Ανοδος-Darstellung...mit einem Zodiakus von 11 Zeichen").

ii. 131 f. with fig. 79 Baubo. This terra cotta is now in the Antiquarium at Berlin: a photograph of it is given by H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Dresden—Zürich 1926 ii. 16, also by O. Rubensohn in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xlv Arch. Anz. p. 199 with fig. 2 ('Die Frau ist ganz nackt...und berührt mit der rechten Hand die Scham. In Ägypten kennen wir die Gestalt dieser Frau in derselben Haltung und mit derselben Geste in zahlreichen Wiederholungen, nur mit dem Unterschied, dass sie nicht auf dem Schwein sitzt. Es sind kleine Figürchen, die gewöhnlich unter dem Namen Baubo gehen, ohne dass sie irgendwelches Recht auf diesen Namen haben. Sie tragen meist reichen Schmuck an Armen und Beinen, Kränze auf dem Kopf, und als Attribut kommt neben Sistrum und Flaschen einmal auch eine Leiter vor, nie die Scala').

See further S. Reinach 'Un mime byzantin' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1919 xxxii. 433–442 (=id. 'Un mime byzantin ou Baubo à Byzance' in *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1923 v. 103–113), C. Picard 'L'épisode de Baubô dans les mystères d'Eleusis' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1927 xcv. 220–254, G. Pansa Miti, *leggende e superstizioni dell' Abruzzo* Sulmona 1927 ii. 91 ff. ('Il mito Eleusimio (*sic*) di Baubo ed il simbolo talismanico della ranocchia') with 11 figs., S. Reinach 'Baubô japonaise' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 ii. 337, U. Pestalozza in the *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 1931 vii. 64 ff. (Baubo etc.), P. Demargne 'Deux représentations de la déesse minoenne dans la nécropole de Mallia (Crète)' in the *Mélanges Gustave Glotz* Paris 1932 i. 305–314 with pls. 1–3 and fig. 1 (a painted anthropomorphic *rhytôn* of 'Early Minoan iii' date and an incised *oinochôe* of 'Middle Minoan i'—both showing a goddess comparable with Baubo), H. Vorwahl 'Ein apotropäischer Kriegerbrauch' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 395–397 ('so wird eindeutig, dass es sich hier um dynamistische Vorstellungen handelt, die Ausstrahlung von Kraft im apotropäischen Sinne'). An external corbel on the apse of the Norman church at Kilpeck, Monmouthshire, is sufficient proof that Baubo is with us yet.

ii. 142 n. 1. Cp. also A. Taramelli 'Chiaramonti.—Navicella votiva protosarda rinvenuta a Nuraghe Spina' in the *Not. Scavi* 1925 pp. 322–327 fig. 1 (bronze boat with stag-head prow), F. Behn in Ebert *Reallex.* xi. 248 with pl. 64, a.

ii. 143 Sardus Pater. C. Albizzati 'Sardus Pater' in *Historia* 1927 i. 56–65 with 14 figs., L. B. Holland 'Mycenaean plumes' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1929 xxxiii. 198.

ii. 146 Diana-Pillars. Cp. a fresco from Pompeii which shows Mercury facing Venus and, between them, a Diana-pillar with crown-shaped top, a pair of ox-horns (?) attached

to the shaft, and a small ithyphallic ex-voto at the base—the whole erected on a rock (B. Quaranta in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1824 i pl. 32 with pp. 1—9, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 8 no. 20, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 97 no. 3).

ii. 150 n. 2. On the Jains see J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1926 xiii (Index). 288, also A. Guérinot *La religion Djaina* Paris 1926 pp. 1—350 with 25 pls. (pt 2. 11 'Cosmologie,' pt 3. 1 'Les sanctuaires et les temples').

ii. 157 n. o. E. Babelon *Guide illustré au Cabinet des Médailles* Paris 1900 p. 211 f. fig. 83 'Vase de Bérénice,' H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery* p. 11 no. K 76 pl. 5 (βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου | Φιλοπάτορος.....), p. 12 no. K 77 pl. 5 (ἀγαθῆς τύχης Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου).

ii. 160 ff. *Agyieús*-Pillars. With figs. 104—106 cp. a square bronze weight in the British Museum (1930. 4—17. 2) with an *Agyieús*-pillar in relief surrounded by the letters A M B P.

C. A. Rhomaioi in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1925 xlix. 211 ff. fig. 1 publishes as an 'Αγυιεύς d'Apollon' a limestone pillar (1'44^m high) of cylindrical shape and tapering towards the top, which was found in Korkyra and bears the inscription [.] Ρ C Q X Γ Υ X A I Q Σ, that is [δ]ῆφος Πυθαῖος = τοῦ Πυθίου or τοῦ Πυθαῖος, cp. *ib.* fig. 6 a tapering limestone cylinder (0'90^m high) hollowed at the upper end to serve as an altar, likewise found in Korkyra and inscribed ΟΡCΟΞΗΙΑΡΟΞ |

ΤΑΞΑΚΡΙΑΣ, that is δῆφος ἱερὸς | τᾶς Ἀκρίας = of Hera Ἀκρία. Rhomaioi is followed by C. Picard *La sculpture* Paris 1935 i. 82 fig. 1. W. Dittenberger in *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 1 nos. 699 (misread) and 698 had included both pillars in his list of local boundary-stones. *Id. ib.* iii. 1 no. 704 accepted as 'Apollinis Agyiei simulacrum' the stone of Mys (*supra* ii. 161 n. 3). So does A. Rumpf in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1928 xiii/xiv p. iii fig. 11.

At Hephaestia in Lemnos the Italians have found a village of the Geometric Age with a sanctuary comprising three large chambers. That to the south has in the centre a small octagonal pointed column, and yielded sherds of Ionic and black-figured Attic wares together with a rich deposit of terra-cotta figurines and local pots (E. P. B[legen] in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 196 f., D. Levi in *The Illustrated London News* for Feb. 28, 1931 p. 328 with a view of the sanctuary).

C. Bonner has suggested to me in conversation (July 10, 1931) that even in Homer there may be traces of sacred stones comparable with the *Agyieús*. Thus in *Il.* 12. 445 ff. Hektor caught up λᾶαν..., ὅς ῥα πυλᾶων | ἐστήκει πρόσθε, πρὺνός παχὺς, αὐτὰρ ὕπερθεν | δέξδ' ἔην. Also in *Od.* 3. 406 ff. Nestor sat ἐπὶ ('at' rather than 'on') ξεστοῖσι λίθοισιν, | οἳ οἱ ἔσαν προπάρουθε θυράων ὑψηλῶν | λευκοί, ἀποστλίνοντες ἀλεφαῖρος (libations of fat, not polish): οἷς ἐπὶ μὲν πρῶν | Νηλεὺς ἔζεσκεν, κ.τ.λ. Again, elders in the market-place sat ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι λίθοις ἱερῶ' ἐνὶ κύκλῳ (*Il.* 18. 504, cp. *Od.* 8. 6). I suggested to Bonner that perhaps to sit on the sacred stone was to be filled with the wisdom of the immanent deity. Hence the *Agyieús*-block might serve as a seat (cp. Priamos on his ΘΑΚΟΣ at the gate of Troy as shown on the François-vase (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 58 pl. 11—12)), and the elders in council might actually sit on a sepulchral stone-circle to acquire the wisdom of the buried chieftain. Much relevant evidence will be found in a book of intense interest by A. H. Allcroft *The Circle and the Cross* London 1927 i. 80 ff. ('The Achean Moot' and successive chapters).

ii. 167 fig. 111. Cp. a copper *drachmá* of Byzantion cited by F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1094 fig. 1355: *obv.* BYZ head of Apollon, laureate, to right; *rev.* ΔΠΑ||ΧΜΑ pillar with finial, set on a broad base (?).

ii. 169 ff. the Delphic *omphalós*. Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 2. 839 ff. with fig. 555 publishes a plaster-fragment from Knossos, found near the 'Cow-boy Fresco' on the east slope of the palace, which shows a pale blue *omphalós* (?) with a deep red band twined about it in an irregular net-like fashion.

L. B. Holland 'The Mantic Mechanism at Delphi' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxvii. 201—214 argues that the *omphalós* shown in my pl. ix, a—c with fig. 119 stood on a low square plinth beside a circular base supporting the tripod. *Omphalós* and plinth were alike pierced by a square hole. There was probably a tube of bronze in the hole. The knife was inserted to extract this metal lining, but got stuck in the hole. The nails were used in a vain attempt to pry it out. The purpose of the pipe was to convey the inspiring fumes from the crypt below to the feet of the Pythoness, who sat on the tripod. This ingenious view, though largely hypothetical, is deserving of careful consideration.

H. Lacoste in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii La Terrasse du Temple 1 pl. 4 gives a

restored ground-plan of the fourth-century temple of Apollon, on which is marked the exact position of the side-chapel. *Id. ib.* 'Addenda et Corrīgenda' p. (2) amends the facsimile of the inscription on the *omphalos* (my fig. 120) by prolonging the first stroke of the *alpha* so that it crosses the second. But there is no doubt that the letter intended was Λ .

F. Chapouthier in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 336 draws attention to the curious resemblance of the inscription engraved on an *amphora* from Mykenai (A. J. Evans *Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 58 fig. 33).

P. de la Coste-Messelière—R. Flacelière 'Une statue de la Terre à Delphes' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1930 liv. 283—295 figs. 1, 2 and pl. 14 publish a limestone base inscribed retrograde $\Lambda\Lambda = \Gamma\alpha$ on its upper surface and $\Gamma\Lambda$ in later lettering on its front. The base shows four holes for the two feet of a bronze statue. It was found near Kastalia just opposite the big plane-tree, which local tradition identifies with that of Agamemnon. With this base were found five other blocks which may have come from the same monument (?), one inscribed retrograde $\lambda\text{IM}\Xi\text{O} = \Theta\epsilon\mu\varsigma$ on its upper surface and $\Theta\text{E}\text{M}\text{I}\text{X}$ in fourth-century letters on its front, another with nothing above but $\text{K}\Lambda\Lambda\Lambda\text{I}\text{X}\text{T}\Omega$ in fourth-century style in front, a third with the artist's signature $\backslash. \text{A}\text{O}\Omega\text{N}$ followed by $\text{E}\Gamma\text{P}\text{O}\text{N}$ (F. Courby in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii La Terrasse du Temple 2. 163—165). On the whole it seems clear that the bases of Ge and Themis must be connected and prove a joint cult at Kastalia. A deep cavity between the two statues was meant for a large bronze tree-trunk, perhaps a bay (cp. Paus. 10. 5. 9).

ii. 176 n. 2 the Delphic E . This famous symbol continues to provoke lively discussion. H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*³ Berlin 1912 ii. 214 n. regards it as 'vermutlich eine $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\kappa\rho\upsilon\pi\eta\tau\eta$, die zunächst als eine Erfindung geweiht, dann symbolisch gefasst und endlich als E gedeutet wurde. Denn das Balanosschlüssel sieht einem archaischen E sehr ähnlich.' F. Dornseiff *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* ($\Sigma\text{T}\text{O}\text{I}\text{X}\text{E}\text{I}\text{A}$ vii) Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 23 cites with approval Diels' explanation, but notes as an alternative possibility R. Eisler's suggestion that we have here to do with 'kleine Tempelmodellchen: im Sohar wird der Buchstabe H heikal=babyl. $\text{E-GAL} = \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\upsilon$ Tempel genannt,' etc. W. H. Roscher in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Dez. 23, 1922 pp. 1209—1211 still insists that E is $\epsilon\lambda = \text{thi}$ 'komm, tritt ein!' (*id.* 'Neue Beiträge zur Deutung des delphischen E ' in *Hermes* 1901 xxxvi. 470—489). W. N. Bates 'The E of the Temple at Delphi' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 239—246 takes it to be a Cretan character, which on a gem in New York is associated with two bulls and two double axes and hence is probably to be read as a symbol of the Cretan Zeus or of the Cretan goddess, at Delphi called Gaia. Sir T. Zammit *Prehistoric Malta* Oxford 1930 p. 92 f. with pl. 23, 7 publishes an oval stone pebble, bored as a pendant and incised with M , from a neolithic site in Malta: significance unknown. C. Fries 'De E Delphico' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1930 lxxix. 343 f. claims that the symbol derives from Sumer: 'Jeremias...interroganti mihi scribit, E in Sumerorum lingua idem esse quod aedem vel cameram vel domum id quod sescenties in Sumerorum inscriptionibus inveniatur.' Finally, R. Demangel 'Triglyphes bas' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1937 lxi. 421—438 with 17 figs. (especially pp. 426—428 fig. 9 f.) reverts to my explanation, and extends it in some directions beyond my purview.

ii. 183 n. 3 Rhapsod. See U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in *Hermes* 1926 lxi. 281 (cp. $\rho\alpha\psi\omega\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$).

ii. 187 the *omphalos* as a mound (?). S. H. Hooke in *Folk-Lore* 1936 xlvii. 24 f. derives the *omphalos* and its *agronon* from 'early Sumerian seals of the "mountain" in which the dead god is imprisoned.'

ii. 187 n. 8 Zeus and Aigina. Zeus in pursuit of a young woman, a not infrequent scene on red-figured Attic vases, is often by a process of elimination labelled 'Zeus pursuing Aigina' (e.g. L. D. Caskey—J. D. Beazley *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* Oxford 1931 i. 13 ff. no. 17 pl. 6, 43 no. 48 pls. 22 and 26, 45 no. 50 pl. 23). That is very possibly right, but the interpretation is secure only when accompanied by names, or at least by one name—that of the heroine. Thus a *stamnos* from Vulci, now in the Vatican (H 504), attributed to the painter Hermonax (c. 470—455 B.C.), shows $\text{I}\text{E}\text{V}\varsigma$ with sceptre held horizontally just overtaking $\text{A}\text{I}\Lambda\text{I}\text{N}\text{A}$, whose sisters hasten to tell their father $\text{A}\varsigma\text{O}\Pi\text{O}\varsigma$ (*Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii. 5 pl. 20, 1 and 1 a, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 400 f. no. 4. Atlas pl. 6, 1, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 65 f. pl. 6, 4, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 36 no. 37, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 300 no. 8), while a column-

krater in New York, attributed to the 'Boreas Painter' (c. 460 B.C.), shows Zeus with uplifted bolt catching ΑΙἰἰἰἰἰἰἰἰἰ. She turns to touch his chin in supplication. Her sisters flee in alarm. The reverse perhaps depicts Asopos, at home, receiving the news from his other daughters (Hoppin *op. cit.* i. 81 no. 8 bis, Beazley *op. cit.* p. 305 no. 3 'Semele verfolgend' (I), G. M. A. Richter *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* Yale Univ. Press 1936 i. 116 f. no. 86 pls. 94 (=my fig. 883) and 170). On the ethnic implications of the myth see J. P. Harland *Prehistoric Aigina* Paris 1925 pp. 59—63.

ii. 189 antithetic grouping. H. R. Hall, lecturing at Cambridge (Oct. 31, 1928) on recent finds at Ur, showed that 'the antithetic arrangement of animal figures' long before its appearance on Cretan seals etc. occurs in Mesopotamian art, and in Babylonia can be traced back to a period c. 3000 B.C. See further F. A. v. Scheltema, G. Roeder, and E. Unger 'Wappen (und Wappenstil)' in Ebert *Reallex.* xiv. 250—254, W. Deonna 'Animaux à deux corps et une tête' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1930 i. 47—73 figs. 6—12, A. Roes *Greek Geometric Art its Symbolism and its Origin* Haarlem—Oxford 1933 pp. 16 ff., 93 ff., 99 ff., 115 ff., J. Baltrušaitis *Art sumérien art roman* Paris 1934 pp. 17 ff., 31 ff., 56 f., 64 ff., 83 ff.

ii. 189 n. o. Dr A. H. Lloyd pointed out to me (Dec. 24, 1926) that on certain tetradrachms of Gela (c. 466—415 B.C.) a flying eagle is attached by two reins to Nike's quadriga. He suggested that this implied Zeus in eagle form. But E. S. G. Robinson in *Syll. num. Gr.* ii pl. 34, 986 says: 'The lines which run down on the obverse from eagle to chariot rail and goad and at first sight seem to be intended to connect the bird to the car appear to be in fact die-flaws.' It must, however, be admitted that on a duplicate given to me by Dr Lloyd the alleged 'die-flaws' are in exactly the same condition (cp. *supra* ii. 657 n. 3).

ii. 191 original character of the Delphic *omphalos*. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 85 n. 2 is more disposed to accept the view that the *omphalos* was the tomb of Dionysos as advocated by T. Homolle 'Ressemblance de l'omphalos delphique avec quelques représentations égyptiennes' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1919 xxxii. 338—358. Picard thinks the analogies with modern Greek custom 'fort superficielles.' K. Schwendemann 'Omphalos, Pythongrab und Drachenkampf' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1920—1921 xx. 481—484 rejects the 'τύμβος-Theorie' and reverts to the older 'Erdbabeltheorie.'

V. Nordström *Poseidon och hans σκηπτάνιον* Helsingfors 1931 pp. 1—40 and *Om Hermes χρυσόραπισ* Helsingfors 1932 pp. 1—30 contends that Poseidon's staff (*Il.* 13. 59), Poseidon's trident, and Hermes' rod were all modifications of the umbilical cord! H. J. Rose in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlv. 182 deals faithfully with such vagaries.

ii. 193 ff. the Delphic tripod. C. Clemen *Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1926 i. 247 fig. 100 (after Springer *Kunst des Altertums*¹⁰ fig. 433) restores the Plataean tripod much as I do, but with legs contracted at the base.

K. Kluge in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xlv. 23 ff. discusses the technique of the serpent-column (summary by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 456 f.).

ii. 199 n. 2 with pl. xii the Chigi base. A marble replica of (a) and (c), dredged up in the harbour at the Peiraeus and referred to a date c. 100 B.C., is figured in *The Illustrated London News* for Jan. 31, 1931 p. 164 f. A full account of the find is given by E. P. B[legen] in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 91.

ii. 201 n. 1. J. D. S. Pendlebury tells me (March 2, 1927) that at Delphoi the plane-tree of Agamemnon is still shown, below Kastalia, at the outlet of the gorge.

ii. 205 n. 1 dolphins. See Biedermann *Der Delphin in der dichtenden und bildenden Phantasie der Griechen und Römer* Halle a. S. 1881 pp. 1—26, E. B. Stebbins *The Dolphin in the Literature and Art of Greece and Rome* Benasha, Wisconsin 1929 pp. 1—136 (reviewed by A. M. Duff in the *Class. Rev.* 1930 xlv. 185 f.).

ii. 206 n. 1 divining-glass. A. Delatte *La catoptronomie grecque et ses dérivés* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège xlviii) Liège 1932 pp. 1—221 pls. 1—12, T. Hopfner 'Mittel- und neugriechische Lekano-, Lychno-, Katoptro- und Onychomantien' in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* London 1932 pp. 218—232.

ii. 209. On the *Pythia* as a case of artificial and voluntary possession see T. K. Oesterreich *Possession demoniacal and other among primitive races, in antiquity, the middle ages, and modern times* London 1930 pp. 311—331.

ii. 212 n. o the Peliades. Cp. also Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 103 f. nos. 553, 554.

ii. 212 n. 3. An almost exact replica of the black-figured *lékythos* at Leyden is



Fig. 883.

published by R. B. Bandinelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1925 xxx. 534 f. no. 201 fig. 5. Another black-figured *lekkythos* of similar style and period, found at Gela, was discussed by P. Orsi *ib.* 1906 xvii. 120 ff. fig. 88. It shows the youthful figure emerging from the cauldron, which is surrounded by roaring flames and flanked by two scared women (Peliades?).

ii. 222 n. 4. Iamb. v. *Pyth.* 4 ff. possibly 'geht...durch Apollonios auf Timaios zurück, vgl. G. Bertermann, *De Iamblichi vit. Pyth. fontibus*, Diss. Königsberg 1913, S. 37' (O. Weinreich in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1924/25 Abh. vii. 11 Nachtrag).

ii. 224 the ivory shoulder of Pelops. H. W. Parke 'The Bones of Pelops and the Siege of Troy' in *Hermathena* 1933 xxiii. 153—162 discussing Paus. 5. 13. 4 ff. holds that the shoulder-blade of Pelops there mentioned as brought from Pisa to Troy and later lost off Euboea in a storm, but recovered from the sea by the fisherman Damarmenos and at the bidding of the Delphic oracle restored by him to the Eleans, was identified in s. vi B.C. with Pelops' ivory shoulder—a highly primitive feature of sacrificial or cannibalistic origin, being in reality the *scapula* of some cetacean!

I suspect that Eur. *Bacch.* 1300 (Agaue asks of her son's scattered limbs) ἧ πᾶν ἐν ἄρθροις συγκεκλημένον καλῶς; points to an original form of the myth in which Pentheus was recalled to life. This may have been detailed in the lacuna immediately following line 1300.

Cp. the shepherds' treatment of the boy killed by a bear in Apul. *met.* 7. 26 nec uspiam ruris aperitur ille sed plane corpus eius membratim laceratum multisque dispersum locis conspicitur...et cadaver quidem disiectis partibus <collectis> tandem totum reperum aegreque concinnatum ibidem terrae dedere. Note also the queer story of Domitia Longina, who collected the flesh of her butchered husband Domitian, put the pieces accurately together, sewed up the whole body, and had a bronze statue of it made and set up at Rome (Prokop. *anecdota* 8. 15—21).

ii. 224 n. 1 the golden breast. J. A. MacCulloch in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1920 xi. 410^b: 'The story of Caradoc, which forms part of the French Perceval cycle [ed. Potvin ii. 191 ff.], relates how a serpent fastened on his arm and sucked away his life. He was saved by a young maiden presenting her breast to the serpent, which took the nipple in its mouth. Cador then cut off its head, but with that also the nipple, which was magically replaced by one of gold. A close parallel exists in a Gaelic folk-tale ['Sheen Billy' in Campbell i. xcv f.], and less close in a Scots ballad ['The Queen of Scotland' in Child no. 301], but it is probable that the source is Celtic, as the name of the wife of the Welsh Karadawe is Tegau Eurfron, Tegau "with the golden breast". For a full discussion of the tale and its variants see C. A. Harper 'Carados and the Serpent' in *Modern Language Notes* 1898 xiii. 417—431, G. Paris 'Caradoc et le serpent' in *Romania* 1899 xxviii. 214—231.

ii. 228 n. 4. On the sanctuary of Artemis *Kalliste* see now A. Philadelphus in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1927 li. 155—163 with pl 8 and 4 figs.; P. Roussel *ib.* 1927 li. 164—169 (summaries by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 360).

ii. 230 ability to stare at the sun. On this *Sonnenmotiv* see E. Norden *Die Geburt des Kindes* Leipzig—Berlin p. 160 n. 2.

ii. 232 n. o. A convex sardonxy (owner unknown) shows the Delian Apollon, a nude standing figure with the three Charites on his outstretched right hand and a bow in his left (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 40, 7, ii. 191, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 7, 8 (enlarged)). C. Picard *La sculpture* Paris 1935 i. 573 fig. 199 illustrates a relief at Munich on which the upper part of the Delian Charites is shown—profile to left, full-face, profile to right—perhaps after the cult-statue.

ii. 243 n. 3. On the *paideia* of Philodamos see now W. Vollgraff 'Le péan delphique à Dionysos' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 97—208, 1925 xlix. 104—142, 1926 l. 263—304, 1927 li. 423—468 (text reconstituted on p. 465 ff.).

ii. 258 n. 3 Zeus *Bouleüs*. O. Broneer in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 564 with fig. 8 publishes a white marble slab—part of a gaming board—found in the well of a shop at Corinth, which is inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΒΟΥΛΕΟΣ and ΔΑΜ[---]Η(Φ?)Ν again associating Zeus *Bouleüs* with Demeter.

ii. 258 n. 3 Zeus *Bouleüs* or *Eubouleüs* grouped with Demeter and Kore. With this chthonian triad M. P. Nilsson in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1935 xxxii. 87 justly cp. the Damateres and Zeus *Damatrios* of two Rhodian dedications ((1) found by the Danish excavators on the *akropolis* of Lindos [Ἀ]λιαδᾶν. Δαματέρων καὶ Διὸς Δαματρίου. (2) found at *Siana* in Rhodes Ζωνθίου τετραδὶ ἱσταμένον Δαμάτερι δὴν κνεύσαν. Both

inscriptions are of late Hellenistic date). Nilsson comments: 'Die Bezeichnung der beiden Göttinnen als *Δαμάρετες*, die m. W. sonst nicht in Griechenland vorkommt und an das Lateinische Ceres [Thes. Ling. Lat. Suppl. i. 341, 57 ff.] erinnert, lässt sich nur durch ihre Wesensidentität erklären; sie sind sozusagen die ältere und die jüngere Auflage derselben Gottheit' [*supra* i. 396 f.].

ii. 259 n. o Zeus *Boulaïos*. His cult at Thasos (noted in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1914 p. 288, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1923 xlvii. 537 n. 3) is attested by a couple of dedications (G. Daux in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1928 lii. 57 f. no. 9 fig. 4 a rectangular base of Thasian marble, from the *prytaneion*, with oval sinking, inscribed c. 250 B.C. ἀπόλογοι Ἑστίνη | Βουλαίη καὶ Διὶ | Βουλαίωι, no. 10 fig. 4 a rectangular base of Thasian marble, from the *theôrion*, with rectangular sinking, inscribed c. 250 B.C. ἀπόλογοι Ἑστίνη Βουλαίη [καὶ Διὶ Βουλαίωι] | Στράτων Νεομάν[δρον] | Πολύτιμος Ὀρθομέ[νους] | Ἀριστείδης Ἀλκ[...]).

ii. 260 n. o. On the identification of Augustus with Zeus *Patrôios* as evidenced by Pergamene inscriptions see W. H. Buckler 'Auguste, Zeus Patroos' in the *Rev. Philol.* Troisième Série 1935 ix. 177—188.

ii. 260 n. o Zeus in connexion with mills. W. Schultz *Rätsel aus dem hellenischen Kulturkreise* Leipzig 1912 ii. 109 with n. 2, Keyssner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 1044 f., gr. Kruse *ib.* xvi. 1073, E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 643.

ii. 264 Dionysos displaced by Apollon. C. Watzinger in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 340 ff. pl. 174, 1 discusses the fragment of a *kályx-kratér* from Tarentum, now at the Hague, which shows a Doric temple (at Delphoi?) containing a cult-statue of Apollon with bow and *phidie*. Before the temple are seated Apollon (lyre) and Artemis (spears), while beyond the tripod the reverse scene comprises Dionysos (ivy-wreath, *narthex*), a Maenad (timbrel), and a Silenos (*kántharos*).

ii. 268 n. o the earth-goddess riding on a bull. See W. Technau 'Die Göttin auf dem Stier' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1937 lii. 76—103 figs. 1—14 (especially p. 95 f.).

ii. 268 n. 4. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 91 n. 1 notes that C. W. Vollgraff ΕΠΙΦΟΣ ΕΣ ΓΑΛ' ΕΠΙΕΤΟΝ [*Supra* Addenda to ii. 121] p. 19 ff. 'suggère un rapport entre Dionysos et le sumérien Domouzi, plus tard appelé Tamouz.'

ii. 270 n. 3. L. Weber in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1934 xxxi. 174 cites two reliefs published by G. I. Kazarow ('Zum Kultus des thrakischen Reiters in Bulgarien' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1926 xli Arch. Anz. p. 6 ff. fig. 3 and 'Ein neues Relief des dreiköpfigen Reiters' *ib.* 1929 xliv Arch. Anz. p. 232 ff. fig. 1) in which the rider-god is three-headed and followed by a male figure grasping his horse's tail. The first, from the district of Plovdiv, is inscribed κυρίω θεῷ || Αἰλουζέντι Λοργίνου, | Αἰλουζέντι Διουζήνου (O. Weinreich *ib.* 1927 xlii Arch. Anz. p. 20 n. 4). The second, from *Κομάτενο* a village near Philippopolis, is inscribed [θε]ῷ Πανθο[ποι]ῷ || [Α]ἰξανόρος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ | [κα]ὶ τῆς γ[υναικ]ὸς εὐχαριστήριον (Kazarow *loc. cit.* p. 234), or possibly [θε]ῷ Πανθό[πτ]ῳ (Weber *loc. cit.*), with Thracian θ for τ.

ii. 270 n. 5. G. Kazarow in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 490 records the proper name βαῖθ-βαῖς (*Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Bord-aux* iv. 93).

ii. 278 n. 2 the Phrygian formula of execration. W. M. Calder 'Corpus inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum iii' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1926 xlv. 22—28 adds fresh examples, and contends 'that they all belong to the latter half of the third century [A.D.], and represent an artificial revival of the epigraphical use of the Phrygian language by the Tekmoreioi Association' [on which see now the useful article of W. Ruge 'Xenoi Tekmoreioi' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v A. 158—169, also Canon E. C. Hudson 'Pisidian Antioch and the Xenoi Tekmoreioi' in *Theology* 1938 xxxvi. 230—236]. A. H. Sayce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1926 xlv. 29 ff. appends a few notes. He objects to Calder's acceptance of Kretschmer's rendering *δεως κε ξεμελως* 'heavenly and chthonian gods': 'This...does not take account of the very definite statement in Hesychius: *ξεμελεν· βάρβαρον ἀνδράποδον· φρώγες*. The Boghaz Keui texts clear up the difficulty. The Phrygian phrase corresponds with the Hittite "the gods and the dead" (*akandus*). The dead were deified, and *ξεμελεν* must have literally signified "ghost" or "devil" (2^a Cp. "printer's devil" in English).' J. Friedrich *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* Berlin 1932 pp. 128—140 has a handy collection of all the texts. On the Phrygian language in general and its grave-formula in particular see N. Jokl in Ebert *Reallex.* x. 141—153.

ii. 281 Zeus *Dios* with grape-bunches and a plough. R. Vallois in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 453 cites W. M. Calder *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1928 i p. xiii for 'le Zeus aux épis et Diounsins (= Dionysos) gardien de la tombe.'

The reference is to Calder *op. cit.* i. 4 no. 5 an altar of bluish limestone at *Shahr Ören* in Eastern Phrygia inscribed *Μείρος Ναν|α ἀνέστη|σεν κατὰ || κέλευ|σιν τοῦ Διός*. On the shaft are three reliefs: (a) in front, a pedestal supporting a bust of Zeus, who holds a bunch of grapes and an ear of wheat; (b) to the left, two wheat-ears planted in round bowls (?); (c) to the right, a pedestal supporting a bust of Helios, radiate. *Ib.* i. 5 no. 7 an altar of bluish limestone at *Kadyñ Khan* in Eastern Phrygia inscribed *Εὐ|.....| οἰκονόμος Διὶ | Φαγνῶ κατὰ | κέλευσιν*. On the shaft in relief is a pedestal supporting a bust of Zeus, who holds a bunch of grapes and corn-ears. W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1918 xxxviii. 135 no. 2 restored *Εὐ[δαίμων?]* and added: 'Eu[daimon?] was the steward in charge of this department on the imperial estates at Zizyma... About this time another oikonomos, Ca[ndidus?] the younger, made a dedication to Jove Dionysos²⁰ (²⁰The dedication is to *ΙΥΩ ΔΙΟΝΥCΩ*... which halts between Jove and Jehovah...)' at Zizyma.' Calder *op. cit.* i. 216 f. no. 413, 5 a sculptured *stèle* from *Baghlija* in Eastern Phrygia, which names *Διόνυσω* as guardian of the grave.

ii. 282 Zeus *Dionysos*. D. Detschew in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1934 xxix Beiblatt p. 165 f. fig. 60 (=my fig. 884) publishes a square altar of grey marble, still

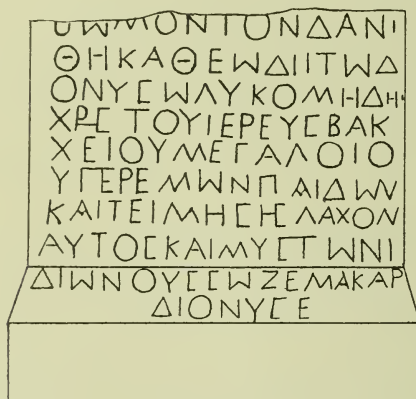


Fig. 884.



Fig. 885.

used to support the table-top in the church of the village *Sarmadzik* (Bezirk *Malko-Tirnovo*, Regierungskreis *Burgas*) in Bulgaria. On the altar is inscribed in would-be hexameters: *Βωμὸν τόνδ' ἀνέ|θηκα θεῷ Διὶ τῷ Δ[ι]ονύσῳ Λυκομήδης | Χρήστου Ιερὸς Βακ|χείου μεγάλοιο | ὑπὲρ ἐμῶν παίδων | καὶ τεμῆς, ἧς λάχον | αὐτός, καὶ μυστῶν ἰδίῳν, οὓς σῶζε μάκαρ | Διόνυσε*. Detschew *ib.* p. 166 collects evidence for the identification of Zeus with Dionysos (for Orph. *frag.* 235 Abel, 236 Kern ἀγλαὲ Ζεὺ Διόνυσε κ.τ.λ. see *supra* i. 187 n. 10). W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1939 vi. 123 no. 360 pl. 62 (=my fig. 885) publish an altar of bluish limestone from *Hacı Beili* in the Upper Tembris Valley (front relief, *kratér* with ivy-sprays; back, snake biting grape-vine) inscribed [*ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου (?) Καί|σπος νείκης καὶ δια|μονῆς Ταυατηνῶν | νεανία(ι) Διὶ Διόνύσῳ ἀνέστησαν*].

ii. 285 n. o (2). Sir W. M. Ramsay *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilisation* London 1927 p. 212 ff. fig. 4 gives a drawing (inexact) of this relief and its inscription made in 1884.

ii. 285 n. o (4). M. V. Taylor and R. G. Collingwood in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1929 xix. 199 pl. 9 publish a similar *plaque* of base silver, with figures of the three Mother Goddesses in *repoussé* work, found in London, and note other examples from Barkway in Hertfordshire. See also *supra* p. 1100 fig. 878.

ii. 290 n. o the tombstone of Abirkios and Theuprepia. Sir W. M. Ramsay *op. cit.* p. 240 ff. fig. 5.

ii. 290 n. o the head as the seat of the soul. See further G. A. Grierson 'The Headless Horseman' (an Indian ballad) in *Folk-Lore* 1914 xxv. 382, H. A. Rose

'Sacrifices of the Head to the Hindu Goddess' (Devī) *ib.* 1926 xxxvii. 90—92, Bargheer s.v. 'Kopf' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1932 v. 203 ff. Cp. A. Delatte 'ΑΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1914 xxxviii. 189—249, *id.* in the *Musée Belge* 1922 xxvi. 255—259, K. Preisendanz *Akephalos der kopflose Gott* Leipzig 1926 pp. 1—80, Pfister *Rel. Gr. Röm.* 1930 p. 325 f.

ii. 291 n. 2 *συκοφάντης*. K. Latte in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 1028—1031 demurs to my explanation ('wobei nicht zu sehen ist, wie aus der Abwehr drohenden Unheils der verleumderische Angriff geworden sein soll') and falls back on that of A. Boeckh *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener*³ Berlin 1886 i. 56 ('σ. bezeichne jemand,



Fig. 886.

der um einer Sache von geringem Wert willen eine Anzeige erstattet (vgl. etwa ital. ammazzar qualcuno per uno fico "jemand um nichts ermorden")...Andererseits ist die Beziehung auf die Phasis in dem zweiten Teil des Wortes offenkundig und gibt ihm erst seinen Inhalt, denn bei der Phasis erhielt der obsiegende Kläger die Hälfte der Strafsomme oder des eingezogenen Vermögens').

ii. 295 n. 2. A. Carnoy 'Les noms de Déméter et de Coré' in the *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* 1934 ii (Mélanges Bidez) pp. 71—77 would connect Δημήτηρ with γῆ and derive Περσεφόνη from *φερσι-φόνη, 'qui apporte l'abondance.'

ii. 296 Attis and the Kouretes. O. Brendel in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1935 I Arch. Anz. pp. 521—524 fig. 1 (=my fig. 886) gives a preliminary publication of a

silver *patra* rescued from oblivion by Miss A. Levi and now in the Brera at Milan. When found at Parabiago in Lombardy it was serving as the lid of a grave-*amphora*. It shows in fine relief of c. 150—200 A.D. the triumph of Attis. He is seated with Kybele in a car drawn by four lions and accompanied by three dancing Kouretes. Above are the rising Sun and setting Moon with Morning and Evening Stars. Below, Okeanos and a Nereid, with fish showing their heads above water. On the left, two Fresh Water Nymphs with reeds. On the right, Earth with *cornu copiae*, various animals, and a pair of infants. Between, the four Seasons as children. Higher up, Atlas carrying Aion in a zodiacal ring, and an Obelisk twined about with a snake. This cosmic design on a concave circular field is a magnificent specimen of symbolic art, and is to be published with full commentary by Miss Levi in *Opere d'Arte del R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* (Roma).

ii. 297 fig. 189. See now J. Leipoldt 'Eine römische Attisfigur' in *Αγγελος* 1926 ii. 51 f. with a good photographic pl., and cp. Attis as a recumbent figure on coins of Kyzikos (C. Bosch in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvii Arch. Anz. p. 443 f. fig. 10).

ii. 298 fig. 190. F. J. Dölger IXΘYC Münster in Westf. 1927 iv pl. 168 gives a photograph of this singular *modius*.

ii. 300. W. Technau in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvii Arch. Anz. pp. 655—657 with figs. 10—14 publishes the sarcophagus of a priest of Kybele and Attis, found in a large *columbarium* at Porto. The lid shows the priest recumbent, his left hand with five thick rings supporting his head, his right with *θαλασρος* or 'arm-band' holding pine-sprig and rosary. The arm-band is decorated with reliefs of Kybele seated between two standing figures, Attis and Hermes. And at the priest's feet is the usual *kiste*. Two oblong reliefs from the same find-spot represent the same priest with his *insignia* offering fruit before a seated Kybele and holding torches before a standing Attis.

ii. 300 n. 3. Photographs in Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* p. 254 ff. Scala v no. 2 pl. 100, F. J. Dölger *Antike und Christentum* Münster in Westfalen 1933 iv. 1 pl. 4 (Moscioni no. 20 947).

ii. 305 n. o the Gosforth Cross. See now R. Reitzenstein *Weltuntergangs-vorstellungen* (Sonderabdruck aus *Kyrko-historisk Årsskrift* 1924) Uppsala 1924 p. 41 ff. figs. 2—7, *id.* 'Die nordischen, persischen und christlichen Vorstellungen vom Weltuntergang' in the *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1923—1924* Leipzig—Berlin 1926 p. 160 ff. pls. 2—4 figs. 3—10.

ii. 307 n. 1 the epitaph of Aberkios. See further A. Abel 'Étude sur l'inscription d'Abercius' in *Byzantion* 1926 iii. 321—411.

ii. 312 n. 5 *παρά δὲ Ἀνδῶν ὁ Ζεὺς Ζευσίς*. A. Nehring in *Gnomon* 1929 v. 588 supports *Ζεῦ-σ-ις* as a Lydianised form of *Ζεὺς* by quoting *ibsm-s-is* and the like from Lydian inscriptions.

ii. 313 ff. the *Kabeiroi*. The fullest survey of the facts is that given by O. Kern 'Kabeiros...und Kabeiroi' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1399—1450, with supplementary notes by the same author 'Καβιριακά' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1916—1919 xix. 551—553 and 'Noch einmal Karkinos' *ib.* 1920—1921 xx. 236.

G. Pansa 'La leggenda di traslazione di S. Tommaso apostolo ad Ortona a mare e la tradizione del culto cabirico' in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* (École française de Rome) 1920 xxxviii. 29—62, carrying further the contention of J. Rendel Harris *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* London 1903 pp. 20—41 that S. Thomas as 'twin' brother of Jesus was essentially Dioscuric.

A. H. Sayce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 163 would identify *Kabeiroi* with *Khabiriyas* the body-guard of the Hittite kings, and so derive them ultimately from the *Khabiri* or 'Comrades' of Babylonia. He notes an early deified Hittite king *Khasamilis* as = *Κασμεῖλος*.

ii. 314 f. Axiokersa, Axiokersos, Axieros. O. Montelius *La Grèce préclassique* Stockholm 1924 i. 121 with figs. 349 and 351 regarded as sacred axes the tapering stone heads (in two cases painted) stuck into terra-cotta bodies, which Wace found at *Rakhmani* in Thessaly [A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *Prehistoric Thessaly* Cambridge 1912 p. 41 with fig. 25, a, b, c].

E. Maass in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1926 xxiii. 225 is content to explain 'Ἀξιοκέρσος and 'Ἀξιοκέρσα as deities (Hades and Kore) 'who slay valuable beasts (ἄξια) with the sickle-knife' and 'Ἀξίετος as the goddess (Demeter) 'who receives valuable victims.'

A. H. Sayce in the *Class. Rev.* 1928 xlii. 162 connects 'Ἀξιο-κέρσος, 'Ἀξιο-κέρσα with Hesych. *κέρνα* ἄξινη and in the other Hesychian glosses (quoted *supra* ii. 315 n. 1) cj. ἄμησαι or *ἁμηῆσαι* for *γαμηῆσαι* cod. and γάλλος for γάμος cod.

G. Seure in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 i. 60 n. o discusses coins of Odessos with legend θεοῦ μεγάλου ΚΥΡΣΑ (*supra* ii. 1126 figs. 952, 953) and the possibility that Κύρσα = Κέρσα was the name of an indigenous deity akin to Ἀξιοκέρσης (*sic*). *Id.* in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 249 is even more venturesome (κύρ(ι)ος Σά(ρα)ρις) or Σα(βάσιος)!). But A. Salač 'Le grand dieu d'Odessos-Varna et les mystères de Samothrace' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1928 lii. 395—398 had already argued that the Theos Megas at Odessos was *Δαρζάλας or Δερζέλας, one form of the chief male divinity of the ancient Thracians.

For Ἄξτ-ερος as the 'Axe-Eros' cp. Anakr. *frag.* 47 Bergk⁴, 48 Edmonds, 45 Diehl *ap.* Hephaist. 12. 4 p. 39, 5 f. Consbruch μεγάλη δηῦτέ μ' Ἔρως ἔκοψεν ὥστε χαλκεύς | πέλεκυι with the comments of E. Schwyzer 'Axt und Hammer' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1930 lxxix. 314—318 (πέλεκυς = σφυροπέλεκυς, a smith's axe serving also as a hammer).



Fig. 887.



Fig. 888.

ii. 316 Zeus transformed into Eros. Such a concept provides a partial justification for the late syncretistic figures of Zeus *Pántheos* (L. Robert in the *Rev. Arch.* 1933 ii. 141 no. 176 cites a dedication from Carthage, now in the Louvre, Διὶ Ἥμιω Μεγάλῳ Πανθέῳ Σαράπιδι = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no 12493) or Iupiter *Pantheus* (Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5423 (Nescania Baeticae) Iovem Pantheum Aug. | cum aede et tetrastylo solo [p]ub. | etc.). A bronze from the Gréau collection, obtained from Greece in 1885 and now in Paris (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 17 no. 4 'Zeus panthée?', De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* i. 71 no. 482 pl. 36 (=my fig. 887): height 0'192^m), shows a nude Zeus with the wings of Eros, the greaves of Ares, and a *stephane* surmounted by three 'fleurons.' Another, from Cahon (Somme), now at Abbeville (C. Louandre in the *Revue des Sociétés Savantes des Départements* Cinquième Série 1873 v. 322—327, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 8 no. 2 'Zeus Panthée') shows a nude Jupiter holding thunderbolt and eagle, with the wings

of Victory, the rayed crown of Apollo (Sun), the disk and horns of Isis (Moon), the cock of Mercury, the fawn-skin of Bacchus, the *cornu copiae* of Ceres or Fortuna or Abundantia, and a Gaulish *armilla* on his right arm (my fig. 888 is from a photograph kindly supplied by M. Richard, Conservateur des Musées, Abbeville).

ii. 321 n. 1. A votive inscription to Zeus 'Ἐπιδῶρας in Messenia is noted by M. N. Tod in the *Class. Rev.* 1930 xliv. 89 and by P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 196 after N. S. Valmin in the *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund* 1928—1929 iv. 1 ff. no. 22 (at *Grizokampos*) Δι' Ἐπιδῶραι.

ii. 322 ff. Janiform deities. C. N. Deedes 'The Double-headed God' in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlv. 194—243 with 30 figs. attempts a conspectus of the evidence (Sumerian, Syro-Hittite, Greek, Etruscan, Italian, Celtic, mediaeval).

ii. 326, 374 f., 377 f. Janiform masks. V. Alford 'The Springtime Bear in the Pyrenees' in *Folk-Lore* 1930 xli. 275 reports that two-faced masks are worn by men on Feb. 2 at Arles-sur-Tech in the French Catalan Pyrenees. *Ead.* 'The Candlemas Bear' in *The National Review* 1931 xcvi. 235—244 gives further details. The same observer and R. Gallop in their joint article in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlv. 352 f. state that at Arles-sur-Tech the Candlemas Bear is escorted by from four to twelve two-faced attendants, who wear women's cotton dresses, leathern belts with eight or ten cow-bells attached, and small barrels painted with a face fore and aft by way of head-dress.

ii. 328 ff. the Salian Hymn. On Italian and Dutch reconstructions of the *carmen Saliare* by E. Cocchia (1917), F. Ribezzo (1917—1918), and P. J. Enk (1921) see M. Bacherler in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1925 ccv. 84.

ii. 335 Ianus. O. Huth *Janus* Bonn 1932 pp. 1—96 is adversely criticised by H. J. Rose in *Gnomon* 1933 ix. 329—331. Huth finds the essence of Ianus to consist in a certain 'polarity,' the contrast of birth-death, summer-winter, fire-water, entry-exit symbolised in Italy by a god with double face, in Germany by the runic sign $\oplus$. But the early Italians were no philosophers, and the sign $\oplus$ was not runic (? cp. H. Arntz *Die Runenschrift Ihre Geschichte und ihre Denkmäler* Halle/Saale 1938 p. 98).

ii. 337 n. 4 *divom deo*. Cp. Tertull. *ad Scap.* 4 (i. 782 A Migne) tunc et populus adclamans deo deorum, qui solus potens, in Iovis nomine deo nostro testimonium reddidit. *Supra* p. 327.

ii. 339 n. o *tivs* = 'lunae.' See further C. Pauli in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1056 f.

ii. 340 n. o *Dæmonium*, quod rustici Dianam appellant. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1092 f. 'Acta Symphoriani Ruinart. Act. Mart. p. 70 [*ib.* 2 Amstelædami 1713 p. 82]. *Dianam quoque daemonium esse meridianum sanctorum industria investigavit, quae per compita currens et silvarum secreta perlustrans incredulis hominum mentibus zizaniae tribulos sceleris sui arte disseminat, Triviae sibi cognomen dum triviais insidiatur obtinuit.*' Cp. S. Eitrem in the *Symbolae Osloenses* 1929 viii. 32 n. 1 'das daemonium meridianum, das die Christen Diana nannten.' It is tempting to suppose a mere confusion between *meridianum* and *Diana*. But see V. Alford—R. Gallop 'Traces of a Dianic Cult from Catalonia to Portugal' in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlv. 350—361 (p. 358 f. 'Immediately to the west of the Basque lands we find the word *Jana* in all its purity... In Sardinia *Jana* means witch. In the old Neapolitan dialect *Janara* means nymph... The old Spanish form was *Jana*. In the Montaña de Santander we find *Janassana*... In Asturias... *Dianu* means Devil, and the *Diano Burlón* is a kind of faun. In Galicia... the Devil is again *o Diano*... In Portugal... Diânho. In the Algarve... women called *Jas* or *Jans* for whom it used to be customary to leave a skein of flax and a cake of bread on the hearth.' Etc.).

ii. 343 Ζανι' Ἐλευθερίοι = Antoninus Pius. W. Peck in the 'Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1931 p. 114 quotes O. Puchstein *Epigrammata Graeca in Aegypto reperta* Strassburg 1881 no. 56 = F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Historische griechische Epigramme* Bonn 1926 no. 118 Καίσαρι ποντομέδοντι καὶ ἀπείρων κρατέοντι | Ζανὶ τῷ ἐκ Ζανὸς πατρὸς Ἐλευθερίωι.

ii. 343 Ζάνες. Cp. Epiphan. *ancor.* 106 (i. 208 Dindorf) Ζῆνες δὲ οὐχ εἰς ἡ δύο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρεῖς καὶ τέσσαρες γέγονασι τὸν ἀριθμὸν. κ.τ.λ.

ii. 344 n. o *Δεύς*. This form of the name occurs also on a two-handled Rhodian jar of c. 400 B.C., now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (T. L. Spear in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1908 xxix. 461—466 with pl., C. D. Buck *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects* Boston 1910 pp. 67, 293), which bears the painted inscriptions ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΑ ΓΑΣ ΗΑ ΒΡΑΣΙΑ | ΗΛΣ ΕΜΙΝ ΔΟΚΕΙ (would-be iambic) and ΔΕΥΣ ΗΕΡΜΑΣ | ΑΡΤΑΜΙΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΙΑ.



a



b

Marble head of Pan from Greece, now in the British Museum.

ii. 347 ff. Πάν ὁ μέγας τέθνηκεν. The literature of this famous episode (*supra* ii. 349 n. 20) should include I. Nyman *De magno Pane Plutarchi* Upsaliae 1734, W. H. Roscher 'Die Legende vom Tode des groszen Pan' in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* 1892 cxlv. 465—477, E. Nestle 'Zum Tod des grossen Pan' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 156—158, O. Weinreich 'Zum Tod des grossen Pan' *ib.* 1910 xiii. 467—473, A. Taylor 'Northern Parallels to the Death of Pan' in *Washington University Studies Series* iv 1922 (Humanistic Series x. 1) pp. 3—102 (discusses 246 variants and concludes that 'the voice of loud lament is an hallucination, an auditory illusion, and not a myth relating to the spirits of vegetation'), A. D. Nock in the *Class. Rev.* 1923 xxxvii. 164 (cp. Hdt. 6. 105), O. Weinreich in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1923—1924 xxii. 328—330, G. Méautis 'Le grand Pan est mort' in the *Musée Belge* 1927 xxxi. 51—53 (cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 12 ἐνιοι δὲ Παμύλην τινὰ λέγουσιν ἐν Θήβαις ὑδρεύμενον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς φωνὴν ἀκοῦσαι διακελευομένην ἀνειπεῖν μετὰ βοῆς ὅτι ΜΕΓΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΤΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ ΟΣΙΡΙΣ ΓΕΓΟΝΕ).

Fresh light has been thrown upon the whole business by a simple but convincing discovery of A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 147 'Πάν ist nicht "der Hirte," sondern der "Papa," gehört zu den "Lallnamen" Kretschmers 334 f. [P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 334 ff.] Das weibliche Gegenstück zu Πα ist Μα, in Arkadien als Μαῖα, Mutter des Hermes Μαῖαδὲς erhalten.' If so, Pan was in effect another Zan, and I had no need to postulate that the former had stepped into the shoes of the latter. Pan the Great was all along a parallel figure to Zan the Great. Pan the goatherds' god took the form of a goat just as Zan the oxherds' god took that of an ox (*supra* ii. 345). And the ritual of the dead Pan, implied by Plutarch's narrative, may well have resembled the ritual of the dead Zan.

On this showing Pan was a more dignified deity than advancing civilisation was prepared to admit. He had some reason to complain of his neglect by the Athenians on the eve of Marathon (Hdt. 6. 105). But before the close of that century, or very soon afterwards, Attic sculptors had made the *amende honorable* by devising a type which gave the god an almost Zeus-like majesty and yet by retaining curved horns and prick ears, a shag of hair and a twist of lip, contrived to remind men that after all he was but a glorified goat. H. B. W[alters] in the *Brit. Mus. Quart.* 1931—1932 vi. 33 f. pl. 16 was able to publish a head in Pentelic marble (height 8½ inches) recently acquired in Greece. Relying presumably on the proportions of the eye, the absence of overlapping lids, etc. he ventures to say: 'the style recalls some of the heads on the Parthenon metopes. It certainly cannot be dated later than the latter part of the fifth century.' My pl. lxxx is from the official photographs.

ii. 347 n. ο Hipta. P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1926 xv. 76 ff. takes Hipta to be an Asiatic mother-goddess=the Hittite *Hepit*.

ii. 350 Dodona. For the recent excavations at Dodona see G. Sotiriadis 'Fouilles de Dodone' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1921 xxxiv. 384—387 and D. Euangelides in the *Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἐτ.* 1930 pp. 52—68, *ib.* 1931 pp. 83—91, *ib.* 1932 pp. 47—52 and as reported by E. P. B[legen] in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1930 xxxiv. 220 f., by D. M. Robinson *ib.* 1933 xxxvii. 128, by H. G. G. Payne in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1930 l. 242, *ib.* 1931 li. 194 f., *ib.* 1932 lii. 245, *ib.* 1933 liii. 182, by H. Megaw *ib.* 1936 lvi. 147.

ii. 359 ff. the Triumphal Arch. On distyle bases at Delphoi see É. Bourguet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1911 xxxv. 472—481, *id.* *Les ruines de Delphes* Paris 1914 pp. 148 f., 164—168, 202—205, F. Courby in *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. i. 44, M. P. Nilsson 'Les bases votives à double colonne et l'arc de triomphe' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1925 xlix. 143—157. The origin of the Triumphal Arch is still a bone of contention, not to say a body of Euphorbos: e.g. G. Patroni 'L' origine degli archi trionfali' in *Historia* 1927 i. 3. 3—30 with 3 figs. (criticises G. Spano, E. Löwy, etc. and stresses Etruscan influence), E. Löwy *Die Anfänge des Triumphalbogens* Wien 1928 pp. 1—40 with 3 pls. and 89 figs. (summarised in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 ii. 170 and in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1927 xvii. 249), M. P. Nilsson 'The Origin of the Triumphal Arch' in *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom* 1932 ii. 132—139, I. A. Richmond 'Commemorative Arches and City Gates in the Augustan Age' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1933 xxiii. 149—174 with pls. 15—19 and 11 figs. (follows Nilsson and urges that the main purpose of the Arch was to serve as a base for statues), H. Petrikovits 'Die Porta triumphalis' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1933 xxviii. 187—196 (insists on the religious significance of the victors returning under this Arch, compares the passage of the vanquished *sub iugum*, and the sale of prisoners *sub hasta*, ending with a bibliography of 45 items). Much that is relevant had already been said by A. von Domaszewski 'Die Triumphstrasse auf dem Marsfelde' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 67—82 (= *id.* *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion* Leipzig und Berlin 1909 pp. 217—233 with additional n. by B. Kahle).

ii. 361 with fig. 254. H. Mattingly in the *Brit. Mus. Quart.* 1934 ix. 51 pl. 16, 7, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Emp. iii. pp. ci, 177 f. pl. 31, 6—9.

ii. 364 the 'yoke' of spears. M. Cary—A. D. Nock 'Magic Spears' in the *Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 122—127 (*sub iugum, sub hasta*, etc.).

ii. 373 *Ianus Quadrifrons*. A late Etruscan scarab of cornelian, mounted on a gold swivel, shows a bearded head of *Ianus Quadrifrons* wearing a *pétasos* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings* p. 59 no. 327 pl. 9, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*² p. 88 no. 714 pl. 12: from the Castellani collection).

ii. 381 ff. double herms. R. Lullies *Die Typen der griechischen Herme* Königsberg Pr. 1931 pp. 66—69 ('Doppelhermen mit nach entgegengesetzten Seiten blickenden Köpfen') argues that this type was originally intended to represent 'Hermes als Totengott' (*ib.* p. 86)—a view questioned by S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1931 ii. 330.

ii. 382 n. 1 double bust of Dionysos. Cp. a fine archaistic double bust at Ny Carlsberg (*Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Billedtavler* no. 151 *Dionysos* pl. 11).



Fig. 889.

ii. 385 n. o 'Αργειφόντης. Earlier interpretations in O. Neckel 'Αργειφόντης Progr. des Gymn. Friedland 1886 pp. 10—12, Sven Linde 'Über 'Αργειφόντης, dessen Form und Bedeutung' in *Skandinavisches Archiv* 1892 i. 394—414.

ii. 386 Odhin's broad hat. H. Naumann 'Breithut' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 1550—1552 (cp. *id. ib.* i. 1386 f. 'Blauhütel').

ii. 388 double busts of Hermes and Herakles. P. E. Visconti 'Ermeracle' in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1872—1873 pp. 97—102 pl. 1. Another of Hermes (*pétasos*) and Herakles (lion-skin) at Ny Carlsberg (*Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Billedtavler* no. 267 pl. 19).

ii. 390 with pl. xxi Janiform *aryballos* of male and female Dionysiac heads. See now J. D. Beazley 'Charinos' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1929 xlix. 61 (Group N, no. 1 'head of Herakles and woman's head' [?]).

ii. 392 with fig. 300 double bust of Apis and Isis. H. Gressmann in the *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1923—1924* Berlin—Leipzig 1926 p. 183 pl. 3 fig. 6 assigns this bust to the time of Hadrian and regards it as combining the human and animal forms of Hathor. J. Leipoldt in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 ix—xi p. vi with fig. 25 ('Die Büste 25 ist insofern altägyptisch empfunden, als Isis auch mit einem Kuhkopfe ausgestattet ist (allerdings handelt sich um eine künstliche Ägyptisierung; es fehlen altägyptische Analogien einer derartigen Isis).' Etc.).

ii. 392 ff. double herms at Nemi. On Feb. 10, 1930, during the excavation of Caligula's second gallery, a double herm of bronze was found, representing the conjoined heads of a bearded and a beardless Satyr. The former is wreathed with vine-leaves and

grapes, the latter with pine and cones: both wear a *nebris* (W. Technau in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1930 xlv Arch. Anz. p. 351 with fig. 13). In the summer of 1931 further work on the second galley brought to light another double herm of bronze, the exact counterpart of the first, and a third combining two youthful female heads wreathed with ivy and draped. There can be no doubt that all these herms served as decorative posts of the ship's rail (*id. ib.* 1931 xlvi Arch. Anz. p. 648 with figs. 4 and 5). In the spring of 1932 yet another bronze double herm from the rail was found (*id. ib.* 1932 xlvii Arch. Anz. p. 479). See also *The Daily Telegraph* for June 18, 1931 p. 9 and *The Illustrated London News* for July 4, 1931 p. 19.

I take this opportunity of publishing (fig. 889, *a—c*) a small double bust of white marble in my collection (height $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches), which represents *adossés* a bearded and a beardless Satyr, wreathed with ivy. It probably topped a slender pillar in somebody's peristyle in *s.* i A.D.



a

Fig. 890.

b

ii. 394 foliate faces. T. Tindall Wildridge *The Grotesque in Church Art*² London s.a. p. 112 ff. ('Masks and Faces') gives examples of foliate masks at Beverley Minster (Yorkshire), Dorchester (Oxfordshire), St Mary's Minster (Isle of Thanet), Westminster Abbey, Ewelme (Oxfordshire), Lincoln Cathedral, etc. C. J. P. Cave 'The Roof Bosses in Ely Cathedral' in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* Cambridge 1932 xxxii. 35 f. with pl. 2 shows bosses representing heads with oak-leaves coming out of mouth and nostril. Cave acutely conjectures 'some survival from pre-Christian times.' Finally Lady Raglan 'The "Green Man" in Church Architecture' in *Folk-Lore* 1939 l. 45—57 figs. 1—17 concludes that classical and quasi-classical types (figs. 10—13) were from *s.* xiii. onwards influenced by 'the figure variously known as the Green Man, Jack-in-the-Green, Robin Hood, the King of May, and the Garland.' In 1934 I acquired from Mr J. Sinclair of Swanage a limestone corbel (height $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches) said to have come from a fourteenth-century continental church. It represents (fig. 890, *a, b*) a male head with oak-leaves springing from eyes, nose, and ears, and bears traces of yellow priming and red paint.

ii. 405 ff. Artemis *Ephesia*. On all the types of this goddess see now the excellent monograph by H. Thiersch *Artemis Ephesia* (*Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1935 Folge iii Nr. 12) Teil i Katalog der erhaltenen Denkmäler. Mit 76 Tafeln u. 4 Textabbildungen.

ii. 407 n. o. On stags in relation to Artemis (Ma, Anaitis, etc.) see S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1932 i. 151 f., who cites F. Cumont 'L'archevêché de Pédachtoé et le sacrifice du Faon' in *Byzantion* 1931 vi. 521—533 ('Voilà bien un banquet rituel, tradition païenne christianisée').

ii. 410 n. o. 'Ἐφέσια γράμματα. See further A. Deissmann 'Ephesia Grammata' in the *Abhandlungen zur semitischen Religionskunde und Sprachwissenschaft* (Baudissin-Festschrift) ed. W. Frankenberg—F. Küchler (*Beihfte zur Zeitschrift für die Alt-testamentliche Wissenschaft* 1918 xxxiii. 121—124).

ii. 410 n. o. On the occurrence of Zeus-emblems (thunderbolt and bay-wreath) in relation to Artemis *Ephesia* see H. Thiersch *op. cit.* i. 46 ff., 65 ff., who notes a statue of s. ii A.D. in the Museum at Tripolis (no. 29 pl. 27, 1, 3, 4) and a mosaic from Poggio Mirteto in the Vatican (no. 56 pl. 46).

ii. 411 Bendis. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 87 n. 3 draws attention to the numerous representations of Bendis on the rocks of Philippoi (*ib.* 1922 lxxvi. 117 ff.).

ii. 411 n. 6. C. Picard—C. Avezou 'Le testament de la prêtresse thessalonicienne' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1914 xxxviii. 38 ff. correct P. Perdrizet's reading *ἑτέρα θύρα* | *εὐελα Πρωτοφόρον* to *ἑτέρα οὐρα* | *Εὐελα Πρωτοφόρον*, 'Eueia daughter of Prinophoros,' and show that the remainder of this much-misunderstood inscription refers to the *ἀποκάνσις* or ritual burning of roses on the tomb—a very different story.

ii. 419 n. 2. A writer in the *Times Literary Supplement* for June 17, 1926 p. 413 justly objects that *scomparse* means 'vanished,' not 'scattered.'

ii. 421 Artemis *Orthia*. H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Zürich 1928 Ergänzungsband p. 110: 'In Wirklichkeit ist Orthia, was freilich noch niemand gesehen hat, von *ὄρθος*, "aufrechtstehend," abzuleiten, und der Beiname der Göttin erklärt sich aus den Erektionen der an ihrem Altar gepeitschten nackten Jünglinge und der Zuschauer.' But such ultra-Aristophanic grossness is quite gratuitous.

ii. 422 the divine Sky as a double-faced god. K. F. Johansson *Über die altindische Göttin Dhiśānā und Verwandtes* Uppsala 1919 p. 136 ff. argues for a proethnic Indo-germanic 'zwei-asektigt gedachten herrn gott' with dark and light sides, viz. Varuṇa (also Vṛtra) and Dyāus (also Mitra). So in Scandinavia we have Ullr and Týr (also Frøyr), cp. the Van pair of gods Ullin and Fillin (*ib.* pp. 33, 139).

ii. 424 the temple of Aphrodite *Paphia*. See further R. Dussaud—P. Alphantéry 'Le sanctuaire primitif d'Aphrodite paphienne' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1911 lxiii. 114, 'Fouilles de Rantidi (Chypre)' *ib.* 1911 lxiii. 376 f., 'Les divinités de Rantidi (Chypre)' *ib.* 1911 lxiv. 133, C. Blinkenberg *Le temple de Paphos* (*Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser* ix, 2) København 1924 pp. 1—40 figs. 1—9, S. Casson *Ancient Cyprus Its Art and Archaeology* London 1937 pp. 163 n. 1, 178.

ii. 427 fig. 331. A somewhat clearer illustration of this gilded glass is given by I. Benzinger *Hebräische Archäologie*³ Leipzig 1927 p. 218 with fig. 224.

ii. 434 ff. the Twins. In addition to the monographs of S. Eitrem (*supra* ii. 451 n. 1) and J. Rendel Harris (*supra* i. 760 n. 7) see the contributions of E. S. Hartland 'Twins' in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* 1921 xii. 491^a—500^b, Schrader *Reallex.*² i. 588^b, A. H. Krappe *Les dieux jumeaux dans la religion germanique* (extr. from the *Acta philologica Scandinavica*) København 1930 pp. 1—25, Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Aftermath pp. 82, 154.

ii. 436 ff. Kastor and Polydeukes. A. Döhring 'Kastors und Balders Tod' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1902 v. 38—63, 97—104, A. H. Krappe 'Herakles and Greek Dioskouroi Legends' in *The Classical Journal* 1923 xviii. 502—504, G. Maresch 'Der Name der Tyndariden' in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 298 f. (*supra* on i. 766), A. Puech 'La mort de Castor dans la x^e Néméenne' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 398—403.

H. J. M. Milne in the *Class. Rev.* 1933 xlvii. 62 edits a fresh fragment of Bakchylides(?) which tells how one of the Dioskouroi (or possibly Kabeiroi) lives on earth, the other in Hades (A. Vogliano in *Papiri greci e latini* (Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana) Firenze 1932 x. 169 ff. no. 1181 Oxyrhynchos s. ii—iii A.D.): 21 ff. *μάλ' ἐγγ[υατο] τοι[αύτα φάτις] | ἐπεὶ δόκ[ιμο]ς κλα[θε]ν | ἐπ[ι]ε[ι] πολυ[θεν]δρέων ἀκτῶν | κύμα περ[ρῶν] ἀπ' Ἴλιου | θεῶν τι[s, ἀ]μ[υ]φανδόν [δ'] ἀπέδειξεν | αὐθι μένε[ιν τὸν μὲν π]αρ' Ἀίδι | τὸν δ' οὐλόμε[νον κατὰ κ]ήρυμον | προφυγεῖν θά[λαττον].*

ii. 440 ff. Romulus and Remus. A. H. Krappe 'Notes sur la légende de la fondation de Rome' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1933 pp. 146—152.

K. Scott 'Drusus, nicknamed "Castor"', in *Class. Philol.* 1930 xxv. 155—161 thinks

that Germanicus and the younger Drusus, like Tiberius and the elder Drusus, may have been associated or even identified with Castor and Pollux—a view confirmed by a recently found inscription from Ephesos (*Class. Quart.* 1931 xxv, 58).

E. Kornemann *Doppelprinzipat und Reichsteilung im Imperium Romanum* Leipzig—Berlin 1930 pp. 1—210 is reviewed by M. P. Charlesworth in the *Class. Rev.* 1933 xlvii, 143—146.

J. Carcopino 'La louve du Capitole' in the *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* Juillet 1924 pp. 3—19 and Octobre 1924 pp. 16—49.

R. P. Eckels *Greek Wolf-lore* Philadelphia 1937 pp. 1—88 concludes with a discussion of wolf-nurses.

ii. 445 Zethos and Amphion. J. Rendel Harris in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 1926 x, 345 observes that the Egyptian twins Set and Horos were the architects of Thebes in Egypt just as Zethos and Amphion were the architects of Thebes in Greece. He suggests that the name Ζῆθος may be simply *Set*, whom Plutarch actually transcribes as ζῆθ [Where? Plout. de Is. et Os. 41, 49, 62 says Ζῆθ without variants. A.B.C.J. A. H. Krappe in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx, 240 f. repeats and reinforces the conclusions of Rendel Harris.

ii. 445 ff. double-headed deities in Asia Minor etc. G. Contenau 'Idoles en pierre provenant de l'Asie Mineure' in *Syria* 1927 viii, 193 ff. pls. 44—48 publishes six idols in the Louvre, probably found at *Kül-Tépé* ('La colline de cendres') near Kaisareia in Cappadokia, close to Mt Argaios, where a Semitic colony had long been established—witness numerous tablets in cuneiform from the same site. All the six idols are in alabaster, with a reddish patina. They represent deities with one (pl. 44, a), two (pls. 44, b, 45), and three heads (pls. 46, 47, 4), but only a single rounded body. *Id. ib.* p. 200 compares Syrian bronzes in the Louvre, which represent a god embracing a goddess attached to his right leg at the knee, or again four deities arranged fan-wise. *Id. Manuel d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1931 ii, 824 f. figs. 593 and 594 dates the Cappadocian idols c. 2000 B.C. and the Syrian bronzes c. 1000 B.C. A better illustration of a two-headed Cappadocian goddess is given in the *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art* L'Art de Mésopotamie ancienne au Musée du Louvre Paris 1936 i, 284 f. fig. A, and of a Syrian group *ib.* Canaan, Phénicie Paris 1937 ii, 109 fig. c. On the significance of polyccephalic gods in general see L. Weber in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1934 xxxi, 172—175.

ii. 448 n. o the sickle of Kronos. See now *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1927 xvii, 65 no. 2080, 71—73 (=Kallim. *frags.* 502 + 172 Schneider) with A. S. Hunt *ad loc.*

ii. 448 n. 2 the sickle of Zeus. See F. Dornseiff 'Die Sichel des Zeus und Typhon' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlviii Arch. Anz. pp. 754—757 fig. 1. *Id. Die archaische Mythenerzählung* Berlin—Leipzig 1933 p. 24 ff. cites *inter alia* a Hittite parallel noted by W. Porzig—'Illujankas und Typhon.' Cp. G. Furlani *La religione degli Hittiti* Bologna 1936 pp. 87—91 ('Il Mito del dio della tempesta e del serpente Illuyankaš').

ii. 453 ff. the original home of Apollon. Wilamowitz' view that Apollon came from Lykia is energetically attacked also by E. Bethe 'Apollon der Hellene' in *ANTIΔΡΟΝ Festschrift Jacob Wackernagel...gewidmet* Göttingen 1923 pp. 14—21.

F. Poulsen *Delphische Studien* (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser viii, 5) København 1924 pp. 3—40 ('Apollon und Asien') suggests that the name *Apóllon* is to be explained by the Babylonian terms *aplu* 'the Firstborn' and *aplu asaridu* 'the Firstborn Son,' a fixed epithet of kings in honorific inscriptions. Poulsen sees in Apollon a blend of Samaš, god of the sun, of wisdom, of law, with Marduk, who as symbolising sunlight fought Tiāmat the dragon of darkness. Hence the lunisolar calendar, the ritual number seven, the *omphalós* (cp. the Babylonian *kudurru*), etc.

C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii, 90 f. thinks it possible that the Hellenic Apollon was a blend of (a) a Creto-Anatolian god and (b) a Hyperborean god—each called *Apóllon*.

L. Weber 'Apollon' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1933 lxxxii, 165—191, 193—229 contends that Apollon, originating in Crete as an archer-god (cp. Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 296 f. fig. 85, where note eye and ear), passed thence *viâ* Delos and Lykia to the Troad, was carried across the Bosphoros by the Mysians and Teucrians some time before the Trojan War, and made his way southward through Thrace, Makedonia, and Thessaly to Delphoi. Homeric *epos* represents him as a foe of the Greeks because it was a product of the Aeolians in Thessaly, who were naturally hostile to the god of their northern neighbours. Delos as his cult-centre was prior to Delphoi.

ii. 460 n. 2 (b) Apollon riding on a swan. A rock-crystal scarab of early archaic style shows him thus crossing the sea (waves below, dolphin behind). He guides the swan by the beak with his right hand and holds a leafy branch in his left (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 96 f. fig. 66, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*² p. 55 no. 460 pl. 8).

ii. 462 n. o fig. 362 Zeus drawn by eagles on a disk from Tarentum. Other examples at Trieste and Berlin (P. Willeumier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1932 i. 43 no. 78).

ii. 464. C. Picard 'La Crète et les légendes Hyperboréennes' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1927 i. 349—360 holds that the sacrifice of asses and other 'Hyperborean' tales belonged originally to Crete, and were transferred to the north only when Crete had been captured by northern invaders. Unconvincing.

ii. 469 n. 1 huius folia noctis et lucis imaginem declarant. Miss G. R. Levy 'The Oriental Origin of Herakles' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1934 liv. 44 well compares Orph. *h. Heralkl.* 12. 11 δς περὶ κρατὶ φορεῖς ἥω καὶ νύκτα μέλαιναν.

ii. 475 Zeus seated, yet hurling a thunderbolt. A silver *stater* of Corinth, struck c. 338—300 B.C., has for symbol Zeus enthroned with thunderbolt in raised right hand and eagle on outstretched left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Corinth, etc. p. 33 no. 308 pl. 12, 19. There is a second specimen of the type in *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 96 no. 72. I have a third).

ii. 477 n. o. G. A. Snyder 'De symbolica Phaethontis fabulae interpretatione apud Romanos' in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1927 lv. 401—409 claims that in Roman times the myth was interpreted as a Mithraic expression for the ascent of the soul to heaven (*Class. Quart.* 1928 xxii. 210, cp. S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 i. 218). A. Lesky 'Zum Phaethon des Euripides' in *Wiener Studien* 1932 l. 1—25 puts the play late in Euripides' career and attempts to reconstruct the plot. M. F. Scavizzari *Il Mito nel ΦΑΕΘΩΝ di Euripide* Napoli 1937 pp. 1—80 includes a pl. of the Ostia *sarcophagus*.

ii. 483 the *kiškanû*-tree. F. P. Dhorme 'L'arbre de vérité et l'arbre de vie' in the *Revue biblique internationale* Nouvelle série 1907 iv. 272 ff. shows that in the time of Gudea (c. 2600 B.C.) the Babylonians believed in two trees planted at the entry of heaven, *giš-ti* the 'tree of life' and *giš-ká-an-na* the 'tree of the gate of heaven.' He says: 'Le *giš-ti* ou "arbre de vie" ne sera autre que le *kiškanû*, connu sous le nom de *giš-gan-abzu*.' Dhorme is followed by A. J. Wensinck *Tree and Bird as cosmological symbols in Western Asia* Amsterdam 1921 p. 4. See now S. Langdon 'The Legend of the *kiškanû*' in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1928 pp. 843—848. Miss N. Perrot *Les représentations de l'arbre sacré sur les monuments de Mésopotamie et d'Élam* Paris 1937 pp. 1—143 with 32 pls., G. Lechler in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 352 f.

ii. 484 n. 6. The etymology of ἀπελλών is discussed by F. Muller Jzn *Altitalisches Wörterbuch* Göttingen 1926 p. 348.

ii. 487 n. 3 Apollon as an 'apple'-god. Rendel Harris' view is adversely criticised by J. Toutain in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1921 lxxxiii. 196—200. But there is far more to be said for it than the critics will allow. *Rira bien qui rira le dernier*.

On Demeter Μαλοφόρος at Megara see K. Hanell *Megarische Studien* Lund (1934) p. 174 ff. Terracottas from her sanctuary at Selinous were published by E. Gåbrici in the *Not. Scavi* 1920 pp. 67—91 figs. 1—33, and we have now the same author's sumptuous monograph 'Il Santuario della Malophoros a Selinunte' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1928 xxxii. 1—419 with 97 pls. and 192 figs. (reviewed by F. von Duhn in *Gnomon* 1929 v. 529—539).

The Times for Oct. 8, 1926 p. 11 in a report by J. Borzodin on 'Excavations in South Russia' notes the discovery by Prof. Farmakovsky in 1924 of Apollon's temple at Olbia. Its ruins stand in the centre of the old town at the outlet of the river Bug. See further E. Diehl in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 2417, 2421.

ii. 493 n. 2 amber routes. The most thorough and authoritative investigation of the subject is that of J. M. de Navarro 'Prehistoric Routes between Northern Europe and Italy defined by the Amber Trade' in *The Geographical Journal* 1925 lxxvi. 481—507 with distribution-maps of Bronze Age Amber Finds in Central Europe and Early Iron Age Amber Finds in Central Europe, also a map of Trans-continental Amber Routes distinguishing Central Routes (opened Early Bronze Age), Western Routes (opened Middle Bronze Age), and Eastern Routes (opened Early Iron Age), and two plans of Bronze Age Amber Finds in Italy and Early Iron Age Amber Finds in Italy. Mr de Navarro does not deal with the amber trade to Greece and the East Mediterranean area, remarking only 'The Baltic-Black Sea route is, in my opinion, a late development.'

ii. 493 ff. the Hyperboreans. Rendel Harris 'Apollo at the back of the North Wind' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 229—242 includes chapters on 'The prehistoric

amber routes,' 'Apollo and the Hyperboreans,' 'The Apollo stations,' and 'a possible third amber route from the land of the Hyperboreans into Greece.' G. H. Macurdy *Troy and Paonia* New York 1925 pp. 196—210 returns to the subject with a further section on 'The Hyperboreans.' C. T. Seltman in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1928 lviii. 685 argues thus: 'It seems improbable that barbarians devoid of all Hellenic connections would have troubled to keep in touch with Delian Apollo. The chief Istrian cult was Apolline. Istrus, like other Milesian Pontic Colonies, was populated by Mix-hellenes and monopolized Danubian trade, having factories far up the river.... Perhaps these barbarized descendants of Istrian, i.e. Milesian, stock sent the offerings. If so, the Herodotean Adriatic route employed about 450 B.C. would have been closed by the Celtic invasions of the early fourth century B.C. and the later Istrus, Sinope, Prasiae-route, of (?) Phanodemus, would have been used subsequently. The fourth century B.C. coins of Istrus and Sinope with identical reverse types point to close connections between these States.... Accordingly, if the people who sent offerings to Delos were geographically "Hyperborean," but not racial or mythical Hyperboreans; if they are less likely to have been the barbarian Proto-Hellenic parent-stock left behind in Central Europe than the semi-barbarized descendants of Ionian traders located in the south of Central Europe, then there is no longer any need to seek for a partially northern origin for Apollo merely on the grounds of his supposed Hyperborean connections.' This acute hypothesis is welcomed by A. D. Nock in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 126 and by M. Cary *ib.* 1929 xliii. 214. The latter, quoting Kallim. *h. Del.* 283 f. οἱ μὲν τοι καδάμην τε καὶ ἱερὰ δράγματα πρῶτοι ἰσταχύνων φερόουσιν, adds: 'Surely, then, they were the ears of wheat whose haulms served as packing.' Yet the actual custom of packing an egg (*Osterei*) in the first or last sheaf, cited by Mannhardt (*supra* ii. 498 n. 2), tempts us to conjecture that the offerings in question were swans' eggs similarly packed: this would at least suit both their Hyperborean starting-point and their Delian destination, and might further be supported by the ritual preservation of Leda's egg (*supra* ii. 1015 n. 7). A more remote parallel may be found in a former (c. 1860 A.D.) usage of the Easter Islanders: the man that brought in the first tern's egg of the year, which his servant had procured from a neighbouring islet, swimming across with it in a small basket tied on his head, was saluted as *Tangata-Manu*, 'Man-Bird,' and chosen as chief for the year (S. Chauvet *L'île de Pâques et ses mystères* Paris 1935 pp. 35—37).

ii. 496 n. o *fin.* C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1935 i. 285 n. 1: 'Pour le nom des Perphères d'Hérodote (iv, 32), compagnons des Vierges hyperboréennes, on comparera maintenant l'Hermès Perphéræos d'Aïnos, sculpté par le Dédalide Épeios, constructeur du Cheval de Troie: un papyrus récent l'a révélé.' Mr H. J. M. Milne kindly refers me to M. Norsa—G. Vitelli ΔΙΗΓΗΣΕΙΣ *di roemi di Callimaco in un papiro di Teblynis* Firenze 1934 p. 45 f. col. vii, 32 ff. Ἐρμᾶς ὁ Περφεραῖος Αἰνείων θεός Περφεραῖος Ἐρμῆς ἐν Αἰνῶι τῇ πόλει τῆς Θράκης τιμᾶται. ἐντεῦθεν Ἐπειὸς πρὸ τοῦ δουρίου ἔππου ἐδημιούργησεν Ἐρμῆν, ὃν ὁ Σκάμανδρος πολὺς ἐνεχθεὶς κατέστυρεν· ὁ δ' ἐντεῦθεν προσηνέχθη εἰς τὴν πρὸς Αἰνῶι θάλασσαν, ἀφ' ἧς ἀλιευόμενοι τινες ἀνείλκυσαν αὐτὸν τῇ σαγήνῃ. ὅτε <δὲ> θεθέσαντο αὐτὸν, καταμεμψάμενοι τὸν βόλον πρῶτον μὲν σχίζειν τε αὐτὸν <—> καὶ παρακαίειν αὐτοῖς ἐπεχείρουν, οὐδὲν δὲ ἤττον ἔφθασαν ἢ τὸν ὦμον παίσαντες τραύματος τύπον ἐργάσασθαι, διαμπερὲς δὲ ἡσθένησαν· καὶ ὅλον αὐτὸν καίειν ἐπεχείρουν, τὸ δὲ πῦρ αὐτῶι περιέρρει. ἀπειπόντες <οὖν> κατέρριψαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἐπεὶ δ' αὖθις ἐδικτυούλκηνσαν, θεὸν νομίσαντες εἶναι ἢ θεῶι προσήκοντα καθιδρύσαντο ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ, ἀπῆρξαντό τε τῆς ἄγρας ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλου αὐτῶι π*[*]*****]* (πρ[οσελθῶ]ν?). τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος χρήσαντος εἰσεδέξαντο τῇ πόλει καὶ παραπλησίως τ[οῖς θεοῖς] ἐτίμων. Cp. R. Pfeiffer 'Die neuen ΔΙΗΓΗΣΕΙΣ zu Kallimachosgedichten' in the *Sitzungsber. d. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1934 x. 29 f.

ii. 500 Phoibos. W. Schmid 'Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1923—1924 xxii. 217—223 tries to persuade us that Φοῖβος is a metrical substitute for Φόβος!

ii. 505 ff. lightning as a weapon. H. Balfour 'Concerning Thunderbolts' in *Folk-Lore* 1929 xl. 37—49, 168—172 with 23 figs. on 2 pls. surveys and illustrates popular beliefs about 'thunderbolts,' prophylactic or otherwise.

ii. 510 ff. inscribed neolithic celts. The best parallel to figs. 390 and 391 is the implement published by my friend and former pupil J. H. Iliffe 'A neolithic celt with Gnostic inscriptions at Toronto' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 304—309 with 2 figs. It is a polished celt of hard brown stone, acquired in Smyrna but said to have been found at Ephesus, and bears on one side a well-cut design with lettering of s. iv—v A.D. Enclosed by a snake biting its own tail, stands a nude winged and tailed figure holding a whip with double lash in his right hand, a short rod in his left. A bunch of leaves springs from his head, which bears some resemblance to a winged *Gorgoneion* (?). He is flanked by

two tall sceptres with animal-headed(?) tops, and surrounded by words of power: ΑΙΑΟΥΑΗΛ ΠΑΙ ΖΗΘ | ΦΘΛΘΨΖΑ | ΙΑΩΟΥΗΕ ΓΑΒΑΩΘ | ΑΔΩΝΑΙΕ || ΑΚΡΑΜΜΑ | ΧΑΜΑΡΕΙ || ΕΕΕΝΓΕΝ | ΦΑΡΑΝΓΗΣ || ΑΒΛΑΝΑΘΑΝΑΛΒΑ | ΔΑΜΝΑΜΕΝΕΥ.

ii. 512 sliced neolithic celts with added inscriptions. A large oblong axe(?) of brownish green-jade, formerly in the collection of J. Martinek, Shanghai, and now in my possession, has been sawn lengthwise and bears on the exposed surface an inscription in archaic Chinese characters, which—Mr A. Waley kindly informs me—are an extract from the *Analects* of Confucius reading: 'Gentlemen use *tē* (inner power, "virtue" in the sense "potency"). Small men use force.' The *Martinek Sale Catalogue* (Messrs. Puttick and Simpson Dec. 13, 1929) p. 8 no. 67 refers this piece to the Han period.

ii. 513 ff. The double axe in 'Minoan' cult. M. E. L. Mallowan in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 16, 1933 p. 436 f. fig. 7 publishes beads or amulets in the shape of the double axe, which were found in Iraq at *Arpachiyah*, a prehistoric mound four miles east of Nineveh, and are attributed to a period earlier than 4000 B.C. These he claims as prototypes of the 'Minoan' symbol.

B. Schweitzer *Herakles* Tübingen 1922 pp. 21—58 ('Die Doppelaxt in nachkretischer Zeit') adduces a mass of miscellaneous evidence, not always judiciously handled.

ii. 516 n. 6 the *sarcophagus* of *Hagia Triada*. To the bibliography add R. Vallois 'Autels et culte de l'arbre sacré en Crète' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1926 pp. 121—132. *Id.* in the *Mélanges Gustave Glotz* Paris 1932 ii. 839—847 cp. a similar arrangement of altar and base in the earliest Artemision at Ephesos.

ii. 518 n. 3 the magpie. R. Riegler 'Die Elster im Mythos' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1926 xxiii. 349—353, Taylor 'Elster' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1929/1930 ii. 796—802.

ii. 519 n. 0 the crow. Euphorion *frag.* 65 Meineke, *ap. schol. Nik. ther.* 406, Peuckert 'Krahe' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1932 v. 352—370.

ii. 522 n. 2 the colour red. See now the careful compilation of Eva Wunderlich *Die Bedeutung des roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer* Giessen 1925 pp. 1—116 (reviewed by S. Eitrem in *Gnomon* 1926 ii. 95—102 and by E. Fehle in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 15, 1926 pp. 520—525).

ii. 528 ff. double axes imbedded in columns. H. Sandars in the *Rev. Arch.* 1926 i. 259 f. fig. 2 (=my fig. 891) publishes an Iberian column from the Mina de la Plata between Baeza and Jaen. Its square stone capital is decorated with double axes on all four faces.

ii. 536 hands raised, one palm outwards, the other in profile. The same peculiar and at present unexplained gesture may be seen in a seated terra-cotta goddess of the 'Geometric' period (height: 4½ inches), from northern Greece, now in my collection (fig. 892 a, b).

ii. 543 the 'hour-glass' ornament on the indigenous pottery of Apulia perhaps derived from the double axe. This is doubtful. Paintings from the rock-shelters of southern Spain, belonging to the Copper Age, show X or the like as the stylised form of a woman (H. Breuil—M. C. Burkitt *Rock Paintings of Southern Andalusia* Oxford 1929 p. 84 'Spanish Art Group III').

ii. 544 fig. 419 gem from Melos. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 70 objects that 'Minoan' deities are wingless and cj. 'plutôt un génie ptérophore.' Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 187 n. 1 adds: 'upward curved wings do not occur in this age' (cp. V. Müller 'Minoisches Nachleben oder orientalischer Einfluss in der frühkretischen Kunst?' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1925 l. 54 f. with fig. 1). Lastly, the attitude of *Knielauf* (*supra* i. 296 n. 6) also points to a post-'Minoan' though still archaic period. Probably the term 'sub-'Minoan' or 'sub-Mycenaean' would best fit the case. (*supra* on i. 725).

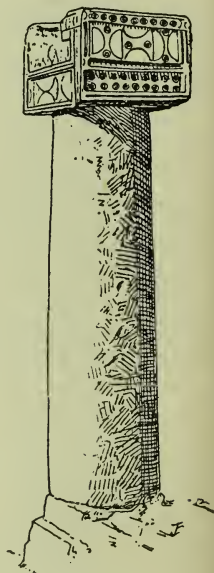


Fig. 891.

One thinks of Daidalos

ii. 544 n. 3 the Egyptian *neter*. Miss M. A. Murray 'The sign 7' in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* London 1932 pp. 312—315 pl. 49 argues that this sign represents a pole with votive streamers and is descended from an early cult of the poplar or willow.

ii. 547 n. 2 the sacrificial table. H. Mischkowski *Die heiligen Tische im Götterkultus der Griechen und Römer* Königsberg i. Pr. 1917 p. 32 f.

ii. 548 n. o sword-worship. Among the Quadi (Amm. Marc. 17. 12. 21 quorum regalis Vitrodorus, Viduari filius regis, et Agilimundus subregulus, aliique optimates et



a

b

Fig. 892.

iudices, variis populis praesidentes,...eductis...mucronibus, quos pro numinibus colunt, iuravere se permansuros in fide). In the south-east of Sweden (A. Nordén *Östergötlands Bronsålder* Linköping 1925 pp. 1—407 is summarised by A. J. Uppvall in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 394—397, who notes among the rock-carvings in the region of Bråviken 'gigantic swords...now carried by one man, now by two, and found in processions where one being—a giant—towers above the rest.' Cp. O. Almgren in Ebert *Reallex.* iii. 216 with pl. 51, i, H. Shetelig—H. Falk *Scandinavian Archaeology* trans. E. V. Gordon Oxford 1937 p. 167 ff.).

ii. 549 Kronos swallowing his own children. See now M. Pohlenz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real. Enc.* xi. 1991 ff.

ii. 549 *Krónos* as 'Chopper.' R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 385 n. o attempts to combine two incompatibles: 'Kronos als **Kōp-vos* = *Κείπων*

= "Schnitter" und κρονός "Brunnen". G. A. Wainwright in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1933 xix. 51 quotes parallels e.g. Κάσιος, which 'probably originated in the Semitic root *kāṣas*, *kāṣah*, ... "The Cutter, Breaker"; and *Mjölñir* the 'Crusher.'

ii. 550 fig. 426. F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 178 f. no. 51 pl. 13, 18 observes that on this coin there is drapery over the back of Kronos' head and a small crown with three peaks, also some object in his left hand.

ii. 550 ff. fig. 428 the dagger-god of Iasili Kaya. See further P. Couissin 'Le dieu-épée de Iasili-Kaia et le culte de l'épée dans l'antiquité' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1927 i. 107—135 with 21 figs.—an important article on hoplolatry summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 509, G. Contenau *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1931 ii. 970 f. fig. 672, G. Furlani *La religione degli Hittiti* Bologna 1936 p. 59 f. Good photographs taken in two different lights are supplied by K. Bittel *Die Felsbilder von Yazilikaya* Bamberg 1934 p. 11 no. 82 pl. 30.

ii. 561 Tyrimnos. A. H. Sayce 'The Phrygian hero Tyris' in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlv. 11.

ii. 569 Zeus *Asbamaños*. E. Kalinka in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1933 xxviii Beiblatt p. 61 no. 8 figures a marble altar at Amasia in Bithynia inscribed Θεῷ | ἀσβαμεί κα[ι] | Γῆ (?) κυρία κ.τ.λ. E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 605 treats *Asbamaños* as the equivalent of Ὀρκιος.

ii. 570 n. o. *A propos* of Celtic divinities Prof. F. E. Adcock draws my attention to Zeus Βουσσουρίγιος, who is mentioned in two inscriptions of s. iii A.D. from Galatia (J. G. C. Anderson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1910 xxx. 163 ff. no. 1 at *Atlike Tash* on a block rectangular in section Αἰρήλιος Ἥλιος | Δόμνου | κόμης Κλωσσάμηνων | νεωκόρος τοῦ Διὸς Βουσσουρίγιου | ὧν ἐαυτῷ | κατεσκεύασεν τὸ | μνημεῖον = *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4102. No. 2 at *Karayuk* on a stèle surmounted by a fragmentary wreath ΦΑΔΡ. ΦΙΛΩΤΑΣ | ΨΣΤΑΤΕΙΛΙΟΥ | ΚΩΜΗΣ Ἰκοῦταρίου ἱκέτης | καὶ ὑπερηγῶν | Διὶ Βουσσουρίγιω ὧν | φρονῶν ἐαυτῷ τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασεν. Anderson *loc. cit.* p. 165 adds: 'The epithet Bussurigios is undoubtedly Celtic, as is clear from a comparison with Bussumarus or Bussumarus, a Celtic god identified with Jupiter Optimus Maximus in two inscriptions of the Dacian Apulum and probably in an inscription of Moesia Inferior [Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4621 with n.]. The termination -mārus, 'great,' is common in Celtic personal names... As Bussumarus is Bussu magnus, so Bussurigios is Bussu regius. The Celtic equivalent of *rex* (O. Irish *rí*, gen. *rig*) is one of the commonest terminations of Gallic personal names...').

ii. 578 n. 4. A. W. Persson in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlv. 399 ff. adds two more inscriptions from Mylasa: no. 4, 15 f. [ἀναγράφαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ] | [ψήφισμα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς Ὀ]ισογῶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον] and no. 5, C 3 f. [ἀναγράφαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν τῷ] | [ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς Ὀ]ισογῶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον. See further an important paper by A. Laumonier 'Notes sur un voyage en Carie' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1933 ii. 31—55 figs. 1—20.

ii. 582 Poseidon originally a specialised form of Zeus. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 72 n. 2 pronounces this view to be 'fort vraisemblable.'

ii. 583 ff. the name *Poseidōn*. A. Mommsen *Delphika* Leipzig 1878 p. 3 ff. regards Poseidon as 'ostgriechischer Obergott' and *ib.* p. 7 f. already advances the true derivation of his name: 'Das Wort Poseidon bedeutet vielleicht Zeus δεσπότης. Man kann von der äolischen Form Ποτειδάν oder Ποτιδάν (vgl. Ποτιδανία, lokr. Stadtname) ausgehn. Dan ist Zeus. Die beiden ersten Silben gehen auf skt. *patis* Herr zurück, welchem Stamme auch griech. *πάτρια δεσπότης δεσποῖνα* angehören. Danach ist Poseidon ursprünglich ein modifizierter Zeus, der Wortsinn: Gott der Herr, Herrgott.'

A. Carnoy 'Étymologie du nom du dieu de la mer Poseidon' in the *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 1924 iii. 390 f.: 'Ποτίς signifiant "maître" (mis au vocatif donne ποτέ) et un mot *δαφον* signifiant "eau" et qu'on retrouve dans diverses langues indo-européennes avec le sens de corps liquide.'

G. H. Macurdy 'The Name Ποσειδάων and Other Names Ending in -αων in the Iliad' in the *Am. Journ. Philol.* 1930 li. 286—288 argues that all such names are either Trojan or Northern and postulates a Northern origin for Poseidon.

ii. 587 Zeus *Páloxos* or *Spáloxos*. W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder—C. W. M. Cox in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1924 xiv. 71 f. no. 105 pl. 16, 105 a, b publish the back of a limestone seat found at *Ak Kilisse* in Isauria bearing a dedicatory inscription Ποδαδβίου Πολωξου ἔδραν | καὶ ἡ κώμη αὐτοῦ κα[τ'] ὄναρ (?) | ἐκάθισεν αὐτὸς καὶ Τ[.....] | Ἄτρου, which probably means 'Podadbiou (an indeclinable personal name) dedicated this seat of *Páloxos* and so did the god's village in accordance with a dream: Podadbiou himself and T..... son of Attes set it up.' See further T. Klauser *Die Cathedra im Totenkult der heidnischen und christlichen Antike* Münster in Westf. 1927 p. 49 n. 21.

ii. 587 n. 7. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 73 n. 2 doubts the equation $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ = *balag*, citing C. Autran 'La Grèce et l'Orient ancien' in *Babyloniaca* 1924 viii. 185 n. 1 ('*balag* dont le sens probable est bien plutôt de *lyre*, ou *harpe*'), *id.* *Sumérien et Indo-européen* Paris 1925 p. iv n. 1. Further literature on this disputed question is noted by A. Nehring 'Studien zur indogermanischen Kultur und Urheimat' in the *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik* 1936 iv. 31 n. 11.

ii. 594 pectoral ornament (?). In favour of such a $\mu\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\eta\theta\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ see also W. Müller in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1919 xxxiv. 93 ff., C. Picard *Éphèse et Claros* Paris 1922 p. 529 ff., *id.* in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 73 n. 1, and especially G. Furlani 'Ornamenti astrali e corazze di dei dell' Asia anteriore antica' in *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 1931 vii. 43 ff.

ii. 594 the temple of Athena *Aléa*. C. Dugas--J. Berchmans--M. Clemmensen *Le sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée au iv^e siècle* Paris 1924 i. 1--144 with 41 figs. and ii Atlas of 116 pls.

ii. 600 f. The double axe and the Labyrinth. R. Ganszyniec 'Labrys' in Pauly--Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 286--307 gives a well-arranged and interesting survey of the facts. Humborg *ib.* xii. 314 f. and G. Karo *ib.* xii. 321 deal with $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\upsilon\varsigma$ and $\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$. G. Dumézil 'ΔΑΒΡΥΣ' in the *Journal asiatique* 1929 ccxv. 237--252 derives $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\upsilon\varsigma$ and its congeners ('l'asiatique et égéen $\lambda\alpha\beta\rho\nu$, $\lambda\alpha\beta\rho$, $\lambda\alpha\beta\rho$ ') from a pre-Greek word which he connects with the classical and modern Georgian *lahvari*, 'lance.' Early Georgian lances, preserved in churches and museums, have a bifurcated blade. In Mingrelia they are regularly taken to be the arms of St George, who mounted on horseback attacks evil spirits issuing from the sea with his double lance ('il leur porte des coups avec sa lance; chacun de ces coups s'accompagne du tonnerre que nous entendons, et fait jaillir des étincelles, qui sont l'éclair'). Dumézil views the double lance *lahvari* as the lineal successor of the double axe $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\upsilon\varsigma$, the essential point being its twofold blade ('force redoublée? perfection? union des sexes?')--a convincing conclusion. H. Güntert 'Labyrinth. Eine sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchung' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1932/3 Abh. i. 1--49 would relate $\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$ to $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ 'stone,' and takes $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\upsilon\varsigma$ as 'Steinbeil.' But his contentions are traversed by P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1934 xxii. 252 f. ('Diese Etymologie scheitert daran, dass $\lambda\alpha\beta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$, $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\upsilon\varsigma$, $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\rho\alpha\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$ immer nur mit β , $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ dagegen nur mit ν bezeugt ist, die Bed. "Stein" an die Form mit ν geknüpft ist'). See further C. Picard 'Les origines du Labyrinthe' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1939 i. 264 f.

ii. 601. H. J. Rose in *The Hibbert Journal* 1927 xxv. 380 thinks that I am here confusing the Quinquennalia of Maxentius, *i.e.* the celebration of the fifth year of his reign, with the quinquennial *agon Capitolinus* of Domitian, which had ceased to exist centuries before Maxentius was born. But the Quinquennalia of Maxentius would have fallen in 311, not 312. Also, Lactantius states that the Quinquennalia in question were ending and that Maxentius' day had not yet come. He is probably alluding to the *ludi Capitolini*, which were still being held (G. Wissowa in Pauly--Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1528, L. C. Purser in Smith--Wayte--Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 86). I adhere therefore to my view as expressed in the text.

ii. 607 E. Conybeare's suggestion that the *labarum* was derived from the *labrys*. The same solution of the problem was reached independently by E. Harrison, who however--so far as I know--did not publish it.

H. Grégoire 'L'étymologie de "Labarum"' in *Byzantion* 1927--1928 iv. 477--482 comes to the following conclusion: 'La *laurea* en or qui enferme le Chrisme est l'élément caractéristique du sublime étendard décoré en outre des images *laurées* des pieux empereurs. De même qu'on disait le *dragon* ou l'*aigle*, *draco*, *aquila*, pour l'étendard surmonté du dragon ou de l'aigle, on a dû qualifier le nouveau *vexillum* à la couronne d'un nom dérivé de *laurea*. Et, de même que le *labarum* n'est qu'une variante du *lauratum*, *laureum* n'est qu'une variante de *laureatum*.'

ii. 613 the hidden meaning of knife or double axe. R. Eisler drew my attention (Oct. 14, 1908) to the small axe received by the Essenes when admitted to the order (Joseph. *de bell. Iud.* 2. 8. 9 $\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \delta'\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \beta\acute{\omicron}\theta\rho\omicron\nu\ \delta\rho\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\omicron\nu\omicron\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \beta\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\omicron\delta\iota\alpha\iota\omicron\nu\ \tau\eta\ \sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\iota\delta\iota$, τοιοῦτον γάρ ἐστι τὸ διδόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀξινίδιον τοῖς νεοσυντάτοις, καὶ περικαλύψαντες θοιμάτιον, ὥς μὴ τὰς αὐγὰς ὑβρίζουσιν τοῦ θεοῦ, θακεύουσιν εἰς αὐτὸν. κ.τ.λ.).

ii. 613 Simias' poem on the axe of Epeios. W. Deonna 'Les "poèmes figurés"' in the *Revue de philologie et de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 1926 l. 187--193 ('Il s'agit d'un procédé instinctif et universel, ancien et moderne, européen ou oriental, qui n'a qu'une intention: résumer en quelque sorte par une image le sens du texte écrit, donner de

celui-ci une transposition figurée. On constate de plus que certains de ces arrangements ont un sens religieux ou magique').

ii. 614 ff. Zeus (?) and the Centaur. J. C. Hoppin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1900 iv. 443 ff. pl. 6 (part of which = my fig. 893) published a proto-Corinthian *lékythos* of the early seventh century at Boston (inv. no. 6508), interpreting the main scene as a Centaur attacked by Herakles (sheathed sword, branch, tree-root). K. F. Johansen *Les vases sicyoniens* Paris—Copenhagen 1923 p. 146 f. fig. 109 pl. 22, 2 d thinks that we have here an early version of the Lapith v. Centaur myth. E. Buschor 'Kentauren' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 128 f. fig. 1 rightly recognises Zeus with a sword at his side, a sceptre in his right hand, and a thunderbolt in his left, but would have us believe that the horse-monster is Typhon. To my thinking, this thunderbolt-bearing figure strongly supports our explanation of the axe-bearing figure as Zeus.

ii. 620 Sucaelus the mallet-god. For a Cornish counterpart of Sucaelus see 'Jack of the Hammer,' whose exploits are told by W. Bottrell *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall* Penzance 1870 p. 10 ff. He passed as 'a travelling tinkard... hammer in hand,' but proved more than a match for Tom the eight-foot giant-killer. 'The tinkard, taking his black-thorn stick in the middle, made it spin so fast that it looked like a wheel flying round Tom's head and ears.... Tom didn't know the play;—though the few downright blows he gave came down with the force of a sledge hammer,



Fig. 893.

they had no effect on the tinkard, because he wore a leather coat, the like of which was never seen in the west country before. This coat, made of a black bull's hide, left almost whole, was without a seam, and dressed with the curly hair on it. On the breast, back, and shoulders it was as hard as iron, and roared like thunder whenever Tom struck it, which made him think he had to deal with the devil.' Etc. See further Keune 'Succellus' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 515—540.

ii. 620. Thor's hammer used as a pendant or amulet is well illustrated by J. J. A. Worsaae *Nordiske Oldsager i Det Kongelige Museum i Kjöbenhavn* Kjöbenhavn 1859 p. 113 fig. 469 and P. Paulsen *Der Goldschatz von Hiddensee* Leipzig 1936 p. 65 ff. figs. 24—26 pls. 17, 2 and 23, (3).

ii. 630. Mrs A. Strong 'Sepulchral Relief of a Priest of Bellona' in *Papers of the British School at Rome* 1920 ix. 205—213 pl. 26 discusses an inscribed tombstone from the Via Triumphalis, now in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana at Rome (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 2233 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4182, Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 173 f. no. 3876). The relief shows L. Lartius Anthus, a *cistophorus* and priest of Bellona *Pulvinensis* wearing a bay-wreath with three medallions (Mars, Bellona, Minerva?) and carrying in his right hand a bay-branch, in his left two small double axes.

ii. 632 n. 6 axes with animal heads. Other examples are collected by P. Couissin in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 i. 261 ff. figs. 6, 7, 8, 9, 15.

ii. 633 fig. 542 f. axes backed by a bull. Cp. G. A. Wainwright in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1933 xix. 43 (*supra* p. 884 n. o).

ii. 635 f. Trojan axe-hammers of blue or green stone. H. Schmidt 'Zu den trojanischen

Prachtbeilen' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 123—125 (summarised by R. Vallois in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1925 xxxviii. 214 f.), A. M. Tallgren in Ebert *Reallex.* ii. 121 pl. 62, a, b, S. Casson 'Battle-axes from Troy' in *Antiquity* 1933 vii. 337—339 pls. 1 ('nephrite, almost indigo in colour') and 2 ('rich blue lapis lazuli flecked with brown spots and striated').

ii. 637 amber axes. An amber axe from Birka in Sweden is published by P. Paulsen *Der Goldschatz von Hiddensee* Leipzig 1936 p. 73 fig. 30, a.

ii. 637 Cretan double axes. S. Marinatos in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1934 xlix Arch. Anz. pp. 251—254 records important finds made at the cave of *Arkalochori* in a hill 1½ hours from Lyktos. First children and then adults of the neighbourhood discovered in one corner of the cave a mass of bronzes and a pair of small double axes in gold. The authorities hearing of it intervened and appropriated some twenty gold double axes, leaving perhaps another ten in the hands of the rustics. Bronze double axes, knives, and swords were found in considerable numbers, all heaped together in a space of two or three square metres. The small double axes of gold (*ib.* fig. 3 shows four) are decorated with a leaf-pattern which points to the beginning of the 'Late Minoan ii' period (1450—1400 B.C.) or else with engraved lines of a more usual type. A few axes are of silver. The whole treasure had been sealed up by a fall of rock, probably occasioned by an earthquake. But votive offerings continued to be made at the mouth of the cave down to the end of the 'Minoan' age and even later (a few proto-geometric finds?). Marinatos concludes: 'Es erhebt sich die Frage nach der Gottheit dieser an Funden bisher reichsten Kulthöhle Kretas. Sollte sie nicht die berühmte Höhle des Zeus und der Rhea sein [*supra* ii. 925 n. 1], die manche in Psychrō zu finden glaubten?' Reports in *The Times* of June 29, 1935 p. 13 and in *Antiquity* 1935 ix. 354 mention that the recent excavations in the *Arkalochori* district have found hundreds of copper 'Minoan' axes (one with three lines of hieroglyphic inscription (c. 1600 B.C.)), a number of silver axes, and twenty-seven gold double axes with golden shafts. These finds have been taken to the Candia Museum for cleaning. See further Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 1. 346 f. fig. 290 (three gold axes, enlarged) and 378 fig. 315 *bis* (four miniature bronze axes). S. Marinatos in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1935 l Arch. Anz. pp. 248—254 figs. 3 (gold model of mountain?), 4 (bronze double axe), 6 (the ten hieroglyphic characters of the inscribed double axe) now concludes: 'Da sich aber nach Abschluss der Grabung ergab, dass die Höhle nichts Jüngerer als SM.I enthielt, gehören m.E. auch die goldenen Beile in diese Zeit,' etc. J. D. S. Pendlebury *The Archaeology of Crete* London 1939 pp. 212, 232, 236 pl. 36, 3 (three gold axes).

ii. 641 n. 2. Recent writers on Charon are B. Schmidt 'Charon' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 79—82, F. de Ruyt *Charon démon étrusque de la mort* Bruxelles 1934 pp. 1—305 with 58 pls. (reviewed by A. Grenier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1935 ii. 128—131, by F. Pfister in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Sept. 28, 1935 p. 1092 f., by H. J. Rose in the *Class. Rev.* 1935 xlix. 24 f. and in *Gnomon* 1935 xi. 278 f.). Schmidt holds that the Etruscans, originally dwellers in Asia Minor, owe their conception of Charon to the influence of Assyrian demons. Rose makes the further helpful suggestion that Charon's mallet or hammer on Asiatic soil was the double axe of a thunder-god, which might well be used by an underground power to produce the subterranean thunders that portended death (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 138)—a view anticipated by me *supra* ii. 641.

ii. 642 n. 2 fig. 559. With the upper end cp. the votive terra-cotta *ktels* in the Berlin Antiquarium (H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Dresden—Zürich 1926 ii. 76 fig., also the votive marbles in Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 164 nos. 1594 ff., 1821, 2730).

ii. 643 n. 7 designs incised on neolithic celts. O. Tafarli in the *Rev. Arch.* 1931 i. 26—28 figures a flat celt of smooth stone bearing an incised quadruped and inscription. This suspicious-looking object is said to have been found at Rădășani, near Folticeni, in Moldavia. Prof. Tafarli deems it to be of neolithic date and comparable with finds at Glozel!

ii. 643 ff. designs incised on double axes of bronze. In a small collection of 'Minoan' double axes I have two which, on account of their decoration, are deserving of special notice.

One is an almost oblong axe of bronze (fig. 894 a, b, c. Length 7½ inches) with dark green patina. On either side of it is incised a lion rampant on rough or rocky ground with whisking tail. I obtained this axe from a Cretan vendor with no indication of its *provenance*. But Mr J. D. S. Pendlebury tells me that he had already seen it at Mokhos, 1½ hours south of Mallia. He adds: 'It comes from a place called *Moupi* (the "meeting place"), where are MM and LM sherds, close by a small lake ¼ hour east of the village. There is an EM site on a hill 25 minutes to the north-east called 'Εδίστρης or 'Ανεμοσκάκι, and from somewhere not far off come Neolithic sherds. Classical-Roman, near *Moupi*.'

The rocky ground is characteristic. Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 2. 450—454 dilates on the 'Minoan passion for rock scenery': cp. e.g. Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 848 pl. 16, 12 and 840 fig. 424 = Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 3, 2 and 46, ii. 14 and 16 = H. T. Bossert *The Art of Ancient Crete*³ London 1937 p. 36 pl. 231



Fig. 894.

fig. 394, *a* and p. 37 pl. 235 fig. 398, *g*. The same feature recurs on occasion in later Cretan art (*supra* i. 528 fig. 394).

The second axe (fig. 895 *a, b*. Length $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches) was found near Athens. It is of yellow bronze with blackish patination, in part scrubbed off by sand-paper. Its outline is of a later type with more pronounced curves, and it is decorated on both sides with *pointillé* patterning. Within a border of chevrons are a man, a waterfowl, a horse, and a wheel. I have suggested (*supra* p. 605 n. 3) that these are the constituents of a solar

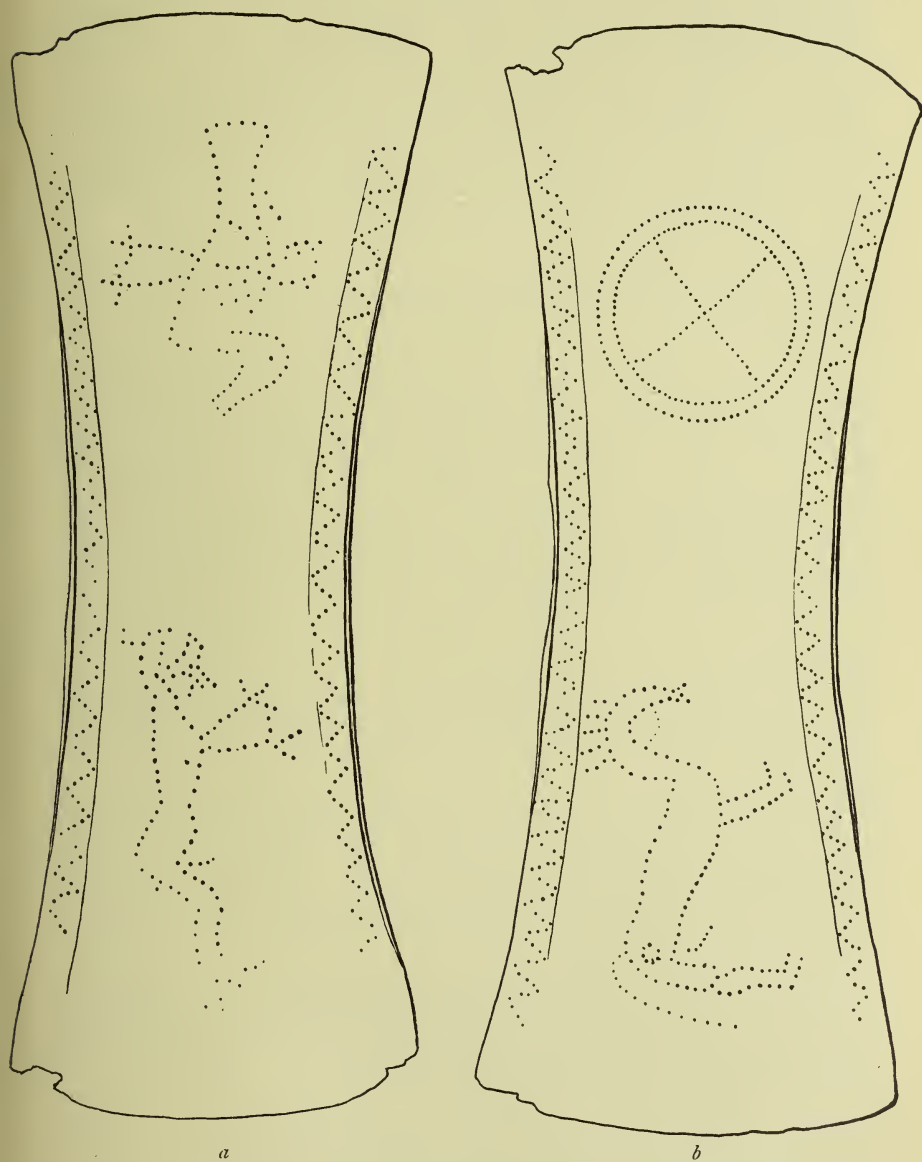


Fig. 895.

equipage as rendered in the Hallstatt period. If so, the axe was presumably in some sense a sacred object.

ii. 645 n. 4 the soul as a butterfly. The Copenhagen gem (fig. 563) is now included in P. Fossing *The Thorvaldsen Museum: Catalogue of the antique engraved gems and cameos* Copenhagen 1929 p. 91 no. 504 pl. 7. The Berlin amphora (no. 1684) is figured by H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Zürich 1928 *Ergänzungsband* p. 73.

ii. 648 n. 1 axe-pendants from Benin. P. Amaury Talbot *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults* Oxford 1927 p. 8 'A considerable number of examples of the old Minoan double-headed axe cult were found in other parts of West and Central Africa' (criticised by A. R. Wright in *Folk-Lore* 1930 xli. 215 f.).

ii. 656 n. o ingots. C. T. Seltman *Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* Cambridge 1924 p. 1 ff. figs. 1—4 points out that these ingots were cast in the shape of an ox-hide dried and stretched, one side rough and hairy, the other raw with inward curling edges, just because they were an ox-unit, the price of an ox in base metal. Cp. *id.* *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 7 f. with figs. 1 and 2. K. Regling in *Ebert Reallex.* iv. 1. 223 with pl. 100, a—d still (1926) speaks of them as 'die doppelbeilförmigen Kupferbarren des Mittelmeergebietes.' H. T. Bossert *The Art of Ancient Crete*³ London 1937 p. 43 pl. 277 fig. 525, a—c is non-committal. But Seltman is clearly right.

ii. 663. W. R. Halliday 'Tenēs' in the *Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 36—44 insists on 'the absolute unanimity of tradition which associates Tenēs with Apollo,' not with Zeus or Dionysos. *Id. ib.* p. 39 quotes Aristeides of Miletos *frag.* 32 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 327 Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. s.v. Τένεδος... τὸν ἐν Τενέδῳ Ἀπόλλωνα πέλεκυν κρατεῖν, but questions its reliability.

ii. 664 fig. 603. This bronze plaque is now at Berlin (photograph in F. J. Dölger *IXΘYC* Münster in Westf. 1922 iii pl. 33). A marble altar of s. iii (?) A.D. from *Ineuunu*, Phrygia (Mendel *Act. Sculpt. Constantinople* iii. 52 ff. no. 846 with 4 figs.), has reliefs on its front, back, left, and right sides. (a) On the front, a rider-god on horse-back, brandishing a double axe, gallops uphill: above him is inscribed ἀγαθὴ τύχη. Θεοῖς Ὅσίοις καὶ Δ[ι]καίοις Ἡρόφι[ος] Παπᾶ εὐχήν. (b) On the back, a draped goddess holding grape-bunch and cornu copiae stands on a small plinth beside a fruitful vine-branch and a large kratēr. (c) On the left side, Asklepios with oval object (fruit? egg?) and serpent-staff stands on a small plinth: above him is inscribed Ἀσκληῶς καὶ Ἀσκληπιάς, οἱ Ἀσκληπᾶ, λατῖνοι | Κουρναίων. (d) On the right side, Nemesis draped and veiled holding scales (?) and cubit-rule stands on a small plinth between two thick garlands terminated at either end by three ivy-leaves.

ii. 665 n. 1. See further K. Tümpel 'Der Karabos des Perseus' in *Philologus* 1894 liii. 544—553.

ii. 666 n. 1 *Cancer*, 'the Crab.' D'Arcy W. Thompson 'The Emblem of the Crab in relation to the sign Cancer' in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* 1899 xxxix. 603—611 maintains that the crab as divine attribute or emblem regularly presupposes the constellation Cancer, which was *domus Lunae, exaltatio Jovis, sedes Mercurii*, etc.

ii. 667 n. 3 fig. 606. Cp. Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1547 f. no. 2328 pl. 78, 12, *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 238 no. 2032 pl. 65, 3, *Syll. num. Gr.* ii pl. 26, 794 f. Lloyd. Since on a later tetradrachm of Kamarina $\Xi + \Xi$ is the beginning of an artist's name (*Syll. num. Gr.* ii pl. 29, 868 Lloyd), presumably that of Exakestidas (*ib.* pl. 29, 871 Lloyd), *Ionice* Exekestides, it is probable that $\Lambda + \Xi$ on the Agrigentine coin stands for the name of a magistrate or artist Exakestidas, grandfather of the later engraver. For + instead of Ξ see W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1907 i pl. 3 ('Westliche Alphabete').

ii. 673. A bronze coin of Chersonesos Taurike, struck c. 300—200 B.C., copies the Tenedian combination of god and goddess (*Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesos, etc. i. 3 pl. 1, 7 Artemis and Herakles, *Head Hist. num.*² p. 279 young Dionysos (?) and Zeus (?), E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 pl. 4, 7 Artemis and bearded Dionysos (?). I have another specimen of this scarce coin, and I incline to agree with Head that the type represents Dionysos and Zeus).

ii. 675 androgynous deities. See now the important study of J. Halley des Fontaines *La notion d'androgynie dans quelques mythes et quelques rites* Paris 1938 with 16 figs. pp. 1—231 (pp. 216—219 'Résumé et conclusions').

ii. 681 figs. 621—624. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 75

observes that in the tree-cutting scene on the coins of Aphrodisias the second man averts his face owing to a sort of visual taboo, for which parallels are cited.

ii. 687 rock-carvings of the hafted axe. At the base of Ben Voirlich, not far from the shore of Loch Lomond, a great rock called in Gaelic *Clach nan Tairbh*, 'The Rock of the Bulls,' bears the rough outline of a hafted axe (A. D. Lacaille in *Folk-Lore* 1930 xli. 233 ff. pls. 4 and 5).

ii. 688 ff. n. o. M. C. Burkitt 'Rock Carvings in the Italian Alps' in *Antiquity* 1929 iii. 155—164 with map and pls. 1—7 discusses the designs pock-marked on the red rock-surfaces of Monte Bego and attributes them to seasonal pilgrimages of a neighbouring agricultural population made during the Bronze Age at different dates but in all cases prior to c. 300 A.D. (absence of Christian symbols). P. Reinecke in *Germania* 1934 xviii. 46—48 reports on two sandstone blocks in the Val Camonica and would date their drawings to the pre-Roman Iron Age or more probably to the Bronze Age. P. Jacobsthal 'Celtic Rock-Carvings in Northern Italy and Yorkshire' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1938 xxviii. 65—69 accepts the contention of F. Althelm and E. Trautmann 'Nordische und italische Felsbildkunst' in *Die Welt als Geschichte* 1937 iii. 83—113 that the largest of all rock-carvings in the Val Camonica (fig. 3 = Jacobsthal pl. 9, 1) represents the Celtic stag-god Cernunnos with a small-scale worshipper. See further *eid.* 'Neue Felsbilder aus der Val Camonica: Die Sonne in Kult und Mythos' in *Wörter und Sachen* N.F. 1938 i. 12—45 pls. 1—32.

ii. 690 Penelope's marriage-test. E. Westermarck *The History of Human Marriage*⁵ London 1921 ii. 490 notes that among the Mundas of Chota Nagpur the bridegroom shoots an arrow through the loophole formed by the bride's uplifted arm, and suggests that this was a magical means of securing the bride's safe delivery. I suspect that we have here the ultimate explanation of the marriage-test proposed by Penelope.

ii. 692 ff. Tereus. M. Bieber 'Tereus' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1925 l. 11—18 pl. 2 publishes a sherd from Paestum, now at Dresden, which shows Tereus pursuing Prokne and Philomela with a double axe in his hand (A. D. Trendall *Paestan Pottery* London 1936 p. 127 no. 290 'Tereus (?)'). O. Schroeder 'ΠΡΟΚΝΗ' in *Hermes* 1926 lxi. 423—436 discusses the development of the myth.

ii. 699 "wine-skin" and "hatchet." 'Y.' in *The Cambridge Review* 1926 xlvii. 268 draws attention to a better solution of this long-standing problem propounded by S. Koujeas 'ΑΣΚΟΣ-ΠΕΛΕΚΤΣ' in *Hermes* 1906 xli. 478—480, who remarks that at Abia in Lakonike words meaning 'wine-skin' and 'hatchet' are used in popular speech to denote the contrast of light and heavy: thus *πλέχει 'σὺν ἀσκή* 'he swims like a wine-skin,' *πλέχει 'σὺν τσηκούρι* 'he swims like an axe.' The visitor bouncing the baby says the tactful thing.

ii. 699 small bronze axes. F. Haverfield in *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Norfolk* London s.a. i. 292 fig. 9 illustrates a tiny bronze axe found at *Caister-by-Norwich* (Venta Icenorum).

ii. 699 n. 7. On Osthanes see now J. Bidez—F. Cumont *Les Mages hellénisés: Zoroastre Osthànès et Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque* Paris 1938 i. 165—212, ii. 265—356.

ii. 703 n. 2 a hammer thrown to ratify the acquisition of property. K. Künstle *Ikongraphie der Heiligen* Freiburg im Breisgau 1926 p. 597 f. says of St Wolfgang (Oct. 31): 'Auf den Wolfgangsbildern, die vom Kloster Mondsee ausgehen, trägt der Heilige fast regelmässig ein Beil oder eine Axt als Attribut. Dies ist aus dem langen Kampfe herausgewachsen, den das Kloster um den Besitz der Gegend am Abersee, die man das "Wolfgangsland" nannte, gegen Salzburg und das Hochstift Regensburg führte. Die spätere Legende erzählt nämlich, Wolfgang habe, als er im Aberseeforst ein Einsiedlerleben führte, mittelst des Werfens eines Beiles, das in dem später nach ihm benannten Orte niederfiel, den Platz gesucht, wo er eine Zelle und eine Kirche mit eigenen Händen erbauen wollte. Durch diese Handlung hat er für sein Eigenkloster Mondsee von dieser Gegend Besitz genommen. Der Beilwurf ist nämlich ein altergermanischer Rechtsbrauch; er diente zur Ermittlung des Verlaufs einer Grenze und bestimmte die jeweilige Erstreckung des Rechtes auf Grund und Boden. Das Beil wurde so Sinnbild der Besitzergreifung.' Etc.

ii. 704 the spear of Zeus. L. Malten in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1925 xl. 155 cp. Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 5 τὸν αἰχματᾶν κεραυνόν.

ii. 707 n. 1. E. Kalinka in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1933 xxviii Beiblatt p. 69 f. no. 17 gives a facsimile of this inscription, and dates it in 68 A.D.

ii. 722 Zeus *Hörkios* at Olympia. On the exact site of this statue see E. N. Gardiner *Olympia Its History & Remains* Oxford 1925 p. 274.

ii. 723 n. o Zeus *Skýlios*. An inscription of 120 A.D., found at *Rhotàsi* (Rhytion) and now in the Museum at Candia, speaks of a letter restored by a priest of Zeus *Skýlios* and of an imperial rescript, relating to Gortynian trespassers on his sacred domains, which had been engraved on a *stèle* kept in his sanctuary (*Inscr. Cret.* i. 303 ff. Rhytion no. 1, 6 ff. "Αμβροσὸς ὁ [κατασ]ταθεὶς | ἱερὸς Διὸς [Σκυλίου] τῆς | 'Ρυτιασιῶν κώμης καὶ Πύργου | κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 16 ff. [ισχ]υροποιῶν | προήνεγ[καν] καθ' ἣν | φάινεται[. . . .] Διὸς Σκυλίου κ.τ.λ. with the remarks of M. N. Tod in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1931 li. 243 and A. M. Woodward *ib.* 1936 lvi. 97). B. Kock in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 647 s.v. 'Skyllos' and 660 s.v. 'Skyllos.' Further literature cited by E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 659 f., including the view of W. Aly in *Klio* 1911 xi. 15 and *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 473 that Zeus Σκύλλιος was a sea-god akin to Skylla the sea-monster and Skyllies the diver (*supra* p. 414).

ii. 724 n. o. On oaths that must be taken in the open, not under a roof, see P. Sartori 'Das Dach im Volksglauben' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1915 xxv. 234 f., Weiser in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1929/1930 ii. 124.

ii. 725 fig. 660 f. A. Della Seta *Italia Antica* Bergamo 1922 p. 252 fig. 281 has a photograph of this statue with the arms restored as holding a bow in the right hand, a hawk (?) in the left.



Fig. 896.

ii. 727 Zeus and the boar. The *stèle* of Zeus *Karaiōs* at Thespiai (*infra* on ii. 874 n. 2) has three reliefs—a filleted *bucranium*, a boar's skull, and a boar's jaw (?) (P. Jamot in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvii. 262 with fig. 37).

ii. 727 n. 3 Zeus in relation to oaths. An engraved gem of pink jasper (?), found in Makedonia and now in my collection (fig. 896: scale $\frac{1}{2}$), shows Sarapis (*kálathos*, wreath) standing before Zeus (sceptre, thunderbolt) and between them the word ΩΜΟ|CA. Fairly good Hellenistic work. Possibly the seal of some public functionary.

ii. 731 fig. 663 Zeus wielding thunderbolt. A. Rumpf *Chalkidische Vasen* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 12 f. no. 10 pls. 23—25.

ii. 731 Zeus wielding thunderbolt and sceptre. Among the scenes represented on the great *kályx-kratér* in New York by 'the Nekyia Painter' c. 450—440 B.C. (P. Jacobsthal 'The Nekyia Krater in New York' in the *Metropolitan Museum Studies* 1934—1936 v. 117—145 with 21 figs., P. Friedländer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch.* 1935 l Arch. Anz. pp. 20—33 figs. 1—4, G. M. A. Richter *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* Yale Univ. Press 1936 i. 168—171 no. 135 pls. 135—137 and 170 (of which pl. 137 = my fig. 897)) is one—lower frieze B—in which Zeus, supported by Hermes, blasts a Giant, presumably Porphyryon (*supra* p. 55 ff. n. 5).

ii. 733 ff. fig. 665 *psychostasia*. The Paris fragment is re-published by J. D. Beazley *Der Kleophrades-Maler* Berlin 1933 p. 26 no. 37 pl. 2 and pl. 30, 6. The subject in general is handled by E. Wüst 'Psychostasie' in the *Blätter für das Bayerische Gymnasial-Schulwesen* 1929 lxxv. 201—211. See also W. Deonna 'Ex-voto déliens' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1932 lvi. 478 ff. with figs. 15 and 16, M. P. Perry 'On the psychostasis in Christian art' in *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 1912/13 xxii. 94—105 and 208—218 with 4 pls., W. L. Nash 'The origin of the mediaeval representations



Fig. 897.

of the weighing of the soul after death' in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 1918 xl. 19—29 pl. 1.

ii. 734 n. 3 the scales of Zeus. Add Kerkidas *melamb.* 4. 24 ff. Powell = 2. 24 ff. Knox = 1. 16 ff. Diehl καὶ μὴν τὸ τάλαντον ὁ σεμνὸς | ἀστεροπαγέρετας | μέσσον τὸν Ὀλυμ-
πον | ὀρθὸν [τιταίνει] | [κ]αὶ νένευκεν οὐδαμῇ. | καὶ τοῦθ' "Ὀμηρος | εἶπεν ἐν Ἰλιάδι· |
'ῥέπει δ', ὅταν αἰσιμον ἄμαρ, | ἀνδράσι κυδαλλμοῖς [ἦν]. | πῶς οὖν ἐμὴν οὐποτ' ἔρεψεν | ὀρθὸς
ὦν ζυγούστας; | τὰ δ' ἔσχατα Βρύγῃα Μουσῶν, | ἄζομαι δέ σθην λέγειν, | ὅσον [πατα]γεῖ
τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς | τῷ Διὸς πλαστῇ γυγιον with the notes of the three successive editors (I. U. Powell *Collectanea Alexandrina* Oxonii 1925 p. 204 ff., A. D. Knox in the Loeb ed. London 1929 p. 196 ff., E. Diehl *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*² Lipsiae 1936 i. 3. 123. Cp. E. A. Barber in *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* Oxford 1921 p. 6).

M. P. Nilsson *Homer and Mycenae* London 1933 p. 267 with fig. 56 claims that a Cypro-Mycenaean vase of c. 1300 B.C., found during the Swedish excavations in the upper burial stratum of chamber tomb no. 17 at Enkomi, represents 'Zeus taking the scales of destiny in order to determine the fate of the combatants, a famous scene of the Iliad,' etc. But Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 659 n. 2 fig. 646 justly demurs. The scene is merely commercial, or at most a matter of ransom.



Fig. 898.

ii. 739 ff. early types of Zeus advancing from left to right. C. D. Bicknell suggests to me (Jan. 3, 1934) that a precursor of Zeus advancing with bolt and bird may be seen on a *pithos*-lid from Knossos, Cretan work of c. 700 B.C., published by S. Marinatos in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlviii Arch. Anz. p. 311 figs. 20 and 21 (=my fig. 898), cp. T. B. L. Webster in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1939 lix. 103 fig. 1. Pl. lxxxi is from a photograph procured for me from H. G. G. Payne through the kind offices of my old pupil Mr E. J. P. Raven. The lid shows a nude male figure advancing to the right with a triple lightning-fork in his right hand, a bird on his left. Before him is a tripod, on which is another bird with a third on a stone beside it. Beneath the tripod a human head rises from the ground (as central support of the tripod: *supra* ii. 193). Marinatos comments: 'Es handelt sich wohl um eine mythologische Szene.' But it is possible that the 'tripod' was meant for an altar, and that the head seen on the face of it marks it as the altar of the advancing god. The interpretation is very uncertain.

A bronze statuette (height 0.165m: bright green patina), found near Epidauros (?), later in the Tyskiewicz and Dutuit collections, and now in the Petit Palais at Paris, represents a nude bearded male figure advancing to the right with his right arm raised and his left thrown forward—the whole on a bronze base inscribed HVBRI[Σ]ΤΑΣ | ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕ. Peloponnesian work of 600—550 B.C. K. Wernicke in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1889 iv. 167 f., cp. p. 339 took the subject to be a young warrior with spear and shield. But most critics have assumed Zeus fulminant (W. Fröhner *La collection Tyskiewicz* Munich 1892 p. 18 pl. 21 (=my fig. 899) ('Un aigle perchait sur le revers de la main gauche du dieu; cette main est d'ailleurs perforée'), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 1 no. 2, A. Furtwängler *Kleine Schriften* München 1913 ii. 467 fig. 9, G. Lippold in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 33, A. Rumpf in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte*



*Pithos-lid from Knossos, Cretan work of c. 700 B.C.:
Zeus advancing with triple lightning-fork and bird.*

See page 1148 and page 1150 fig. 898.

Leipzig 1928 xiii./xiv. p. ix fig. 116 ('um 460 v. Chr.'), W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 pp. 95 (c. 550 B.C.), 148 f., 153 pl. 32, a. Fröhner's facsimile of the inscription is repeated in *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1476).

Between April 1926 and September 1928 a magnificent bronze god was fished up piecemeal from a depth of more than 25 fathoms in the sea off Artemision. It seems to have formed part of the cargo on board a ship, which was carrying barrels of late



Fig. 899.

Hellenistic style from northern Greece towards Rome, but foundered in a gale off the upper end of Euboia. If so, the statue had probably been pillaged from some temple in Thessaly or Chalkidike or even Thrace. After careful cleaning from accretions and corruptions, the whole figure (c. 2'10^m high) proved to be a nude bearded god striding forwards with right arm drawn back and left arm outstretched—one of the most impressive of all Greek statues (Ch. Karouzos 'The Find from the Sea off Artemision' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1929 xlix. 141—144 figs. 1 and 2 pls. 7 and 8, *id.* 'Ὁ Ποσειδῶν τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου' in the *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 1930—31 xiii. 41—104 figs. 1—42 pls. 1 (=my fig. 900)—5, H. G. Beyen *La statue d'Artemision* La Haye 1930 pp. 1—55 pls. 1—13 with further bibliography p. 1 n. 1). Several problems arise: (1) To what period, school, and sculptor

should it be assigned? It belongs clearly to the later part of the transitional period when fighting-man developed into fighting-god (*supra* ii. 739 ff., 1222 f.) and may be dated c. 460 B.C. Beyen attributes it, on rather insufficient grounds, to the Sicyonian school; Karouzos, more explicitly, to the Sicyonian-Boeotian school of Kalamis. (2) Votive figure or cult-image? Hardly the latter. A cult-image should be strictly frontal: the worshipper expects to find a propitious and friendly presence, not to be met by a



Fig. 900.

tremendous antagonist in the act of hurling a missile! (3) Zeus or Poseidon? The attitude would suit either, according as we assume thunderbolt or trident in the right hand. Karouzos and Beyen think that the fingers imply a cylindrical trident loosely held rather than a tightly grasped thunderbolt: yet we must remember that the Greek thunderbolt often had a rounded handle in the middle, to prevent the god burning himself. They note further that there is no trace of an eagle on the extended left hand, and that there is a marked resemblance to the head of Poseidon (certified as such by the trident over his shoulder) in a terra-cotta relief at Munich (Furtwängler *Glyptothek zu München*² p. 74 f. no. 62). On the other hand it must be admitted that the striding-warrior type points primarily to Zeus fulminant and only secondarily to Poseidon.

Indeed, Poseidon leaning on a trident, or striking with a trident, may be fairly frequent. But Poseidon hurling a trident is quite exceptional; and where he is so represented, as on the early silver coins of Poseidonia, he regularly wears a *chlamys* over his arms. Also the head, with its neat plait twisted round trim locks, its long silky moustache, and its full beard with undulating strands, seems too refined and dignified for any deity beneath the rank of Zeus. I conclude that the originator of this remarkable type was deliberately portraying Poseidon in the guise of Zeus (cp. *supra* ii. 795 n. 3 figs. 762—764). After all, Poseidon was but a by-form of the greater god (*supra* p. 736). J. Jüthner,



Fig. 901.

however, in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1937 lxii. 136—148 decides for an athlete hurling his *akóntion*!

ii. 741 Zeus *Ithomátas*. C. T. Seltman in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1932 lxii. 799 claims that the Brussels tetradrachm of Zankle-Messana (*supra* ii. 794 f. fig. 757), 'which should be dated *ca.* 461 B.C., the year of liberation from the tyranny, has on the obverse a figure, not of Poseidon, but of Zeus fulminating (*Num. Chron.* 1883, p. 168) which closely resembles the Zeus *Ithomatas* on coins of Messenia from 369 B.C. onwards (*B.M.C. Peloponnesus*, Pl. xxii, 1, 6, 7, 10). Thus the Messanians of Zankle showed their sympathy with the Messenians, who in 461 were being besieged on Ithome. Apparently, therefore, Hagelaidas made the statue before 461, therefore at

Ithome, and not at Naupactus after 455 B.C. This agrees with other dated works by the sculptor and does away with the need either for inventing a younger sculptor of the same name, or for assuming his unnatural longevity.'

ii. 745 n. 4. F. Matz 'Ein Zeuskopf in Villa Borghese' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlv. 1-31 with figs. 1-21 and pls. 1 and 2 reaches the following



Fig. 902.

conclusions (p. 31): 'der Zeuskopf Borghese ist der nächste Verwandte des Kasseler Apoll. Kopiert ist er nach einer Bronzestatue des stehenden Gottes, der mit der Linken das Zepter aufstützte und in der gesenkten Rechten den Blitz hielt. In demselben Verwandschaftsverhältnis wie zum Kasseler Apoll steht der borghesische Kopf zu dem des olympischen Zeus. Auch der Kasseler Apoll und der Zeus Borghese sind also Schöpfungen des Phidias. Jener ist in den fünfziger Jahren, dieser in dem Jahrzehnt zwischen 455 und 445 entstanden. Die engen Beziehungen, die zwischen dem olympischen Zeus und dem Zeus Borghese bestehen, sind entscheidend für die Frühdatierung des olympischen Zeus und für seinen Ansatz vor der Parthenos.'

ii. 746 n. 2 pl. xxxii, 1 silver statuette of Zeus. A. W. Van Buren in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1937 xli. 489 ff. fig. 6 (= my fig. 901) illustrates a silver bust of 'Jupiter,' which was found in 1924, in a crushed state, at a Roman station on the Little St Bernard ('Mons Minoris Jovis') together with a patterned silver ribbon and a figure of Hercules within the front of a small shrine, likewise of silver (P. Barocelli in the *Not. Scavi* 1924 p. 391). The bust has now been restored and installed in the Museum at Aosta. The thunderbolt in relief on the right side of the chest implies that the silversmith was copying some statue of the god with that attribute in his right hand.

ii. 748 f. beardless type of Zeus. T. Birt 'Anxius and Anxur' in *Glotta* 1927 xv. 118 discusses the epithet of the Volscian Jupiter *Anxurus* (on whom see E. Aust in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 640 fig., *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2653) and supports the derivation from *ἄνω, ἄσως* already given by Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 7. 799 circa hunc tractum Campaniae colebatur puer Iuppiter, qui Anxurus dicebatur, quasi ἄνω ἐνυπό, *id est sine novacula, quia barbam numquam rasisset, et Iuno virgo, quae Feronia dicebatur, cp. Akron in Hor. sat. i. 5. 26 Anxur [autem] dictum, quod ibi inberbis Iuppiter colitur.*

ii. 752 the eagle of Zeus. R. J. H. Jenkins (June 3, 1930) notes: 'With regard to eagles and Zeus, it is interesting to recall that some 3000—4000 B.C. A-anni-padda built a temple to the Earth Mother Nin-khursag at al 'Ubaid, and over the door flew the eagle of the sky-god, Im-dugud.' See C. L. Woolley *The Sumerians* Oxford (1929) p. 40 f. fig. 10.

ii. 754 n. 1 Tavium. P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 304 derives the name of the town *Tavium* 'von einer vorphrygischen Stammform *Tav*=Zeus, wie die bithynische Stadt *Τίεον* (Strabo [542 f., 565]), kontrahiert *Tium* (Τίος Aelian [*de nat. an.* 15. 5], *Τίον* Ptol. [5. 1. 7]) von der phrygischen Namensform *Tiv*-, armen. *tiv* "Tag"=gr. *Δις*.'

ii. 757 n. 8 the chronology of Phidias' career. Recent discussion by G. Lippold 'Das Ende des Phidias' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix. 152—155 (Phidias was already at work on his Zeus c. 448, but may well have been simultaneously engaged upon his Athena), H. Schrader *Phidias* Frankfurt am Main 1924 p. 27 (his Zeus must be dated between c. 460 and 448, *i.e.* before his Athena), W. Judeich 'Zum "Phidias-Papyrus"' in *Hermes* 1925 lx. 50—58 (rejects H. Schrader's view: holds that Phidias finished his Athena in 438/7, retired to Elis in 433/2, and was at Olympia making his Zeus from 432 onwards), E. N. Gardiner *Olympia Its History and Remains* Oxford 1925 p. 240 f. (his Zeus should be dated 438—432, *i.e.* after his Athena), C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 80 n. 3 (accepts the finding of H. Schrader), G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 pp. 166—170 (the later dating of Zeus 'would seem to be the more likely,' but 'We must leave it an open question whether Phidias left Athens in 438 or in 432'). The contest continues.

ii. 759 the marble statuette of Zeus at Lyons. Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* iii. 46 f. no. 1810 with three views.

ii. 760 n. 2 throne-legs of white marble. Cp. the statue of Zeus (?) enthroned found in Delos (J. Chamonard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1933 lviii. 155 ff. fig. 16) and the statuette of Kybele enthroned from a neighbouring site (*id.* in *Délos* viii. 1. 220 with fig. 97).

ii. 760 f. Alexander's reversion to a pre-Phidiean type of seated Zeus. One of the town-gates of Thasos, which can be dated 412—411 B.C., is adorned with an archaising relief (G. Mendel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 560—569 pls. 14 and 15 wrongly dated c. 470 and interpreted as Demeter with Iris, Nike, or Hebe. J. ff. Baker-Penoyre in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 223 says more correctly 'the fine relief of Zeus and Nike.' C. Picard 'La porte de Zeus à Thasos' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1912 ii. 43—76, *id.* 'Encore la porte de Zeus à Thasos' *ib.* 1912 ii. 385—398, *id.* in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 81 n. 1 recognises Zeus and Iris). Within a *naïskos*, the pediment of which is surmounted by an eagle with spread wings, sits Zeus on a throne with back, arm-rest, support in form of dancer (cp. *supra* p. 682 figs. 492, 493, p. 700 fig. 517), and footstool. He wears an Ionic *chiton* and *himation* with formal pleats, holds a long sceptre

in his left hand, and fingers a tress of hair with his right. Before him stands Nike, winged and wearing *chiton* and *himation*.

ii. 764 ff. Modifications in the shape of the thunderbolt. E. Unger 'Dreizack' in Ebert *Reallex.* ii. 462 deals with the near East (Babylonia, Assyria, Syria, Asia Minor). G. Furlani 'Fulmini mesopotamici, hititi, greci ed etruschi' in *Studi Etruschi* 1931 v. 203—231 is a careful and well-documented survey, but without illustrations.

At *Rās el-Shamrā*, 'Fennel Head,' the capital of ancient Ugarit, some ten miles north of Laodikeia on the Syrian coast. Prof. Claude F. A. Schaeffer, Director of the French Archaeological Mission, in 1932 recovered from a small sanctuary 'in the western periphery of the great temple' a splendidly preserved *stèle* (1'4:²⁵ high), which shows in *champlissé* relief Ba'al and, under his protection, a small man—probably a local king. Ba'al brandishes a club in his right hand and holds in his left a stylised thunderbolt of unique design. Above, it seems to be an elaboration of the bipartite fork with zig-zags. Below, it ends in a straight shaft and fine spear-head. The date appears to be c. xiv B.C. (C. F. A. Schaeffer in *The Illustrated London News* for Feb. 11, 1933 p. 212 with figs. 3 and 13; on pp. 178 and 181. Mlle M. Rutten in the *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art Le Musée du Louvre: Canaan, Phénicie* Paris 1937 ii. 102 with fig. (= my fig. 902)).

As to the thunderbolt on coins of Olympia, another specimen of the very rare 'fly'-type (*supra* ii. 781 pl. xxxvi, 3) is now in my collection. Mr C. T. Seltman informed me (April 26, 1934) that one or two examples of a late *drachmē* had come to light, on which the handle of the bolt took the shape of a small human head, perhaps Keraunos. I am indebted to Mr E. S. G. Robinson for the casts from which my fig. 903 was made. But I should prefer to describe the little facing head as a *Gorgônieion*, with obvious allusion to the *aigis* of Zeus *aigiechos*, and Mr Robinson (Sept. 7, 1938) agrees 'that the head is probably that of a gorgon.'

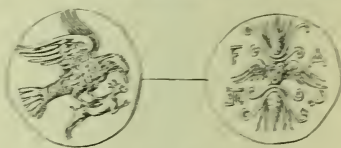


Fig. 903.

ii. 782 sacrifice to living animals on Greek soil. The goddess Boubrostis, to whom a black bull was sacrificed at Smyrna (Metrodorus of Chios (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 203 Müller) = *frag.* 3 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 266 Jacoby) cf. Plout. *sympr.* 6. 8. 1 ἐδόκει δ' ἡ βοῦμβροστις ἔσθρον εἶναι (sc. τοῦ θεοῦ)). τοῦ δὲ τεκμήριον ἐλαμβάνουσι ἐκ τῶν Μητροδόρων Ἰωνικῶν. ἰστορεῖ γὰρ ὅτι Σμυρναῖοι τὸ παλαιὸν Διολαίς ὄντες θύουσι Βομβρόσται τὰ ἴσθρια μέλαρα καὶ κατακόψαντες αὐτόδορον ὀλοκαυτοῦσι) may well have been a personified Gadfly (see W. Leaf on *Il.* 24. 532, but also O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 933). An Athenian inscription of the early fourth century B.C. prescribes Κύνι πάντα τρία (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 672, 9), on which see U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf *Isyllos von Epidauros* Berlin 1886 and *supra* p. 1083.

ii. 784 Keraunos. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 81 n. 3 suggests that the small figure beneath the throne of Zeus on the gateway at Thasos (*supra* on ii. 760 f.) may be 'une personification de la foudre.' Improbable.

ii. 788 n. o. Two five-pronged forks, aptly illustrating the πεμπάβολα of *Il.* 1. 463 = *Od.* 3. 460, were found in a 'Depotsfund' of c. 1000 B.C. at Tecchiarello di Pariana in the province of Massa-Carrara and are now at Florence (F. von Duhn in Ebert *Reallex.* ii. 378 no. 118, *id.* 'Pempobolon' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1926 xli Arch. Anz. pp. 331—334 fig. 1).

ii. 789 ff. the trident as a lightning-fork. See now G. Furlani 'Sulla preistoria del tridente di Posidone' in *Studi e Materiali di storia delle religioni* 1932 viii. 42—47 with figs.

E. F. Coote Lake 'Shrove Tuesday in South Dalmatia' in *Folk-Lore* 1927 xxxviii. 371—372 describes the Carnival at Caitaro in 1922, when a young man wearing a black mask with sheep's horns and carrying a small black trident, about two feet long, leapt high in the air throughout the procession. Lake suggests (p. 374) that this was magic to make the crops grow high, and that the magician bore 'his old trident-thunderbolt as part of the fertility rites.' Possible, but precarious.

Sir John Marshall's discovery of a chalko-lithic civilisation on the Indus has enabled us now to trace the figure of Çiva back to a period c. 3000 B.C., when he appears as an ithyphallic god with bull's horns and a raised point between them. Sir John suggested to me in conversation that this arrangement of two curved horns and a central spike may have developed at a later date into Çiva's attribute the trident.

ii. 802. On Jan. 10, 1927 I saw two other specimens of the M. Herennius terra cotta belonging to Messrs W. S. Lincoln & Son. One of these corresponded closely with that

described by Mr E. J. Seltman (*supra* ii. 1225) and was obviously modern. The other, of heavier make and devoid of the signature T. A⁷, represented three herms in juxtaposition—Poseidon, Zeus, Hades—all wearing *kálathoi* and each marked in front by his attribute. Was this M. Herennius the *decurio* of Pompeii who was struck by lightning on a cloudless day (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 137: F. Münzer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 664)?

ii. 805 the Etruscan *bidental*. See further G. Furlani 'Il *bidental* etrusco e un' iscrizione di Tiglatpileser I d' Assiria' in *Studi e Materiali di storia delle religioni* 1930 vi. 9—49 (reviewed by G. B. Pighi in *Aevum* 1930 iv. 415—417 and by L. Banti in *Studi etruschi* 1931 v. 624).

ii. 807 n. 5 (5) *astragalomanteia*. E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1793 and T. Hopfner *ib.* Suppl. iv. 51—56. An article on 'Wurforakel' is promised for the 'Nachtrag' of vol. ix of the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin 1938—.

ii. 808 n. o (9) Zeus *Keraúnios* in Moesia Inferior. C. M. Danoff 'Eine neue Weihung an Zeus Keraunios aus Niedermoesien' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1936 xxxiii. 166—169 with

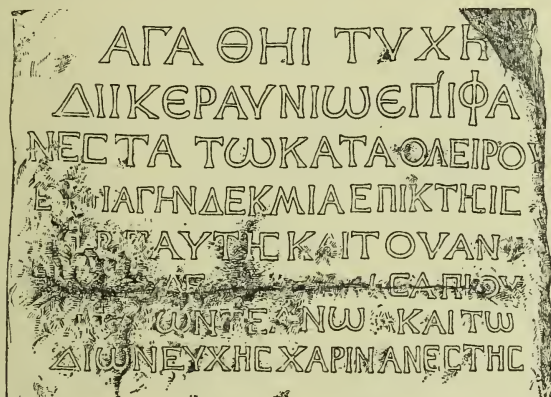


Fig. 904.

fig. (= my fig. 904) publishes a rectangular limestone altar of Roman date found in 1925 at *Tirnovó* near Nikopolis. Its dedication runs 'Αγαθήι Τύχηι | Διὶ Κεραννίῳ Ἐπιφάνεσσάτω κατὰ δνέλου | ἐπιτάγῃν Δεκμία Ἐπίκτησις | [ὑπ]έρ ἐαντήσ και τοῦ ἀν[δρός] Δε.... ὕ Σαπίου | κα[ὶ] τῶν τέκνων καὶ τῶ[ν] | [ἐ]δίων εὐχῆς χάριν ἀνέστησ[ε]. The husband's name was perhaps *Δεκμῖος* or *Δεκούμῖος*.

ii. 808 n. o (13) Zeus *Keraúnios* in Thessaly. A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1924 pp. 143—146 no. 388 fig. 2 (= my fig. 905) publishes a *stèle* of local grey marble, found in the ruins of a temple of Zeus at Pythion (*Topóliane*) in Thessaly. This is inscribed in lettering of c. 200 B.C. or a little earlier [Δη or Τι]μοκράτης Ἀν[τι]π[ά]ρ[ος] | [κα]ὶ [Ἐ]π[ι]π[ά]ρ[ος] Πανσαν[του] | [Δ]ιὶ | Κεραννίῳ and bears a relief representing Zeus as a bearded god, in a *himation*, striding from left to right. His raised right hand brandishes a bolt; his outstretched left has an eagle on the forearm and appears to touch the apex of a tombstone, round which is bound a fillet painted purple. To the right of the tombstone stands Epinike, fully draped and perhaps carrying a *phidie*. Kern thought her a priestess, but Arvanitopoulos with more probability supposes that she was the wife of De(?)mokrates, that her husband had been killed by lightning, and that she put up this votive relief to avoid sharing in his fate.

ii. 808 n. o (17) Zeus *Keraúnios* at Rome. This inscription is included in the latest (1933) fascicule of the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi. 4 no. 36802.

ii. 811 n. 5 fig. 777. Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 48, 4, ii. 4 comments: 'früher Sammlung Blacas... wohl Titus oder Domitian.'

ii. 812 fig. 778. C. T. Seltman in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1934 Plates iv. 144 fig. 6 speaks of 'a small Cupid (wing and lower part only preserved) helping to support the huge thunderbolt.' I see rather a Giant with snaky legs and curled wing. The Pergamene frieze had set the fashion.

ii. 814 n. 3 with fig. 780 the relief from Emesa. Similar reliefs have been found at Palmyra (*Tadmor*). H. A. Seyrig in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlviii Arch. Anz. pp. 715—742 figs. 1—9 presents a preliminary report on the excavations carried out there by the French Department of Antiquities in 1930—1933 and supplements on many points the handsome work of T. Wiegand and his colleagues (*Palmyra* Berlin 1932 i. 1—171 with plan of town, ii pls. 1—100). It appears that the Palmyrene temple was dedicated on April 6, 32 A.D. to the triad Bel, Iaribol, and Aglibol. Somewhat later it



Fig. 905.

was surrounded by four colonnades, on the north, east, and south by a double row of lower columns, on the west, where the main *Propylaion* lay, by a single row of higher columns, all of the Corinthian order, but unfluted. Work began at the north-west angle in early Flavian times, and continued along the north, east, south, and west sides, reaching completion *c.* 150 A.D. Within this great quadrangle, some 200^m square, still stands on its broad *podium* a Corinthian pseudodipteral temple (8 × 15 columns, fluted) with the foundations of its altar on the north and its lustral basin on the south. It had originally two pediments and was *quasi*-Greek in plan, a north-to-south oblong with a door at the southern end. The plan, however, underwent sundry modifications. The southern door was built up. A fresh door was opened in the western side, south of its centre. A couple of *adyta* was constructed at either end of the *naos*. The northern *adyton*, with much mythological decoration, seems to have housed the *páredroi* of Bel—the sun-god Iaribol and the moon-god Aglibol. These names suggest that the principal

Palmyrene god was properly called Bol, not Bel, the latter spelling being due to Babylonian influence. The southern *adyton*, with simple geometric and plant designs, was possibly used for the *lectisternium* of the god. The roof of the northern *adyton* is a square monolith hollowed out to form a dome, which is decorated with hexagonal compartments containing busts of the seven gods of the week—in the middle Jupiter, round him Sol, Mars, Luna, Venus, Saturnus, Mercurius—and ringed by the signs of the zodiac with four eagles in the spandrels. Bel was clearly conceived as a cosmic power. The lintel of the *adyton*-door (cp. *supra* ii. 431) showed a great eagle with spread wings seen against a background of stars and flanked by Iaribol on the right and probably Aglibol on the left. On a level with the eagle's claws is a long snake, symbol of the sun's course, between six balls representing the other planets. Lastly, the space between the columns and the *nabs*-wall was spanned by a series of vertical slabs supporting the roof of the *pteron* and carved with reliefs illustrative of the cult. The reliefs have been studied by H. A. Seyrig 'Bas-reliefs de la cella du temple de Bêl' in *Syria* 1933 xiv. 253—260 fig. 2 lintel, fig. 5 dome, *id.* 'Bas-reliefs monumentaux du temple de Bêl à Palmyre'



Fig. 906.

ib. 1934 xv. 155—186. One of them (*ib.* 1934 xv. 178—181 fig. 2) renders Iaribol in military dress, with rayed *nimbus* and sceptre, standing between Aglibol, likewise in military dress but with crescent horns and spear, and a fully draped goddess with sceptre (Beltis?)—a fairly close parallel to the relief from Emesa. Another (*ib.* 1934 xv. 173—178 pl. 22) shows Aglibol joining hands with a second and ill-preserved god over an altar set out with pine-cones, a pomegranate, and an apple, above which hovers an eagle bearing a snake (?) in its beak and a palm-branch in its talons. The scene takes place in a sanctuary marked by a cypress-tree etc. Fortunately a Palmyrene relief at Rome with a bilingual inscription enables us to name the second god Malachbelos (W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*³ Leipzig 1912 i. 566 f. no. 988, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 177 no. 5, Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* p. 257 f. Scala v no. 3 pl. 100. *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 971 *Ἀγλιβόλω καὶ Μαλαχβήλῳ πατρώοις θεοῖς | καὶ τὸ στέγον ἀργυροῦν σὺν παντὶ κόσμῳ ἀνέθηκ(ε) | Τ. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἡλιόδορος Ἀντίχου Ἀδριανὸς Παλμυρηνὸς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπὲρ | σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τ(ῆς) συμβολῆς καὶ τ(ῶν) τέκνων, ἑτους ζυφί (547 Seleucid era = 235 A.D.) μηνὸς Περιτίου*)—another solar power (W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2293—2301, K. Preisendanz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 824—828).

ii. 818 f. Zeus Zbelsoârdos with snake. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 77 n. 3, cp. a small unpublished bronze in the Musée Saint-Pierre at Lyons, which portrays the god with a snake rolled round the arm that holds the thunderbolt. But does this betoken his *aigis*?

G. I. Katsarov in the *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare* 1934 viii. 44—68 lists new dedications to deities, e.g. 'rough statues of...Zeus Zbelthiurdos, Kybele, Mithras, Dionysus, etc.' (D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 140).

ii. 823 n. 1 Dionysos as ἦρως? W. R. Halliday *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* Oxford 1928 p. 29 prints my emendation εἰθεῖν ἦρ', ὃ Διόνυσσε and p. 157 f. is 'inclined to welcome' it.

G. Seure 'NEOS HPΩS, KOTPOΣ HPΩS' in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 241—254 discusses two sepulchral *stélai* from Odessos (*Varna*), one inscribed 'Αγαθὴν Ἀπατοῦριον νῆος ἦρως (fig. 1), the other 'Αρτεμίδωρος Νουμηρίου, | κοῦρος ἦρως [ἵν]αυδός, χαίρε (fig. 2).

ii. 824 ff. The whip of Zeus. L. Laistner *Nebelsagen* Stuttgart 1879 pp. 45, 160 f. already cites from German folk-lore proof that lightning was regarded as a long whip held by a fiery female form amid thunder-clouds, as a blue whip held by the storm-god, etc. Stegemann in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 1400 'Auch als Peitsche, Ruté und Kugel in der Hand mythischer Gestalten dient der B[il]tz.'

ii. 833 n. 8 with fig. 793. See now Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* iii. 47 f. no. 842 fig. *Id. ib.* p. 48 ff. describes and illustrates a series of small altars dedicated to Zeus *Brontôn*: (1) p. 48 ff. no. 843 with three figs. (=my fig. 906) (*Ineuni*, early s. iii A.D.) 'Αγαθὴ Τύχη. || Διὺ Βροντῶντι Ἐπηκόω θεῷ Δαδὰς Δαμά | σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις Ὀρητιμῷ καὶ Διομῷ | καὶ Χρυσίῳ ὑπὲρ τῶν | ἰδίων εὐχὴν ἀνέστησαν. Front: bust of Zeus facing, with large garland round head; below, Hermes with *caduceus*, purse, and ram before a wreathed altar, on which is perched an eagle with a leafy sprig in its beak. Back: rosette between horns; bull running to right uphill. Left side: two-handled vase with grape-bunches; two *bucrania* with frontlets above plough. Right side: traces of bust with radiate *nimbus*. (2) p. 50 f. no. 844 fig. (*Ineuni*, early s. iii A.D.). Front: rosette and the inscription 'Αγαθὴ Τύχη. | Διὺ Βροντῶντι Μέννης Θάλλου σὺν τέκνοις κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν ἀνέστησαν. Back: bust of god, bearded (?); eagle on wreath, below which is inscribed Διὸς Μεγίστου. Sides: rosette above *bucranium*. (3) p. 51 f. no. 845 fig. (*Gumbel*, s. iii A.D.) 'Αγαθὴ Τύχη. | Δ[ιὺ Βρο]ντῶντι Μέν[η]ς | [ἐ]στησεν κατὰ κέλ[ε]υ[σιν] τοῦ θεοῦ. Front: crescent; half-length bust of Zeus with short beard and long hair, eagle on right shoulder. Back: two *bucrania* above plough. Left side: rounded vase above thunderbolt. Right side: rounded vase with two handles, vine-branch. *Supra* ii. 836.

S. Ferri 'Nuovi monumenti plastici dello Zeus di Bitinia' in *Historia* 1932 vi. 238—273 starts from a bust of coarse-grained Asiatic marble (figs. 1—3) and a similar head (fig. 4) in the Museum at *Brussa* (Prousa). Both are third-century effigies of Zeus, comparable with a head at Berlin (fig. 5) and with the inscribed bust of Zeus *Brontôn* in the British Museum (fig. 6 = *supra* ii. 837 fig. 794). Ferri goes on to consider analogous heads in later art, e.g. the silver bust of Zeus from Little St Bernard (fig. 7 unrestored, *supra* p. 1153 fig. 901 restored), which he regards as descended from the original type of the Bithynian Zeus.

But by far the most important contribution to our knowledge of Zeus *Brontôn* is the painstaking study by C. W. M. Cox and A. Cameron in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1937 v pp. xxxiv—xliv. These two scholars in the course of a four-weeks vacation (March 26—April 21, 1931) traversed the districts of Dorylaeion and Nakoleia, and catalogued there no fewer than 323 monuments, 282 for the first time. Among the new finds are 56 dedications to Zeus *Brontôn*: and a useful conspectus of previously published inscriptions is added by way of appendix (pp. 172—176). *A propos* of 'sepulchral-dedicatory inscriptions' the authors comment (p. xxxvii): 'It is curious that nowhere else in Asia Minor should epitaphs explicitly combined with dedications have been found or epitaphs concealed beneath dedications have been reasonably suspected; that the area should be virtually identical with that of the Zeus Bronton cult; and that Zeus Bronton, though by no means monopolising the dedications of the region and very far from dominating the coin-types, should virtually monopolise the dedicatory epitaphs....It may well be that the explicit dedication of the grave to the god was here thought to be the most effective means of rendering it inviolable, and that Zeus Bronton receives the dedications, not only as the most prominent local deity, but as the god who made his presence felt most potently and whose wrath might most drastically strike down the impious or, by drought or storm, devastate their means of livelihood.' But Cox and Cameron 'regard it as still open to question whether Zeus Bronton was a chthonic deity' (p. xliii) and urge that inscription no. 225 (*Seyit Gazi* (Nakoleia)) Θεοῖς Κα|<κα>ταχθονίοις καὶ | Διὺ Βρον|τῶντι ὧ| 'need not imply any intimate connection' between him and the Θεοὶ Καταχθόνιοι, though they hasten to add: 'None the less, if only from his constant association with the tomb, Zeus Bronton no doubt came to be conceived as having a chthonic aspect' (p. xliii). They demur (*ib.*), perhaps rightly, to my contention that he was served with mystic rites in a cave (*supra* ii. 836 ff. ἐξ αὐλῆς, *speleum*), and note (p. xli) that he and Apollon 'may

have been *σύνναοι θεοί* (nos. 173 *Aynacik*, 181 *Kuyucak*). Lastly, they dissent from Sir W. M. Ramsay's view that Zeus *Brontôn* was called 'the Father god' and 'the Victorious Father' (*supra* ii. 836). In inscription no. 232 from *Seyit Gazi* (Nakoleia) - - - | Δι̅ Ἐρρυτ̅ων̅ | τι̅ εὐχ̅ην̅ | καὶ πατρί̅ θεῶ̅ 'it seems probable that, as Körte thought (*A.M.* xxx, 1900, p. 442), ll. 3—4 link to the dedication to Brontôn an epitaph to the dedicatory's father, now dead and deified, and not a further dedication to a deity known to the citizens of Nacolea as Πατήρ Θεός' (p. 111). 'Even in the Nacolean village dedication *Νεικάνωρ καὶ Τα[τ]εῖς Δι̅ Βροντ̅ώντι καὶ Νεικήτορι πατρί* (*Ann. dell' Inst.* xxxiii, 1861, p. 188, no. 38, at Ayvali)... we incline (partly owing to the resemblance of the names) to see in *Νεικήτορι πατρί* the deceased father of Neikanor... and not a god *Νεικήτωρ Πατήρ*' (p. 112).

ii. 836. On Zeus as 'Hearer of Prayer' see the valuable article by O. Weinreich 'ΘΕΟΙ ΕΠΗΚΟΟΙ' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1912 xxxvii. 1—68 (especially pp. 23—25) and an interesting supplement to it by the same author in his *Gebet und Wunder* Stuttgart 1929 pp. 200—204 ('Die *ὑπιδες* am Himmel, beim Ort der Gebetsaudienzen. Eine Interpretation von Lukian, Ikaromenippos 23 ff.').

ii. 838 Dionysos *Brómios*. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 83 n. 2 would explain the appellative by a reference to R. Pettazzoni *I misteri* Bologna (1925) pp. 1—40 ('Il rombo').

ii. 838 ritual enthronement. See now A. D. Nock in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1926 xlvii. 47 f. ('Thronosis').

ii. 854 n. 9. To the bibliography of Kleanthes' *Hymn* add E. Neustadt 'Der Zeus-hymnos des Kleanthes' in *Hermes* 1931 lxvi. 387—401 (in line 4 is content with T. Bergk's cj. ὄλου), A. S. Way *Hymns of Callimachus with the Hymn of Kleanthes in English verse* London 1934 p. 35 f., M. Meunier *Hymnes philosophiques d'Aristote, Cléanthe et Proclus* Paris 1935 pp. 1—116.

ii. 859 ff. Kairos. A. A. Papadopoulos 'Καῖρός' in the *Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 1927 iv. 251—256 is summarised by G. Soyter in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Sept. 22, 1928 pp. 1168 (Papadopoulos explains *Καῖρός* 'als den Boten des Patriarchen, der dem Kaiser meldete, dass es "Zeit" sei, in die Hagia Sophia zu gehen. Später habe *καῖρός* in der kirchlichen Sprache die Bedeutung "Erlaubnis (zum Messelesen)" angenommen').

ii. 861 fig. 799. The fragmentary *replica* at Athens is included in O. Walter *Beschreibung der Reliefs im Kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen* Wien 1923 p. 74 no. 125 fig. Another, better preserved, was found at Tragurium (*Trogir*) in Dalmatia in 1928 and is published by M. Abramčić 'Ein neues Kairos-Relief' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1930 xxvi. 1—8 pl. 1 with figs. 2 and 4. A relief at Petrograd is similar, but has the bearded type of Kairos (E. Curtius in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 xxxiii. 8 pl. 2, 1 condemns it as a forgery, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 490 no. 3).

ii. 863 n. 1 fig. 801. H. Volkmann 'Studien zum Nemesiskult' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1928 xxvi. 298 no. 4 with fig. 2.

ii. 869 n. 2 Zeus *Aktaios* on Mt Pelion. The alleged discoveries of A. S. Arvanitopoulos stand in much need of verification. On June 27, 1934 Dr N. Bachtin wrote to me from Athens to say that early in May he had visited *Pliasidi* and found the place indicated by Arvanitopoulos 'still covered with deep snow.' Dr Bachtin continues: 'The *peribolos* was nowhere visible (though I cannot absolutely assert that it does not exist, since it might have been under the snow). Moreover, there is not a single sherd anywhere round to suggest the idea of a site that has ever been built on. Three weeks later I returned there with Mr Wade-Gery of Wadham. There was still too much snow to allow a thorough examination, but all that could be seen fully confirmed my suspicions, and Mr Wade-Gery agreed with me entirely. After that, I had the opportunity of meeting in Volo Giannopoulos...and mentioned my fears to him. He too expressed the gravest doubts as to the reliability of the results claimed by Arvanitopoulos.' With praiseworthy persistence Dr Bachtin visited *Pliasidi* yet again in the summer, when the snow had melted, and camped there for some time. He reports (Dec. 11, 1938): 'I found that the site I had examined with Wade-Gery in the spring was not the one which Arvanitopoulos meant: the supposed temple site is just above it—on the very summit marked 1548 on the Greek staff map. The shallow cave, or rather hole, is just below the trig. point and there seem to be some traces of a wall running from summit 1548 towards the lower summit marked 1529. There are also bits of tile... That is all, so that my conclusion remains substantially the same: Arvanitopoulos' sketch of his "excavation" is pure invention.'

ii. 874 n. 2 Zeus *Karaiōs*. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 399 ff. no. 17 gives the text of the dedication from Thespiāi (*supra* on ii. 727) τοῖς σφύσι[σι]τοι Διὶ | Καραίδι ἀνέθεαν | Πούθων | Σόλων | Ἡγεσίδαμος | Δαμοστέλες | Διονύσιος | Μένες | Ἀντιφών | Ἀρίστανδρος. He cp. a *stèle* from Akraiphia, now at Thebes (inv. no. 957), inscribed *iapōn* | Διός | Κεραῖω and perhaps another from the same town inscribed Κεραῖω (P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 253 no. 7 had transcribed it as Κεραῖω).

ii. 875 n. 1 (1). E. Sittig should have said Erythrai, not Smyrna (L. Robert in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1933 lviii. 472 n. 5).

ii. 876 n. 1 Zeus *Hypsistos*. Further evidence includes the following items: (5 a) Sparta. A. M. Woodward in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1923—1924; 1924—1925 xxvi. 222—224 publishes three dedications on small marble altars, perhaps used as building material, in the theatre at Sparta: no. 16 Διὶ | Ὑψίστω | Νεικέρως | εὐχ[ή]ν, no. 17 Διοκλῆ[ς] | Διὶ Ὑψίστω | εὐχ[ή]ν, no. 18 Ἀφροδείσιος δοῦλος | Κλαυ. Πρατολάου τοῦ Βρα[σίδου] Διὶ Ὑψ[ί]-[ίστω εὐχ[ή]ν] with an epigram restored by A. Wilhelm θρησκευ[α]ισιν ὑπερμε[γ]άλα[ισιν τόνδ'] ἀνέθηκα,|| ὄφρα τις | εἰς ἐμὸν | ἦθος ἐσ[θ]αθήσας | [ἀγορεύει] (or ἀγορεύει·)|| "τοῖων | γὰρ μερόπ[ω]ν καὶ | [γε]ν[ε]ή [θαλέθει (or θαλερή)]."

(9) Makedonia. C. Avezou—C. Picard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1913 xxxvii. 100 no. 8 (a broken slab of white marble at Thessalonike) Θεῷ Ὑψίστωι κατ' ἐπιταγὴν ΙΟΥΕΥ (‘L’existence d’une colonie juive à Thessalonique dans l’antiquité [Acts 17. 1] fait supposer que le Θεός Ὑψίστος est ici, comme en d’autres cas, le Jahvé des Hébreux’). This grafting of Jewish henotheism on to a Greek stem is comparable with St Paul’s treatment of the dedication Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ (Acts 17. 23). C. F. Edson in the *Harvard Theological Review* 1936 xxix. 62 n. 53 reports that Ch. I. Makatonas has found more Zeus *Hypsistos* inscriptions at *Kozani* in Makedonia.

(10) Thrace. G. Bakalakis in *Θρακικά* 1935 vi. 302 ff. = *Rev. Arch.* 1937 ii. 385 no. 168 (Tsari near Cavalla) Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ εὐχαρισ[τή]ριον κ.τ.λ. on behalf of Rhoimetalkas iii.

(11 a) Dacia. C. Daicoviciu ‘Contributions au syncrétisme religieux à Sarmizegetusa’ in the *Anuarul Universitaterii Cluj*, Publ. Institut. Studii clasice 1928—1932 i. 81—88 publishes seven inscriptions on altars found at Sarmizegetusa illustrating syncretism. ‘Thus we have an altar to Invicto Deo Serapidi, another where Sol Invictus (Mithras) is included in a list of Roman deities, Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ ἐπηκόῳ [p. 85 no. 3 Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ Ἐπηκόῳ εὐχαριστοῦσα ἀνέθηκε(ν) Αἰλία Κασσία], Fortunae Daciarum, etc.’ (D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 135).

(17) Karia. Iasos (B. Haussoullier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884 viii. 456 no. 4 a white marble boundary stone Διὸς | Ὑψίστου). Mylasa (A. W. Persson *ib.* 1922 xlvii. 414 no. 18 L Δ | Διὶ | Ὑψίστῳ[ι]). Stratonikeia (A. Laumonier *ib.* 1934 lviii. 337 no. 21 fig. 21 [Δι]ε[ῖ] Ὑψ[ί]στῳ καὶ Ἑ[ρ]μῇ Ἀγαθῷ | Σοκράτη[ς]—a striking combination of appellatives).

(19) Delos. For the uplifted hands of my fig. 817 C. Picard in the *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 92 n. o cites F. Cumont in the *Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia* Serie iii Memorie 1923 i. 1 ‘Il sole vindice dei delitti ed il simbolo delle mani alzate’ pp. 65—80.

A. Plassart in *Délos* xi. 289—293 (‘Le sanctuaire de Zeus Hypsistos’) includes fig. 234 ground-plan, figs. 235 and 236 views, fig. 237 four leaden ‘figurines d’envoûtement’ found in the precinct, and one inscription on a white marble block Ποσ[ῆς] | Ἰροσι[δ]ωρ[ί]ον | [δ]ς ἐποίει?] τὸν περίβολον | [καὶ τὰ ἐν] αὐτῷ χρηστήρια Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ καὶ | θεοῖς οἷς τοὺς βωμοὺς | ἰδρύσατο ἀνέθηκεν.

(23) Phrygia. Sir W. M. Ramsay *Asiatic Elements in Greek Civilisation* London 1927 pp. 182—189 devotes a chapter to ‘The Waggon (Benna)’ and again concludes (p. 188): ‘The god on the car, Benneus or Zeus Bennios, was the peasant-god, the trainer of men in the art of agriculture. He lives in legend as Gordius, whose ox-drawn car was preserved as a holy relic at the Phrygian Gordion’ [Swoboda in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1590 f. A. Körte *Gordion* (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* Ergänzungsheft v) Berlin 1904 p. 16 already claims that the famous waggon was first meant for Zeus [cp. *supra* i. 338 n. 2] and later transferred to the ‘Bauernkönig’ Gordios].

(23 a) Pisidia. *Suppl. epigr. Gr.* vi no. 550 *Saghir* ὁ αὐτὸς Σκύμνος καὶ ἔτι | ἐπικατα-
λείπτω τῇ κώμῃ | (δηνάρια) ρ' ἐκ τῶκου || γένεσθαι βέ<v> | νος Δεῖ Καλακαγαθῷ ὑπὲρ
καρπῶν. This bequest was first published by Sir W. M. Ramsay *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* London 1906 p. 345 no. 25 (*id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1912 xxxii. 162 no. 25), then discussed by J. Zingerle in the *Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien Phil.-hist. Klasse Anzeiger* 1923 pp. 61—63 no. 2 (proposing βέ(κ)ος for ΒΕ|NOC), and lastly defended by Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1933 liii. 317 no. 550.

(25) Paphlagonia. E. Kalinka in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1933 xxviii Beiblatt pp. 64—66 no. 13 with fig. 31 publishes the ‘Vogelfels’ at *Kushkaja* near Amastris. An

artificially smoothed rock-wall is here decorated with ambitious carvings worked in very high relief. From the top of rock-cut steps rise two rock-cut bases side by side. That on the left supports a column *c.* 4^m high, on which an eagle *c.* 2^m high but now headless sits with spread wings. That on the right supports an arched distyle niche, within which stands a male figure clad in a *toga* but *minus* his head. The base below the eagle-column is inscribed θεῶν Ὑψίστῳ | Ἐπικρόω | Ἡλ(ω)ι | εὐερχή? ἔδ[αν] | [καὶ τὸν αἰ?]τ[ὸν...] | τ[α]ρ[ο]ν... | [-...]. Above the arched niche is a *tabula ansata* with a longer inscription beginning ὑπὲρ τῆς | Σε[βα]στ[ρ]ῆς εἰρήνης καὶ | εἰς | τὴν τευχ[ή]ν | Χ [Τι][βε]ρ[ρ]ίου Κ[α]λ[υ]δίου Γε[ρ]μα[ν]ικ[οῦ] | Καίσα[ρ]ος | Σεβ[ασ]τοῦ ὁ τοῦ ἑ[π]ου[ρα]νίου θε[ο]ῦ | Σεβ[ασ]τοῦ ἀρχι[ε]ρε[ῖ]ς κ.τ.λ. A neighbouring inscription in both Latin and Greek (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 6983 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5883) shows that the dedicator was G. Iulius Aquila (*nomen omen*) 'divi Augusti perpetuus sacerdos,' and dates his dedication to the year 45 A.D.

(29) Syria. Doura on the Euphrates. C. Hopkins in P. V. C. Baur—M. I. Rostovtzeff *The Excavations at Dura-Europos* Second Season 1928—1929 Yale Univ. Press 1931 pp. 86—90 fig. 2 publishes an inscribed stone slab found within the tower of the temple of the Palmyrene gods on what appears to have been the site of an older sanctuary εἰς τοῦ βου[λ]ῆς | μηρὸς Δίου | περὶ δ' ὦραν ἡμε[ρ]ην σεισμοῦ | κατὰ τὴν χώραν | γενομένου ἡ | πόλις τὸν βωμὸν ἀνήγειρεν | Μεγίστῳ Δί. The exact date of the earthquake would thus be about 10 o'clock in the morning of Oct. 26/7, 160 A.D. Hopkins cp. the votive inscription of Byblos for escape from an earthquake (R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1896 i. 299 on a stone altar [Διὶ Σωτήρι | Ἀπολλόδωρος Νικωνο(ς) | ἀπὸ σεισμοῦ | διασωθεὶς ἀνέθηκεν], and adds: 'from the north wall of the pronaos come two graffiti to greatest Zeus scratched near the person to the right in the scene of the Roman tribune sacrificing' (F. Cumont *Fouilles de Dura-Europos* (1922—1923) Paris 1926 p. 387 f. no. 25 Δίος Μεγίστῳ, | [Ἐ]στία? and below Δίος Με[γ]ίστ[ου] with col. pl. 50). See further R. Cagnat—M. Besnier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1931 ii. 369 no. 114, A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1933 xxiii. 93. M. Rostovtzeff *Dura-Europos and its Art* Oxford 1938 p. 65 (cp. pp. 36 and 44 with pl. 6 plans and restoration by H. Pearson) sums up: 'Zeus Megistos was probably the *interpretatio graeca* of one of the local Semitic names of the great sky god. He succeeded in all probability in this temple to the great Greco-Macedonian god Zeus Olympius. His *synnaos theos* in this temple and his acolyte was the Arabian light and caravan god Arsu.'

Damaskos. R. Mouterde in *Syria* 1925 vi. 246—252 no. 33 pl. 33, 2^a and 3^b publishes an altar of Zeus *Manaphos* found somewhere in the *Haurān* and now at Damaskos. The basalt block bears in high relief of *c.* s. iv A.D. a half-length bust of the deity, who is beardless and has curling locks like a sun-god, a Syrian collar, and Greek drapery. Front: Ζεὺ Μάναφε, μ[ι]τ[ρ]ῶν[α τῆ]ν [νύχην]. Left side: Ζεὺ Μ[άνα]φ[ε], | μίξονα τὴν | τύχη. | Β[ε]ρ[ρ]ίου | Ἰνάθης | εὐεβ[ε]δ[ος] | βιάσας | [ἀ]πέθηκε. Cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii. 1 no. 3668 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4349 (Aequinum or, more probably, Carnuntum) dis patris Ma[n]alpho et Thean[d]rio pro sal. | dd. nn., | Cl. Victorinus | eq. coh. ð Canprag. | et Cl. Maximus fil., | dom. Can., v. s. l. l., where J. H. Mordtmann in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 1875 p. 106 n. 1 rightly cj. *Manapho*. T. Nöldeke in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 662^b says: 'The name *Manāf*, "height," "high place," is also a kind of abstract noun. That *Manāf* was worshipped as a god [among the ancient Arabs] is proved by the testimony of a verse, and is confirmed by the occurrence of the name '*Abd Manāf*,' which was especially common at Mecca and among the neighbouring tribe of Hudhail.' See further W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2309 f., K. Preisendanz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 971.

(30) Phoinike. M. Pillet 'Le Temple de Byblos' in *Syria* 1927 viii. 105—112 gives a ground-plan (pl. 28) and views (pls. 29 and 30) of the famous temple, excavated in June 1926. R. Dussaud *ib.* pp. 113—125 discusses its restoration (fig. 2 after a coin of Macrinus).

(33) Aigyptos. C. Roberts—T. C. Skeat—A. D. Nock 'The gild of Zeus Hypsistos' in the *Harvard Theological Review* 1936 xxix. 39—89 publish with elaborate and valuable commentary a papyrus sheet of the late Ptolemaic period (*c.* 69—58 B.C.) containing regulations for the gild with its election of an annual president, its monthly banquet in the sanctuary of Zeus, its standing orders, etc.: 3 ff. ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. | νόμος δὲ ἔθεντο [κα]τὰ κοινὸν οἱ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς Ὑψίστου συνόδου τούτων εἶναι κύριον, | καὶ ποιούντες καθὶ διαρχ[ο]εῖν πρώτον μὲν προχειρασάμενοι ἐπ' εαυτῶν | ἡγούμενον Πετεσοῦ[χον] Τεεφθέννιος, ἀνδρα λόγιον, τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν | ἄξιον, εἰς ἐν[ε]κτὸν [ἀπὸ τοῦ] πρ[ο]γ[γ]ε[γ]ραμμένου μηνὸς καὶ ἡμέρας συνεσιφ[ό]δ[ος] | δὲ πᾶσι π[ο]ιεῖσθ[αι] κατὰ μῆνα πόσι[ν] μίαν ἃ ἐν τῶν τοῦ Διὸς | ἱερῶν ἐν αἷς ἐν ἀνδρῶν | κοινῇ σπένδοντες εὐχέσθωσαν καὶ τὰλλα τὰ νομ[ι]σθ[έ]με[να] ὑπὲρ τε τ[ο]ῦ θεο[ῦ] καὶ κυριο[ῦ] βασιλέως· ὑπακούσιν δὲ πάντας τοῦ τε ἡγουμένου καὶ τ[ο]ῦ

τοῦτον ὑπηρέτου ἐν τε ταῖς ἀγῆκουσι τῷ κοινῷ καὶ παρέσονται ἐπὶ τὰς | δοθεῖ[σομ]ένας
αὐτοῖς παραγγελίας καὶ [σ]υνλόγους καὶ συναγωγὰς καὶ ἀποδημ[ας] | καὶ μ[η]ν[δ]ενὶ αὐτῶν
ἐξέστωι συντενιματάρχῃσιν μηδὲ σχήματα συνίστασθαι | μηδ' ἀπ[ο]χωρήσε[ιν ἐκ] τῆς τοῦ
ἡγ[ου]μένου φράτρας εἰς ἑτέραν φράτραν | καὶ μὴ γ[ε]νεαλογ[ή]σειν ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον ἐν τῷ
συμποσίῳ μηδὲ κακο[λογ]ή[σειν] ἕτερος [τὸν] ἕτερον ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ μηδὲ λαλήσειν μηδὲ
ἐπ[ικα]λῆσειν καὶ μὲ καθιγορή[σειν] [[α]] τοῦ ἑτέρου μηδὲ ἀπορήσιον | διδ[όν]ασι ἐπὶ τὸν
ἐν[αυτ]ὸν καὶ μηδ' ἀ[φα]ρίειν τὰς συμποσίας μηδὲ ἐπέργ[ε]σθ[ι]·[·]· ντ[·]·πον εκτολ()
μ[η]νδ' ἀποκλέψειν τ ἑτεραν καὶ μὴ κωλύσειν τὸν | κ. τ. λ.

ii. 890 n. 2 Mt Taygeton. D. W. Freshfield *Below the Snow Line* London 1923 pp. 124—128 describes his ascent of this mountain (7874 ft.): 'The highest top of Taygetus lies some twelve miles south-south-west of Sparta. The peasants who make a pilgrimage annually to the chapel on the summit in the month of August follow a path which climbs to the village of Anavryti, on the middle shelf of the mountain, and then slants upwards to a gap in one of the spurs and across the upper slopes to the saddle north of the culminating crest...The top of Taygetus has been curiously treated. When I reached what had from a distance looked like a dilapidated stone man it proved to be the ridge of the roof of a small chapel. The rest was buried under snow-drifts, which choked up a little stone enclosure and several cells built round it...I envied the pilgrims who watch sunsets and moonrises here in August. It was just mid-day when I arrived, and local mists were playing round the mountain, which promised, and before long produced, a brief thunder shower. The distant panorama was imperfect; but I saw a great deal under beautiful shifting lights. To the north the eyes overlooked all Peloponnesus to the vapours that rested on its northern heights. To the west the green hills of Messenia glowed in sunshine; its great bay swept round in a wonderful curve, and beyond lay Pylos and the distant islands. At our very feet a little town hung over its haven, a tiny bay of the Gulf of Kalamata. To the south the long promontory of Cape Matapan stretched out, peak beyond peak, all far below me. A transparent opalescent mist hid Crete, but only veiled Cythera.'

ii. 894 n. 3 Zeus *Hellánios*. J. P. Harland *Prehistoric Aigina* Paris 1925 pp. 27—29, 40 f., 53, 55 f., 67, 82 ff. attributes the cult of Zeus *Hellánios* to Achaeans of the period Helladic iii (1400—1100 B.C.). Summary by S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1927 i. 252.

J. P. Harland 'An Inscribed Hydria in Aegina' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 76—78 fig. 1 f. publishes a bronze *hydria* found by L. Curtius (1906) in an ancient cistern high up on Mt *Oros*. Round the rim of this beautiful vessel runs a dedication in lettering of c. 470 B.C. ΠΛΑΘΟΝ : ΕΚΕΣΘΕΝΕΣ : ΑΝΕΘΕΝ : ΗΥΙΟΙ :

ΠΡΟΚΛΕΟΣ : ΗΕΛΛΑΜΙΟΙ : ΔΙΙ 'Plathon (and) Echesthenes, sons of Prokles, dedicated (this) to *Hellánios* Zeus.' *Id. Prehistoric Aigina* Paris 1925 p. 83 adds: 'Professor Ludwig Curtius wrote me that a roof tile with several letters of the god's name had been found on this site.'

G. Welter 'Der Heilige Berg des Zeus Hellanios' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1938 liii Arch. Anz. pp. 8—16 republishes this *hydria* (fig. 3 f.) and goes on to describe his own excavations of August 1933. He laid bare a terrace, approached by steps and partly cut out of the rocks, on the northern slope of the *Oros* (fig. 5 f.). On the terrace are the foundations of a hostel for pilgrims, which could be dated by sherds of 'Megarian' bowls, to the Pergamene period of Aigina (210—133 B.C.). The actual altar of Zeus *Hellánios* occupied the highest point of the *Oros*, where there had been a Late Mycenaean settlement (fig. 7 plan). The summit on its west and south sides was partially encircled by a retaining wall and built up to form a round platform comparable with the γῆς χῶμα (Paus. 8. 38. 7) on the top of Mt Lykaion (*supra* i. 81 ff.). It was further equipped in Hellenistic times with hostels and *stoai*, suggestive of games perhaps held below on the level at the foot of the terrace. Bronze coins of Pergamene date, struck either at Pergamon or more probably in Aigina, have *obv.* the head of Aiakos, *rev.* Α | Γ | ΝΗ nude archaic Apollon advancing to right with filleted bay-branch and strung bow (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica* etc. p. 145 pl. 26, 4 f., H. Thiersch 'Äginetische Studien' in the *Nachr. d. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1928 pp. 141—147 pls. 1—3). Aiakos was appropriate as the forefather both of the Aeginetans and, through Pergamos, of the Pergamenes. G. Welter *Aigina* Berlin 1938 includes p. 91 f. a brief chapter on 'Die Kultstätte des Zeus Hellanios auf dem *Oros*' and p. 122 the 'Fasti' of the site. The Late Mycenaean settlement on the summit was vacated c. 1225 B.C. 'Geometric' sherds found there imply the arrival of the cult, which thenceforward was kept up throughout the whole classical period. The lay-out of the terrace and the building of its hostel may be dated c. 170 B.C. From the ruins of this

building, in Byzantine times, was constructed the monastery of St Nikolaos. That in turn was left derelict in the middle ages, and is now succeeded by the church of the Taxiarchs.

ii. 895 n. 1 Zeus *Aphésios*. On the cults of Zeus at Megara—Zeus *Olympios* (Paus. i. 40. 4), *Aphésios* (i. 44. 9), *Kónios* (i. 40. 6), with the Muses (i. 43. 6)—see now E. L. Highbarger *The History and Civilization of ancient Megara* Pt i (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology No. 2) Baltimore 1927 pp. 41—43. K. Hanell *Megarische Studien* Lund 1934 pp. 79—82 deals with Zeus *Aphésios* and his relations to Zeus *Apesántios* ('Zeus Aphesios ist der alte Gott des argivischen Apesasberges, dessen Kultus die Argiver nach Megara mitgebracht haben, wo der Kultus, wie die Funde zeigen, in der geometrischen Zeit gegründet wurde.... An den Kultus des Zeus Aphesios knüpft sich wie in Argos die Flutsage. Stifter des Kultes ist ein aus der Flut geretteter Heros [*supra* ii. 897 n. 1], in diesem Falle ein Sohn des Gottes selbst und Eponyme des Landes. Sein Rettung geschieht übrigens in einer sehr eigenartigen Weise, indem er dem Geschrei fliegender Kraniche nachschwimmt. Hierdurch wird noch eine schöne Etymologie gewonnen [Paus.



Fig. 907.

i. 40. 1 ἀλλὰ—νῆχῃσθαι γὰρ πετομένων γεράνων πρὸς τὴν βοήν τῶν ὀρνίθων αὐτῶν—διὰ τοῦτο Γερανίαν τὸ ὄρος ὀνομασθῆναι], und eigentlich ist dieser Zug hinreichend, um die ganze Geschichte als späte dichterische Erfindung zu charakterisieren').

ii. 898. To the mountain-cults of Zeus in Boiotia add that of Zeus *Keraíos* at Akraiphia and that of Zeus *Karaiós* at Thespiai (*supra* on ii. 874 n. 2).

ii. 899 n. 1 Herakles *Chádrops*. N. G. Pappadakis 'Περὶ τὸ Χαρόπειον τῆς Κορωνέας' in the *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 1916 ii. 217—272.

ii. 901 n. 2 Mt Parnassos. D. W. Freshfield *Below the Snow Line* London 1923 pp. 128—130 gives the height of Parnassos as 8064 ft. and says of his ascent: 'When I got to the top a faint gleam was already visible in the eastern sky. It quickly deepened and broadened until, without warning, a spot of light shone on the dark sea horizon, grew to an arch, and in a few moments the sun's orb was floating on the sky. To the sailors on the Aegean it had not yet risen, and it was some minutes before a path of light flashed across the waters to Euboea. Then the long backbone of the great island stood out with all its heights and hollows blue against the golden east, throwing a clear-cut shadow on the strait that divides it from the mainland. The plains of Boeotia next took the day; the mist rose from its lakes, and the rivers flashed out as silver threads across its broad fields. On the northern horizon, beyond the Gulf of Volo, Pelion, Olympus, and

even distant Athos took shape as grey phantoms. Still the shores of the Gulf of Corinth were slow to awaken. Night hung reluctantly over the Adriatic long after Attica was in broad day. But at last the veil of twilight was lifted everywhere; hills and valleys, cities and harbours stood out clear and distinct in local detail and colour. I shall not attempt a catalogue of the famous sights in view. I had had that rare enjoyment, a most successful sunrise, worth a night in the open, and worthy of the Poets' Mountain.' Fig. 907, which shows the summit of Parnassos as seen from the south-west, is from a photograph taken by Mr C. M. Sleeman on Sept. 9, 1926.

ii. 902 n. 2 Mt Kenaion. N. Pappadakis in 1924 attempted to locate the sanctuary of Zeus *Kēnaios*. He found a massive precinct-wall, 2.5m thick, extending for a stretch of c. 50m. The side towards the sea was missing, but three angle-towers were preserved. Neither temple nor altar came to light (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 480, A. M. Wood-



Fig. 908.



Fig. 909.

ward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 224, E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 112). Resuming his search, Pappadakis discovered that the precinct was pentagonal. On the south and south-east the wall had been largely destroyed. The angle-towers also had suffered. They were well built with regular courses of *póros*-blocks. The walls, 3m thick, had two faces of *proisodomous* masonry with internal filling, the stones being taken from the Lichades. Minor finds were disappointing—a large marble *phidie* near the north tower, sherds of Graeco-Roman date (none older than c. 300 B.C.), etc. Within the precinct stands the Church of St Constantine (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 554 f.).

ii. 903 Akarnania. At Stratos the temple of Zeus occupied a commanding hill-top. A. K. Orlandos 'Ο ἐν Στρατῶν τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας ναὸς τοῦ Διὸς' in the *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.* 1923 viii. 1—51 with 43 figs. and 2 pls. purports to give the first full account of the building. But it is not free from inexactitudes, and the author seems to have poached unduly upon the preserves of the French School at Athens, which had been at work on the site intermittently ever since 1892. We must therefore rely on the definitive publication by F. Courby—C. Picard *Recherches archéologiques à Stratos d'Acarnanie* Paris 1924 pp. 1—124 with 78 figs. and 19 pls. The temple—possibly not the first on the spot—

was built c. 330 B.C. It is a Doric peripteral structure of fine grey limestone with 6×11 columns as yet unfluted. *Prónaos* and *opisthódomos* had each two columns *in antis*. Within the *naós* were Ionic columns, ranged round three sides of it, and these may have carried a carved (?) frieze and dentils. The roof was perhaps, but not certainly, hypaethral. A. Jouin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 451 f. no. 4 = *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 1 nos. 447 f. published an inscription which proves that at Stratos in s. ii B.C. slaves were manumitted by a deed of sale to Zeus: lines 3—5 read (Courby—Picard p. 13) [ἀ]πρόδοτο Διονύσιος [Δ]ιοργήσιου | Στράτιος τῷ Διὶ ἐπ' [ἐ]λευθερίαι σῶ[μ]α | [ἀν]δρείον κ.τ.λ.

ii. 904 Mount Ossa. I am indebted to Dr N. Bachtin for photographs of the mountain and of the chapel on its summit taken by Mrs Bachtin in 1934. Fig. 908 shows Ossa as seen from *Spelia* on the north-west. Fig. 909 gives the entrance into the little chapel of

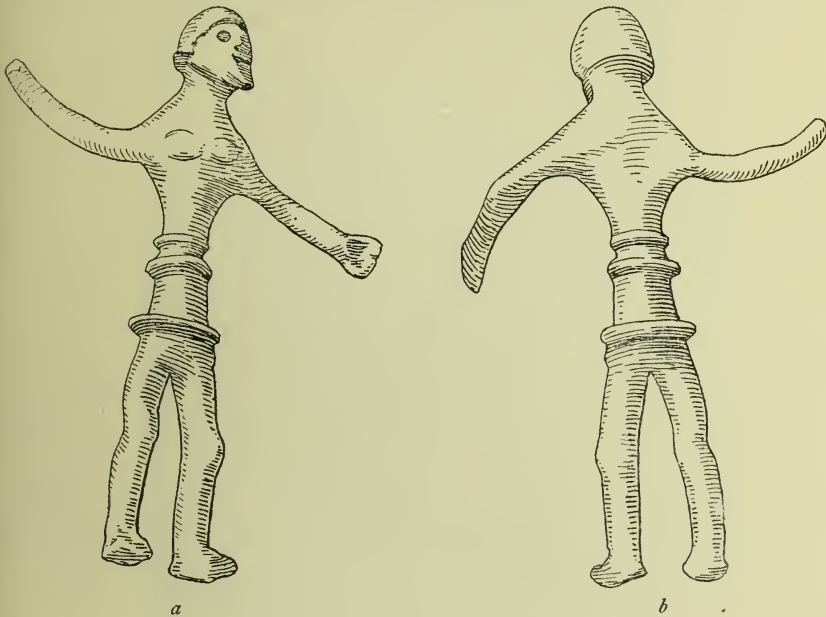


Fig. 910.

Hagios Elias. Steps down lead to a doorway, within which is a round-headed arch. The roof of the chapel forms the actual summit of the mountain. 'People nowadays prefer to worship St Elias lower down in the valley.'

ii. 904 n. 1 Zeus *Laphýstios*. N. I. Giannopoulos in the 'Αρχ. Έφ. 1925—1926 pp. 183—185 figs. 1 α, 1 β (= my fig. 910 a, b) publishes a bronze statuette ploughed up in a field among the ruins of Halos, where once stood the sanctuary of Zeus *Laphýstios*. It shows a bearded male figure advancing with right hand raised and left held forward. If, as seems likely, this was meant for Zeus, his right hand must have brandished a thunderbolt, his left may have carried eagle or sceptre (?). Hair projecting like a cap, wedge-shaped beard, mere holes for eyes, incised lines for mouth, triangular chest with two small projections for nipples, double belt above, single belt below—the whole suggesting a date c. 700 B.C. Reinach *Rép. Stat.* vi. 164 no. 1.

ii. 905 n. o. My friend and colleague Mr C. M. Sleeman on Sept. 3, 1926 and again on July 14, 1929 made the ascent of Mt Olympos and secured a series of excellent photographs. These include my pl. lxviii *Mitka*, the highest peak, as seen from the Ridge, fig. 911 the 'Throne of Zeus' from *Mitka* Ridge, fig. 912 *Skolion* from the Brèche, fig. 913 the chapel of St Elias (*supra* i. 103) from the south-west.

ii. 906 Mount Tomaros. E. Polaschek in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 1697 f. draws attention to a group of mountain-names found mainly, if not entirely, in the Illyrian area: (1) *Tmor* on the Dalmatian coast, north-west of Ragusa; (2) *Tomori* in northern Epeiros, east of Berat; (3) *Tómaros* or *Tmáros*, the modern Olicika, south-west

of Dodona; (4) *Tmáriorion* in Arkadia (Hesych. *Τμάριον· ὄρος Ἀρκαδίας*). Whether these names are of Greek or Illyrian formation is uncertain (H. Krahe *Die alten balkan-illyrischen geographischen Namen* Heidelberg 1925 p. 58). N. Jokl in Ebert *Reallex.* vi. 34 decides for the latter. In either case they would be connectible with the root *tem-* of *τέμνω*, *τομή*, etc. and so signify 'sheer-cut' or the like (cp. *Τέμπη*, *Τέμπυρα*, *Τομεύς*, *Τόμυς*). In Greek times such mountains would be the natural habitat of Zeus. That is certain for Mt *Tómaros* or *Tmáros* near Dodona (Claud. *de bello Getico* 16 ff. *iactent...Minervam...caeso Tomari Iovis augure luco | arbore praesaga tabulas animasse oquaces*, Hesych. *Τμάριος· Ζεὺς ἐν Δωδώνῃ*), where the priests of the god were called

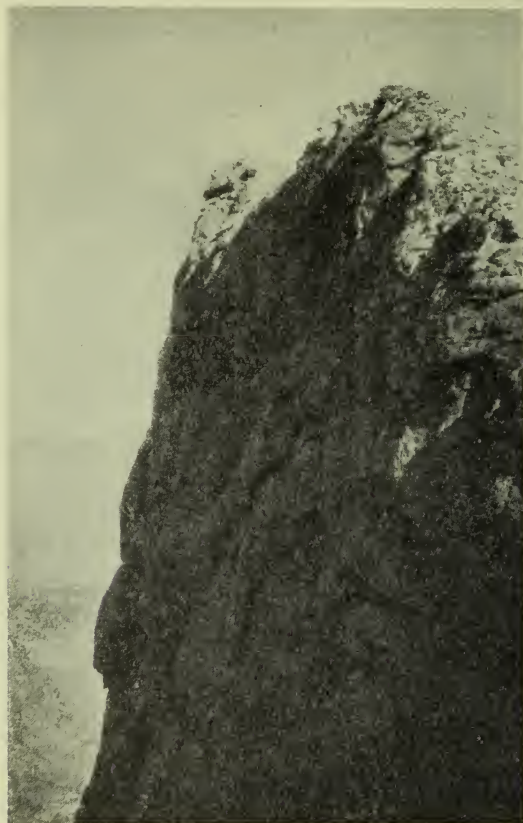


Fig. 911.

τομοῦροι (Strab. 328 ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Τομάρου τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγομένους ὑποφῆτας τοῦ Διὸς, οὗς καὶ ἀνιπτόποδας, χαμαιεῦνας καλεῖ, τομούρους φασὶ λεχθῆναι· κ.τ.λ.) or *tómouroi* (*supra* ii. 693 n. 3). It is probable also that Zeus was worshipped on Mt *Tomori* near Berat, to judge from the sacred character of that mountain and from certain cult-usages reported by recent travellers. To attest these curious and little-known facts, I cite three eye-witnesses:

J. Swire *King Zog's Albania* London 1937 p. 250 ff. describes in graphic terms his ascent of 'Tomori's holy summit' and *ib.* p. 253 gives the local legend: 'One August 25 long ago...Abas Ali came from Arabia to Berat; and mounting a great white horse (which has left hoof-marks upon the mountain) he fought the barbarians of the neighbourhood. When he had overcome them he rested for five days on Tomori, then went to dwell on Mount Olympus; but every year he returns on August 25 for five days, when

there come Bektashis—and Christians too—sometimes eight or nine thousand people, to pay him homage. They bring their sheep for food, slaughter them on the summit, then take them down to their bivouacs by the *tekké*. So Tomori is a holy mountain and *për Baba Tomorit* a sacred oath. The shrine was built, so *Baba Tyrabiu* told me, on the site of an antique pagan shrine, so *Abas Ali* probably inherited his supernatural powers from the pagan god he displaced.' *Id. ib.* p. 280 mentions a sacred cave made by Mahomet with 'passages which may not be defiled by man; and they lead underground...to the top of Tomori and to the *tekké* on the crag above Kruja.'

R. Matthews *Sons of the Eagle* London 1937 p. 273 ff. ('A mountain of Zeus') has

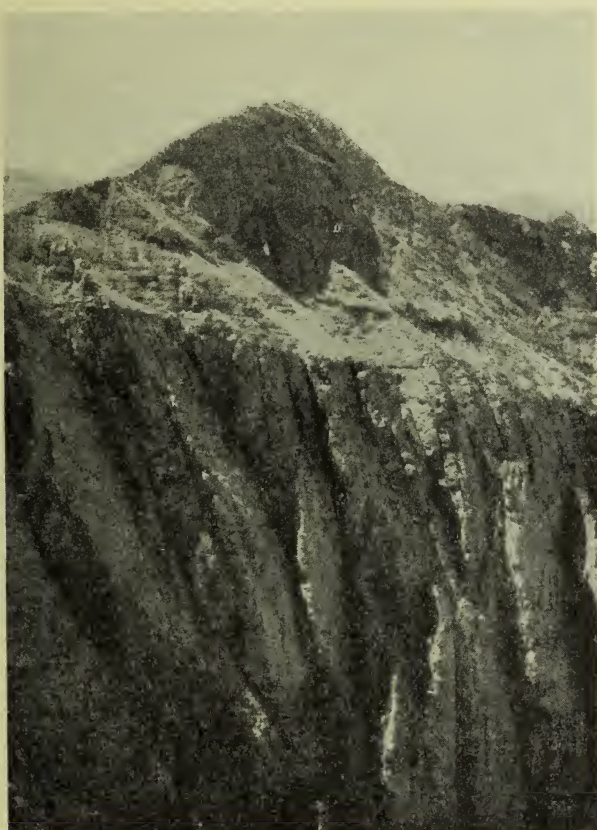


Fig. 912.

much the same tale to tell. He too climbed the mountain under the guidance of a *kirijee*, who had been up it often before and said: "Last year there had been twelve hundred sheep sacrificed on top, or it might be fifteen hundred. And it didn't do to be disrespectful about these matters either." When asked why the mountain was so holy, he replied: "Many hundreds of years ago...there were two brothers, very holy men, who lived in Arabia. One day they arrived in Albania: no one knows how, some say through the air. The younger of the two set up his house in Berat, where he was highly venerated for his sanctity and became the patron saint of the town. But the elder brother, Ali, was a great warrior. Through all the countryside he rode on his wonderful horse, challenging and conquering the barbarians who lived around. His horse could cover miles at a single bound. You may still see the marks of its hooves on the rocks of Tomori....At last a day came when Ali had overcome all his enemies. So he retired to the summit of Tomori, to

the spot where the shrine stands to-day. For three days he meditated alone there on the fate of his foes and the future of his country, Albania. Then one last time he vaulted into the saddle of his great horse. Through the air it bore him to the top of Mount Olympus, in Greece, and there he lives for ever. But every year, on August 15, the day when he and his brother first arrived in the country, he returns to Tomori's summit. For three days he remains there to receive the homage of his people. And it is because of that and because of his guardianship that Christians and Moslems alike make their pilgrimage every year and for three days offer sacrifices at the shrine." 'Living for ever on Olympus.... Then it was indeed to Zeus, under this so thin disguise, that the people of southern Albania still paid their homage.' *Id. ib.* p. 283 'All I could feel as I halted finally beneath the shadow of the shrine was a sentiment of immense pathos. For hundreds of years, thousands probably, pilgrims had been making their way up the great mountain to sacrifice to Something on the spot where we stood now....Round these few square



Fig. 913.

yards had centred the reverence of tens of thousands of men peopling a score of centuries. Yet they had left nothing behind to see. Just a sacrificial stone. And four bare walls. Unroofed. Partially breached on one side. The home of Zeus: the Zeus who had never died for the people of this country round. His last home on earth, probably, and he had not wherewith to cover his head. But it was easy to understand, lifting one's face to the strong clean wind that blew out of nowhere, that a god or a saint should have chosen the summit for his residence. Beneath, and to the west, the whole land lay stretched out and visible, to the distant silver of the Adriatic, eight thousand feet below; only in the south did the chain of the Acroceraunian mountains cut off the view. To the east, wave beyond wave of peaks, tumbling black in the sunset, conducted the eye to the imagined Serbian frontier. The evening haze had hidden from sight all trace of human habitation but one: a square white monastery, folded in a lonely pineclad valley at our feet on the further side, whose head was the guardian of the sacrifice. We stumbled down another stony path in the failing light.' At the monastery the *baba*, a young and scholarly man, had more to tell (*ib.* p. 284 f.): "You must know...that the shrine isn't Tomori's only claim to veneration. Somewhere on this northern side, they say, is a crag from whose topmost pinnacle there springs an apple tree. I've never been near there myself, I only speak of what I hear, but every one talks about it. For this apple tree's fruits are of more than natural size. But so steep are the precipices that tumble beneath it that not the hardest climber has yet been able to scale them to pluck one. Now and then, in

the autumn, a windfall will roll down the rocks to the turf below. Peasants who pass at that time of year always look to see if there is one there, for those great apples, they say, have the power of healing all diseases. Even the dying, I have heard men say, can be brought back to life if such a fruit is given them." Mr Matthews ends his narrative by noting the resemblance between Tomori in the north and Tomaros in the south: *ib.* p. 286 'if you go one way up Tomori to-day, you will eventually reach a village, itself called Tomori. Above it is a collection of ruins, so far unexplored, and known locally as Qyteti (the city). And the biggest among them is named by the villagers Dodona.'

Mr Hugh Hunt of the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, made the ascent of Tomori in the spring of 1929 and has kindly furnished me with an account of his experiences: 'In a *tekke* (small monastery) at the foot of Mt Tomori I spent the night. I was on my way from Koritza to Berat...accompanied by an English police officer and an interpreter. We were welcomed by the monks, who were of the Bektashite branch of Mohammedans.... The monks professed great interest in the Christian religion and asked me many questions about the Anglican church, particularly about Saint George, whom they held in great reverence and whose feast day they celebrated. We learnt that on the following day a pilgrimage was to be made to the summit of Mt Tomori, where a sacrifice of a white bull was to take place, and accepted the invitation to join in this festival. On the following day we rose at daybreak and commenced the climb. The full complement of monks were in attendance—some forty in all—and a few servants. The climb was an arduous one and the day was hot. The summit was veiled in clouds—a good omen, the monks told me, for this indicated the presence of ZEFS, to whom this sacrifice was to be dedicated. I became interested, for although my knowledge of Greek mythology is remarkably small I began to see that there must be some connection between this cloud-loving deity and Zeus. But questions proved of little use; the monks appeared as little informed as myself; the ceremony was an annual rite—or perhaps of more frequent occurrence, for I am of the opinion that they informed me that they celebrated St George's day in like fashion, but I cannot be sure of this. We reached the summit—it was late in the day—and there we found a bull, brought up earlier by the villagers, and a fire was already kindled. The killing of this beast was an unpleasant spectacle, and I did not attend very closely, interesting myself in the glimpses of the valley below, which appeared every now and again like pools of water through the cloud rifts. Prayers were offered by the chief monk; and the bull, now happily released from pain, was hoisted on a stout wooden construction and roasted. So far as I remember, it had a garland of bright flowers round its neck; but these were, I believe, put on after its decease. I left earlier than the rest, accompanied by the interpreter and my companion, and regained the village after nightfall. What was the ultimate fate of the bull, I never discovered.'

The foregoing statements appear to involve a threefold blend of Bektashite usage, common folk-belief, and classical reminiscence. On the Bektashi order and its syncretism of Islam with Christianity see G. Jacob *Die Bektaschijje* (*Abh. d. bayer. Akad. Philos.-philol. Classe* xxiv. 3. 2) Munich 1909 pp. 1—53 figs. 1—3, also F. W. Hasluck *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* Oxford 1929 ii. 869 Index *s.v.* Tomor, Mount (Bektashi *tekke* on, 163³, 548: Abbas Ali haunts, 93², 548, 548²: gold plant on, 645²: oath by, 548²). Folk-belief has provided the magic horse, the underground passages, the apples of immortality, the gold plant. Classical reminiscence will explain the hoof-marks on the mountain, the departure to Olympos, above all the survival of the name *Zeus*. Nevertheless, when due allowance has been made for all these factors, the abiding sanctity of the mountain, the annual pilgrimage to its summit, and the solemn sacrifice of a white bull by the assembled villagers are ample proof that the ancient cult of the sky-god on his holy hill goes on from generation to generation almost untouched by the passing changes of politics and religion.

ii. 906 n. 3 the stone ship of Agamemnon. W. Dörpfeld *Alt-Olympia* Berlin 1935 i. 265 cites as a possible parallel a ship-like foundation of river-worn stones in the *Áltis* at Olympia.

ii. 907 n. 2 Zeus *Ainésios*. K. A. Neugebauer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1934 xlix. 163 would see Zeus *Ainésios* on a bronze coin of Kranioi in Kephallenia (*ib.* p. 162 fig. 1, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 80 pl. 17, 1 (Poseidon?), *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 439 no. 6683 pl. 228, 12 (Kephalos)).

ii. 910 n. 1. The great temple of Zeus at Akragas is still a battle-ground for the architects. R. Vallois in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1924 xxxvii. 198 criticises the results reached by B. Pace (*supra* ii. 1227). S. R. Pierce 'Il tempio di Giove Olimpico a Girgenti Sicilia' in *Architettura e arti decorative* 1923/1924 iii. 385—391 returns to the charge. P. Marconi

Agrigento. *Topografia ed arte* Firenze 1929 pp. 1—238 with 162 figs. (especially pp. 57—66 figs. 29—36)—an important work, of which T. Ashby in *The Times Literary Supplement* for May 15, 1930 p. 413 says: 'the excavations conducted some years ago in the vast temple of the Olympian Zeus..., which proved that the *telamones* faced outwards (and not inwards, as Pace and Pierce had believed), are for the first time adequately described.' P. Marconi 'Novità nell' Olimpieion di Agrigento' in *Dadalo* 1932 pp. 165—173 gives 5 figs. of these *telamones* and a reconstruction. Lastly, W. B. Dinsmoor read a paper, as yet unpublished, on 'The Giants of Agrigento' at the General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New York 1935 (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 126).

ii. 918 n. 1 Zeus *Mélios*. See the succinct article by gr. Kruse in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xv. 524. C. Bosch of Halle a. S. in the *Numismatisches Literatur-Blatt* 1932 xlix. 257; f. reviews Kruse's article and tries to discredit this appellative: 'Vaillant und Piovene sind Mionnets Gewährsmänner!... Das Zeugnis aber ist ganz wertlos, denn die Münzen sind bis heute nicht belegt.' Bosch wants to jettison all the early coin-men, Cohen included. That strikes me as hyperseptical.

ii. 918 Mount Kynthos. Three years after the publication of my note the final and authoritative report of A. Plassart *Les sanctuaires et les cultes du Mont Cynthe* Paris 1928 pp. 1—319 with 260 figs. and 6 pls. was issued in *Délos* xi. The sections that chiefly concern me are pp. 51—69 ('Sommet du Cynthe. Le culte de Zeus et d'Athèna aux temps archaïques'), 71—92 ('Sommet du Cynthe. Le sanctuaire de Zeus et d'Athèna au temps de l'indépendance Délienne (314—166)'), 93—144 ('Sommet du Cynthe. Le sanctuaire de Zeus et d'Athèna sous la seconde domination Athénienne'), 228—255 ('Sanctuaire de l'autre'). Plassart has here and there corrected my statements: e.g. on p. 66 n. 2 he regards as arbitrary my assumption that in 'Minoan' times the top of Mt Kynthos was tenanted by the earth-mother (Rhea) as well as by the sky-father (Kronos), and on p. 252 n. 4 he refutes my attempt to find traces in Delos of Rhea's lions. Again, he has succeeded in proving what—in spite of having visited the spot—I had never suspected, viz. that the supposed prehistoric cave-temple was in reality only a pseudo-antiquity, an artificial grotto put together in Ptolemaic times for Herakles as ancestor of the Ptolemies!

O. Rubensohn in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvii Arch. Anz. p. 360 ff. adds some points of interest. In pp. 361—367 ('Zur Vorgeschichte des Delischen Kultes') he notes the small prehistoric settlement underneath the sanctuary of Zeus and Athena on the mountain-top as being of early Cycladic date and as probably postulating a cult akin to that of the Cretan Zeus; he connects with the same settlement two large Cycladic graves in the *téménos* of Apollon—the *θήκη* of Opis and Arge (*Délos* v. 63—74 ('Le "Tombeau mycénien"')) and the *σῆμα* of Hyperoche and Laodike (C. Picard—J. Replat in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 247 ff.); and he finds a survival of early Hellenic worship in the altar of horns and its archaic ritual (*supra* i. 482 n. 1, iii. 1087). In pp. 367—370 ('Zeus Kynthios und Athena Kynthia') he distinguishes an archaic period when the square precinct had only a rock-cut altar in the midst; a third-century reconstruction with stairways, *própylon*, *peribolos*, and two Ionic *oikoi*; and a later lay-out of three small terraces on the east side, of which the most southerly had an oblong building and a mosaic inscription (*supra* ii. 919 with fig. 829) of doubtful significance, possibly the banquet-hall and lustral centre of some mystic society. In pp. 375—379 ('Das Höhlenheiligtum am Kynthos') he accepts Plassart's dating of the bogus cave, but questions his interpretation of it as a Herakleion. Herakles in Delos was associated with the Kabeiroi (P. Roussel *Délos Colonie athénienne* Paris 1916 p. 232 f.), who had there two distinct sanctuaries, one on the left bank of the Inopos, the other described as *τὸ Καβείρ[ε]ιον τὸ ἐ[ν] τῇ Κύνθῳ* (*Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 144, A 90) and probably to be identified with the famous cave-temple.

Plassart in *Délos* xi. 265 records two inscriptions to Zeus *Mégistos* (e.g. *Ἡλιόδωρος Διὶ Μεγίστῳ | κατὰ πρόσταγμα* on a block of white marble found with some Roman lamps in the south-west portion of sanctuary C on the northern slope of Mt Kynthos) and justly treats him as a Semitic god.

ii. 922 Mount Atabyrion. R. Herbig in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii Arch. Anz. p. 633 f. mentions as a new undertaking the excavation of the sanctuary of Zeus *Atabyrios*. No remains of a temple were found, but a massive *peribolos*-wall (fig. 26) and a building of uncertain use ('Halle für Votive? Monumentaleingang?'). Many dedications of Graeco-Roman date, all to Zeus *Atabyrios*, made monotonous reading. Votive objects included numerous small bulls and zebus in bronze and two fine fragments of bronze statuettes representing the god (fig. 27).

O. Eissfeldt 'Der Gott des Tabor und seine Verbreitung' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1934 xxxi. 14—41 claims that the name and cult of the Palestinian Tabor spread *viâ* Crete to

Rhodes in the second millennium B.C., and thence in 580 B.C. to Agrigentum and later to the Crimea (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2103 b ('Prope Sympheropolin (Akmedschet), haud procul a montibus *Taurorum*') a base inscribed Δι' Ἀταβυρίω Ποσίδεος Ποσιδέου χαριστήρων. E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 pp. 463, 476). Eissfeldt further discusses the character of the god, who dwelt on a mountain and had the bull for his symbol, concluding that he was a mountain- and storm-god comparable with Hadad, Rimmon-Ramman, and Tešub, but also capable of taking an interest in human affairs.

ii. 939 n. 1 Mt Juktas as a recumbent face. My friend Mr N. G. L. Hammond supplies me with a good Greek parallel. He writes (Feb. 25, 1931): 'The mountain identified locally with Dione in repose is called Emértsa (Gk. Ἐμέρτσα). The Austrian Staff map 1/200,000 (Korfu sheet 38° 40') wrongly calls it Nemerčika. The mountain lies on the Albanian frontier north of the headwaters of the Kalamas (in antiquity Thyamis).'

ii. 941 f. n. o. To the references for the tomb of Zeus add Ptol. Hephaist. *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 147 b 37 ff. Bekker ὡς ὁ ἐν Κρήτῃ τάφος λεγόμενος τοῦ Διὸς Ὀλύμπου τοῦ Κρητὸς ἐστίν, ὃς παρὰ τοῦ Κρόνου λαβὼν τὸν Δία ἔτρεφέ τε καὶ ἐπαίδευε τὰ θεῖα. ἀλλὰ γὰρ βάλλει (φῆσιν) ὁ Ζεὺς τὸν τροφέα καὶ διδάσκαλον κεραυνῶ, ὅτι δὴ τοὺς Γίγαντας αὐτοῦ τῇ βασιλείᾳ

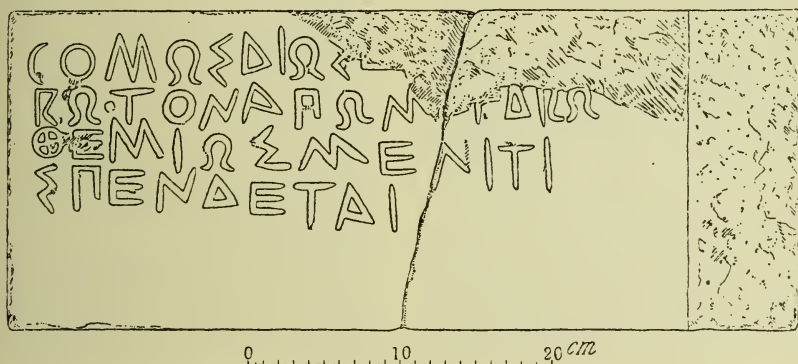


Fig. 914.

ἐπιθέσθαι ὑπερίθετο. ἀλλὰ βαλὼν καὶ νεκρὸν ἔχων μετεμελεῖτο· μὴ ἔχων δ' ἄλλως τὸ πάθος ἐκκλίνει, δίδωσι τὸ ἴδιον ὄνομα τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ ἀνηρημένου. Epiphan. *ancor.* 106 (i. 208 Dindorf) καὶ τί μοι τὰ πλῆθῃ λέγειν τοῦ γενναίου τούτου φθορέως καὶ φθορέων διδασκάλου; οὐ τὸ μῆμα οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἐστὶ δῆλον. ἐν Κρήτῃ γὰρ τῇ νήσῳ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ λεγομένῳ Λασιῶ (ῥ cp. *Lasithi*) ἕως δεῦρο δακτυλοεικετεῖται.

ii. 946 n. o Zeus *Endendros*. F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Gnomon* 1930 vi. 428 cites *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 2 no. 1027 fig. (= my fig. 914) a white marble slab inscribed βωμὸς Διὸς Ἐ[νδένδ]ρο, τῶν ἀπὸ Μ[αν]δρωθέμιος· μέλιτι σπένδεται. See further *id.* 'Zeusaltar aus Paros' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin Phil.-hist. Classe* 1906 pp. 786—788.

ii. 946 ff. n. o Zeus *Velchános*. Attempts to connect *Feλχάνος* with *Volcanus* are still rife: see e.g. A. Nehring in Schrader *Reallex.* ii. 239 n. 1, F. Muller *Jzn Altitalisches Wörterbuch* Göttingen 1926 p. 560, Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* i. 321, Margherita Guarducci 'Velchanos—Volcanus' in *Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo Nogara* Città del Vaticano 1937 pp. 184—203 pl. 20, 1—4. But such proposals, however specious, are of very doubtful value.

Prof. J. Vürtheim of Leiden informed me (Feb. 13, 1926) that in a paper communicated to the Royal Academy of Amsterdam and published in December 1924 he had independently reached the same conclusion as Dr Atkinson and myself, *viz.* that *Feλχάνος* means 'god of the Willow-tree.' See J. Vürtheim *Europa (Mededeelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde Deel 57, Serie A, N° 6)* Amsterdam 1924 p. 6 ff.

C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 92 n. o suggests that a large vase (?) or *rhýton* (?) of enamelled gold, shaped like a cock's head, which is figured among the presents of the Keftiu (Cretans?) in the second register of the tomb-paintings of Rekhmaré (G. A. Hoskins *Travels in Ethiopia* 1835 col. pl. between pp. 330 and 331),

bore to the cult of Zeus *Velchinos* the same relation as the lioness-heads of Knossos, Delphoi, and Mykenai (in gold) to that of Rhea. He also cp. a sherd of 1425—1123 B.C. found in the Valley of the Kings by Lord Carnarvon in 1920—21 (*The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1923 ix. 1 ff. pl. 20, 1 wrongly described as the earliest known drawing of the domestic cock in Egypt) and a *genius* (?) with a cock's head on a Cretan intaglio from Mt Ide now in the Museum at Candia.

More about cocks in magic and religion *supra* p. 45 n. 2. Add J. Praetorius *Alectryomantia, Seu Divinatio Magica cum Gallis Gallinaceis peracta...* Francofurti & Lipsiae 1680 pp. 1—185, C. T. Seltman in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1923—1924; 1924—1925 xxvi. 93 ff. ('Eros and Cocks'), Güntert in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1931 iii. 1325—1346 s.vv. 'Hahn,' 'Hahnenbalken,' 'Hahnennei,' 'Hahnenkampf,' 'Hahnenkrähen,' 'Hahnen schlagen,' 'Hahnentanz,' D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds*² Oxford 1936 pp. 33—44.

ii. 951 n. o with fig. 844 the Stroganoff bust of Zeus. O. Waldhauer in *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus russischen Sammlungen* Berlin—Leipzig 1928 i. 1. 58 f. no. 41 pl. 23 cp. a fine bronze head from the Uvárov collection, now in the Historical Museum at Moscow (*ib.* fig. 14, S. Reinach *Recueil de têtes antiques idéales ou idéalisées* Paris 1903 p. 194 pl. 239).

ii. 960 n. o contact with Mother Earth. W. Kroll 'Unum exuta pedem—ein volkskundlicher Seitensprung' in *Glotta* 1936 xxv. 152—158 questions my view of the Dodonaean rule and discusses alternatives. His list of relevant usages is interesting, but—so far as I can judge—what he calls the 'Antaiosmotiv' remains the most probable explanation.

ii. 961 n. o. The cult of Hektor at Thebes in Boiotia (Paus. 9. 18. 5) is handled by Miss G. H. Macurdy in the *Class. Quart.* 1926 xx. 179 f. But her contentions (*Hektor* a shortened form of *Echelaos* (cp. *Il.* 5. 473) = *Echelos*, a god of death) are *risquées*.

ii. 962 n. 2 Zeus at Ephesos. Excavations carried on from September to November 1926 under the direction of J. Keil, M. Theuer, and A. Deissmann discovered on the northern slopes of the *Panaghir Dagh* (Mt Peion) a number of rock-cut votive niches and near them a *témenos* of Zeus, *Oreia* (Kybele), and other deities. An altar-shaped rock is inscribed in lettering of s. v B.C. *Zavòs | Πατρο | ιερόν*, and a relief-inscription of c. 300 B.C. reads *Zavòs ιερόν Πατρίω | και | Αρτέλλανος | Αριστάνακτος | τοῦ Κυ ννίδεω*. The site yielded no temple, but many inscriptions together with eight complete and three fragmentary Hellenistic reliefs showing the triad Kybele, Attis, and Zeus, or the pair Kybele and Attis, all bearing the lions symbolic of the goddess (J. Keil in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1926 xxiii. Beiblatt pp. 256—261 with figs. 48 rock-altar, 49—51 reliefs, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 580, A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1927 xlvii. 260). Keil infers from the repeated absence of Zeus on these reliefs 'dass die Kulttrias, Vater, Mutter und Sohn, nicht ursprünglich ist, dass vielmehr die grosse Mutter zunächst nur den jugendlichen Gott zum Begleiter hatte. Wie die griechischen Ephesier diesen jugendlichen Gott benannten bzw. welchem ihrer Götter sie den altanatolischen Paredros der Bergmutter gleichsetzten [Hermes? Apollon?], bleibt noch zu ermitteln.'

ii. 963 n. o *Διοπετής*. The word is used in a secondary sense 'struck by lightning' in Aristophon *λατρός frag. 2* (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 358 Meineke) *ap. Stob. flor.* 6. 27 (ed. Gaisford i. 162) *αὶ τῶν ἐταίρων γὰρ διοπετεῖς οἰκλαὶ | γεγόνασιν ἄβατοι τοῖς ἐχουσι μὴδὲ ἐν*.

ii. 969 n. 4. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 92 n. o doubts the religious intervention of the Eumolpid Timotheos at Alexandria and at Pessinous.

ii. 970 n. o Attis and Gallos. A. H. Sayce in the *Class. Rev.* 1928 xlii. 161 f. quotes *Iskallis* as the Hittite name of Attis, and connects it with the Hittite verb *isgall-*, *iskall-* 'to cut.' Hence *isgallas* and *iskallis* 'eunuch,' which appears in Greek as γάλλος.

ii. 970 n. o the finger of Attis. This curious belief may belong to the group of primitive notions studied by R. D. Scott *The Thumb of Knowledge* New York 1930 pp. 1—296 (Finn mac Cumail, Sigurd, Taliesin, etc.). S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1930 ii. 203 comments shrewdly: 'Est-ce le caractère sacré attaché, depuis l'époque quaternaire, à la main de l'homme?... A-t-on déjà songé aux statuettes alexandrines d'Harpocrate, l'enfant divin qui se met les doigts dans la bouche?'

ii. 970 n. o Agdistis. T. Zielinski *La Sibylle* Paris 1924 pp. 76—81 distinguishes the Phrygian myth of Agdistis, leading up to the rite of 'autocastration' and subsequent recovery, from its doublet the Greek myth of Attis, leading up to the doctrine of death followed by new life.

ii. 971 n. 2 *Theoi Ágrioi*. O. Weinreich in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe* 1913 Abh. v. 15—19 collects all essential references to *Θεοὶ Ἀγριοί*, *Θεοὶ*

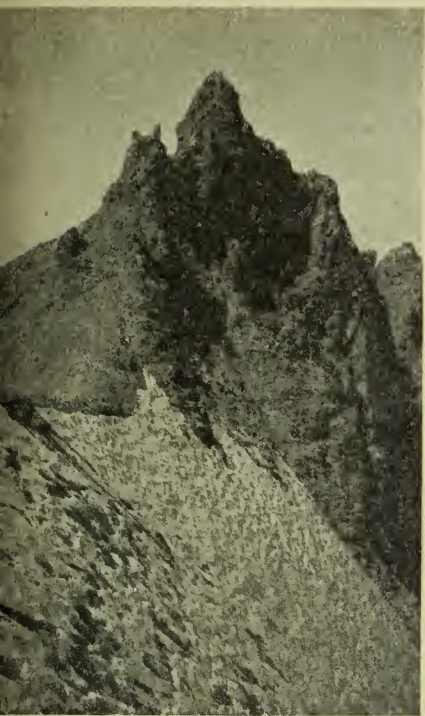


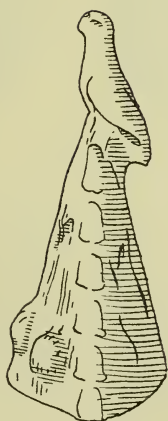
Fig. 915.



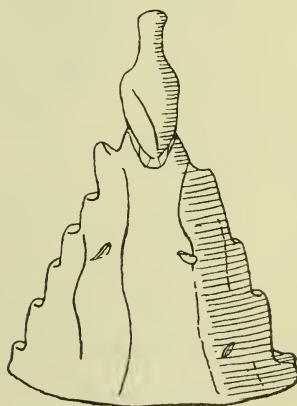
Fig. 916.



a



b



c

Fig. 917.

'Αγρότεροι, Θεοὶ Ἀγρεῖς and considers their significance. He argues that they were primarily 'Hunters'—*Sondergötter* in Usener's sense (*supra* ii. 13 n. 1)—who were secondarily identified with a variety of greater gods. A similar conclusion, as Weinreich observes, had been reached by L. Malten *Kyrene* (*Philologische Untersuchungen* xx) Berlin 1911 p. 10.

ii. 973 n. 1 life-priests of Zeus *Solymeús*. F. Schehl in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1929 xxiv Beiblatt pp. 95—106 adds another [τὸν] γενόμενον διὰ βίου Διὸς Σολυμέως | [ιέρειά] Τιθέριον Κλαύδιον Ἀρίππαν from an inscription of 140—145 A.D. found at Termessos.

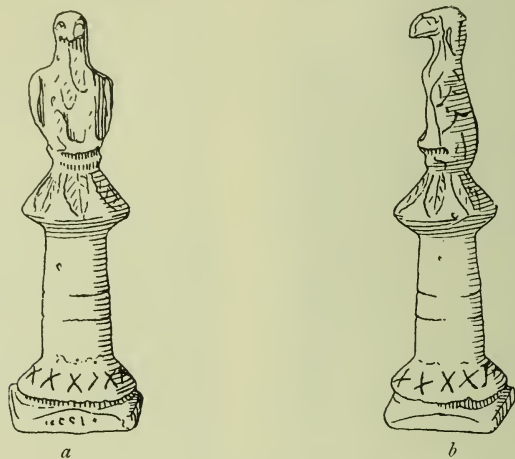


Fig. 918.



Fig. 919.

ii. 974 n. o festival of Zeus *Eleuthérios*. Other views in J. N. Svoronos 'ΤΕΡ-ΜΗΣΣΟΣ Η ΤΟ ΚΑΙΟΤΕ ΕΧΟΤΑ' in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 181—184.

ii. 977 ff. Mount Argaios. The engineer E. J. Ritter 'Erdjias Dag' in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen und Österreichischen Alpenvereins* Innsbruck 1931 lxii. 124—148 gives a full account of Mt Argaios (pp. 124—127 (i) 'Vorgeschichte,' 127—133 (ii) 'Der Berg (Lage, Aufbau und Gestalt),' 133—137 (iii) 'Ersteigungsgeschichte,' 137—148 (iv) 'Erlebnisse') with p. 129 'Kartenskizze vom Erdjias Dag,' opposite p. 134 a fine photographic plate of 'Erdjias Dag gesehen von der Seldschukenburg in Kaisserie,' etc., and p. 146 'Zeichnung des Gipfelturmes.' Mr C. M. Sleeman, to whom I am indebted for my knowledge of this article, himself climbed the mountain on Aug. 30, 1936 and took a series of excellent photographs, of which I reproduce two—fig. 915 the rocky summit with the upper part of a snow slope on the northern side, and fig. 916 a rock-pinnacle a little beneath and south-east of the summit with the plain of Everek in the distance.

I take this opportunity of publishing two small bronzes illustrative of the cult on Mt Argaïos. They were obtained from a Greek refugee formerly resident in *Kaiserieh* and are now in my collection. The one is a tiny model of the mountain with a disproportionately large eagle perched on the top of it (fig. 917: height 2 inches). There is some indication of the *aiguilles* near the summit, also of streams descending from the snows, of a cavern high up in front, of two foothills (? breasts of the mountain-mother), etc. In brief, the coin-type shown *supra* ii. 979 fig. 862 is here rendered in the round. The other little bronze (fig. 918: height $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches) represents an eagle on a pillar, the top of which is shaped like a cone and decorated with six leaves. The waist has a band round it. The base is patterned with crisscross lines and rests on a square plinth. Akin to these diminutive exvotos is a bronze (height 0.15^m) in the Louvre, assigned to the latter half of the second millennium B.C., which figures an eagle perched proudly on the antlers of a stag (*Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* v. 292 fig. c with text by Mlle Rutten).

The coin-type of Tranquillina as Tyche of Kaisareia wearing Mt Argaïos as a head-dress (*supra* ii. 979 fig. 877) can be paralleled by an engraved serpentine of Roman work c. 250 A.D., which has on one side a solar charioteer in his *quadriga*, on the other the veiled head of Kaisareia in profile to the right with Mt Argaïos as a crown and the inscription EVTVXI BOKONTI εὐτύχ(ε)ι Βοκόντι(ε) (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*² p. 179 no. 1663 pl. 22). Another rare coin-type of Kaisareia shows Zeus standing with a *kálathos* on his head and Mt Argaïos in his left hand (F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1996 fig. 5140 after Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* iv. 432 no. 178 Alexander Severus ('Sérapis'), *ib.* Suppl. vii. 742 pl. 13, 4 (= my fig. 919)).

ii. 981 n. 1 Mt Kasion in Syria. O. Eissfeldt *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer* Halle (Saale) 1932 pp. 1—72 with sketch at beginning and map at end, especially p. 30 ff. ('Zeus Kasios')—reviewed by G. Bertram in *Gnomon* 1933 ix. 554 f., by F. Nötscher in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 1933 xl. 140 f., and by A. Wendel in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 1934 xxxvii. 105 f.—holds that the Semitic Baal Zaphon became by *interpretatio Graeca* Zeus Kasios both in Syria and in Egypt, where his rescue of the Israelites was attributed to Jahwe.

ii. 984 n. 4 Mt Kasion in Egypt. A papyrus at Berlin mentions Zeus *Kásios* in s. ii A.D. (*Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Museen zu Berlin* Berlin 1903 iii. 142 no. 827, 2 f. (P. 7150) τὸ προσκύνημά σου παρὰ τῷ Διὶ τῷ Κασίῳ, F. Preisigke *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* Berlin 1931 iii. 388).

ii. 987 n. 0 anchor inscribed Ζεὺς Κάσι(ο)ς Σώζ[ων]. A 'Campanian' *hydria* from S. Maria di Capua, now at Karlsruhe, represents a scene of departure, in which a young man bids farewell to a woman and is about to step on board his ship. The stern of the vessel has, not only an ἀφλαστον adorned with light and dark fillets, but also a στυλίσκος set on the steersman's seat and labelled Ι[Ε]ΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ (Winnefeld *Vasensamml. Karlsruhe* p. 83 f. no. 350, dated by F. von Duhn in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 229 ff. c. 300 B.C., H. Diels 'Das Aphlaston der antiken Schiffe' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1915 xxv. 69 fig. 4, L. Deubner in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1927 xlii. 180 ff. fig. 12).

ii. 987 n. 1 Zeus *Hynnareús*. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff *Der Glaube der Hellenen* Berlin 1931 i. 127 n. 3: 'Wer Hesiod mit Αἰγείον das kretische Ἰννάριον wiedergeben lässt, traut ihm eine wunderliche Sprachkenntnis zu.'

ii. 1012 n. 1. Similar tales in C. F. Coxwell *Siberian and other Folk-Tales* London 1933 p. 414 ('Three Sisters') and pp. 540—552 ('The Story of a Wise Maiden').

ii. 1015 n. 8. The Moliones as figured by a Boeotian *fibula* from the Idaean Cave and by a geometric sherd from the Argive Heraion have one body, but two heads, four arms, and four legs (C. Blinkenberg *Fibules grecques et orientales* (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser xiii. 1) Kopenhagen 1926 p. 163 ff. figs. 197, 198). See also O. Weinreich in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 63 f.

ii. 1017 n. 4 Pegasus as lightning-bearer (?). L. Malten in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1925 xl. 155 fig. 63 adduces bronze coins of Termessos with *obv.* head of Zeus, *rev.* forepart of bridled horse galloping with winged thunderbolt behind (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. p. 269 f. pl. 41, 10, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 523 no. 1).

ii. 1021 Nyx in the Orphic theogony. W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* Cambridge 1935 p. 103 notes Aristot. *met.* 1071 b 26 f. οἱ θεολόγοι οἱ ἐκ Νυκτὸς γεννῶντες and *ib.* 1091 b 4 ff. οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ αἱ ἀρχαῖοι ταύτῃ ὁμοίως, ἥ βασιλεῦσα καὶ ἀρχεὺν φασὶν οὐ τοὺς πρῶτους, οἶον Νύκτα καὶ Οὐρανὸν ἢ Χάος ἢ Ὠκεανόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Δία with Alex. Aphrod. *ad loc.* (p. 821, 10 ff. Hayduck) αἰνίττεται δὲ τὸν Ὁρφέα· καὶ οὗτος γάρ φησιν ὅτι τὸ

ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἄριστον ὑστερόν ἐστι τῶν ἄλλων. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸ βασιλεῖον καὶ κρατοῦν τῆς τῶν
 πάντων φύσεώς ἐστι τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἄριστον, ὃ δὲ Ζεὺς βασιλεύει καὶ κρατεῖ, ὃ Ζεὺς ἄρ' ἐστὶ
 τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἄριστον. καὶ ἐπεὶ πρῶτον μὲν κατ' Ὀρφέα τὸ Χάος γέγονεν, εἰθ' ὁ Ὠκεανός,
 τρίτον Νύξ, τέταρτον ὁ Οὐρανός, εἰτ' ἀθανάτων βασιλεὺς θεῶν ὁ Ζεὺς, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ οὗτος

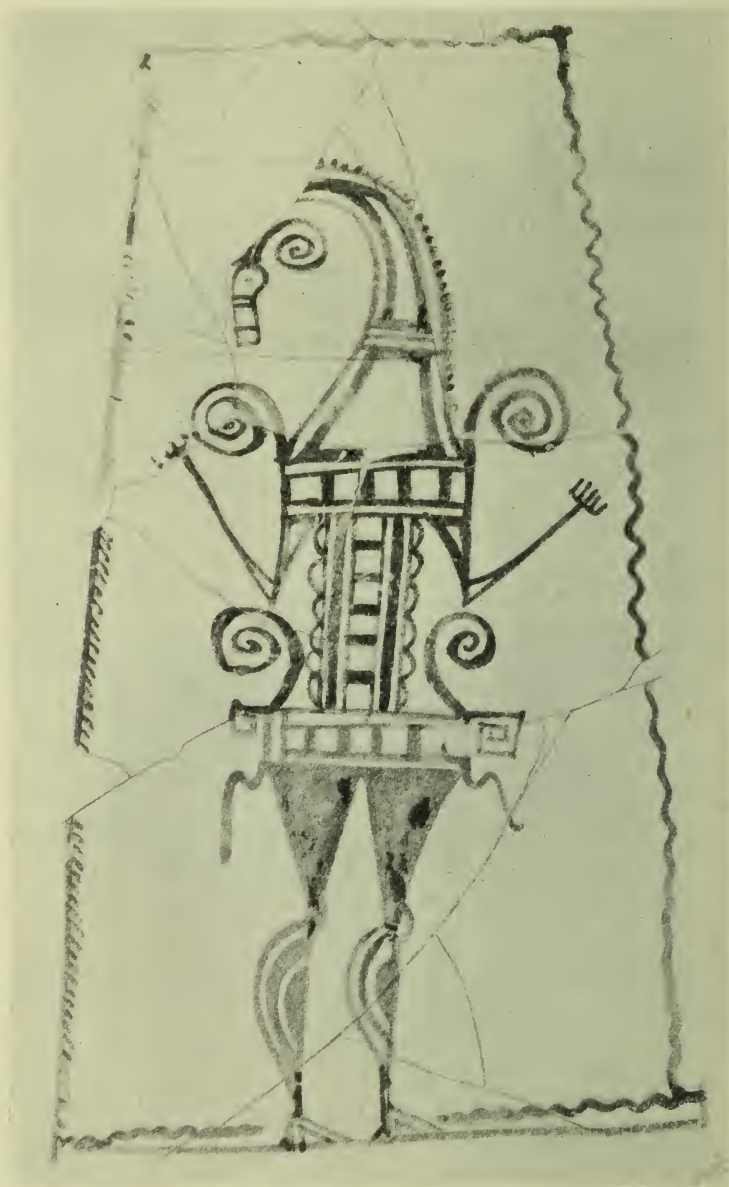


Fig. 920.

τὸν Δία, ταῦτ' ὃν εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἄριστον, ὕστερον νομίζει καὶ τοῦ Χάους καὶ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ τῆς Νυκτὸς καὶ τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ, ἦτοι τοῦ κόσμου.

ii. 1024. On the Mandaean in general see W. Brandt in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 380^a—393^a. C. H. Kraeling 'The Origin and Antiquity of the Mandeans' in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 1929 xlix. 195—218 shows (p. 209) that Mandaean cosmogony 'harks back to the traditions of the Orphic hymns, of Mochos and Sanchuniathon' (summary by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1930 xxxiv. 200).

ii. 1025 *Erikepaïos*. A papyrus of s. iii B.C. found at Gurob addresses 'Ἰρεκεπαῖγε in an Orphic context (J. G. Smyly *Greek Papyri from Gurob* Dublin 1921 (Royal Irish Academy. Cunningham Memoirs xii) p. 1 ff. no. 1 pl. 1, Orph. frag. vet. 31 col. i, 22 Kern [-]λεῦ (Smyly cj. βασιλεῦ or Εὐβουλεῦ) 'Ἰρεκεπαῖγε σῶσόν με | κ.τ.λ., W. K. C. Guthrie *op. cit.* p. 98).

ii. 1027. On 'Zeus Schöpfer' see J. Amann *Die Zeusrede des Ailios Aristeidēs* Stuttgart 1931 p. 47 ff.

ii. 1033 ff. The Cosmic Egg. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 410 n. 3 (Letts, Finns, Peruvians, etc.), E. Mogk 'Das Ei im Volksbrauch und Volksglauben' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1915 xxv. 215—223, A. Olivieri 'L' uovo cosmogonico degli Orfici' in the *Atti della Reale Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle arti* Napoli 1920 vii. 295—334 (reviewed by F. Kiesow in the *Bollettino di Filologia Classica* 1921 xxvii. 169—173), Eckstein in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1929/1930 ii. 595—644 ('Ei'), especially p. 596 with nn. 11, 12, 13 ('Weltei' etc.), H. C. Baldry 'Embryological Analogies in Pre-Socratic Cosmogony' in the *Class. Quart.* 1932 xxvi. 27 ff.

ii. 1039 χάος connected with χάσχω. F. Börtzler 'Zu den antiken Chaoskosmogonien' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxviii. 253—268 discusses the history of the rival ancient etymology from χάσις, σύγχυσις, etc.

ii. 1040 the horse-cult in Hispania Tarraconensis. A. Schulten *Numantia* München 1931 ii. 213 pl. 21 (=my fig. 920) publishes a red Iberian vase (*supra* p. 1090) bearing the black-figured design of a horse-headed god with human hands and feet—possibly the actor in some mumming play—and notes (*op. cit.* i. 248) that the Celtiberians worshipped the Celtic horse-goddess Epona.

Recent studies of the horse-cult include P. Maylam *The Hooden Horse, an East Kent Christmas Custom* Canterbury 1909 pp. 1—124 with pls. A—G, G. Ancey 'Le Cheval de Troie' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 378—381, L. Malten 'Das Pferd im Totenglauben' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1914 xxix. 179—256 with 42 figs., M. Oldfield Howey *The Horse in Magic and Myth* London 1923 pp. 1—238 with 6 pls. and other figs. (popular), Schrader *Reallex.* 2 ii. 172^b—175^a, L. Curtius in *Die Antike* 1927 iii. 166—170, 184—186, H. M. Hubbell 'Horse Sacrifice in Antiquity' in *Yale Classical Studies* 1928 i. 179—192, Steller in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1935 vi. 1598—1652 ('Pferd'), 1652—1655 ('Pferdefleisch'), 1655 f. ('Pferdefuss'), 1656—1660 ('Pferdeheilige'), 1660 f. ('Pferdehuf'), 1661—1664 ('Pferdejunge'), 1664—1670 ('Pferdekopf'), 1670 f. ('Pferdemahr'), 1671—1675 ('Pferdeopfer'), 1675 f. ('Pferdeschwanz'), 1679 f. ('Pferdestall'), 1680 f. ('Pferdetag'), 1681—1683 ('Pferdeumritte'), 1683 f. ('Pferdeweihe'), Ohrt *ib.* 1676—1679 ('Pferdesegen'), W. Koppers 'Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen' in the *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik* 1936 iv. 279—411, R. Bleichsteiner 'Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker' *ib.* 413—495, A. Slawik 'Kultische Geheimbünde der Japaner und Germanen. Pferd' *ib.* 692—699, R. Lantier 'Chevaux-enseignes celtiques' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1939 i. 236—247 figs. 1—3.

ii. 1044 fig. 893 Helene and Menelaos. See now E. Buschor in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 307—311 fig. 147 pl. 170, 1. But E. Löwy 'Archäologisch-Philologisches' in *Wiener Studien* 1929 xlvii. 59 f. still (cp. *id.* 'Entstehung einer Sagenversion' *ib.* 1912 xxxiv. 282—287) argues with much force that Aristoph. *Lys.* 155 f. ὁ γῶν Μενέλαος τὰς Ἑλένας τὰ μᾶλ' ἀπ' ἑλμυρᾶς παραυιδῶν ἐξέβαλ', οἷῳ, τὸ ξίφος must have had in mind some famous painting by a contemporary Attic artist.

ii. 1046 fig. 896 Eros with thunderbolt and sceptre. Another Roman gem has Eros leaning on a pillar with thunderbolt in right hand and sceptre in left (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 55, ii. 209, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 28, 6 p. 171).

ii. 1048 fig. 906 Eros whipped. Cp. the genre scenes in Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 257 no. 6918 pl. 51 = *id.* *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 42, 50, ii. 203 and in the Wilson gems (*supra* p. 39 n. 6) no. 5218, where three schoolboys, not Erotes, form a similar group.

ii. 1050 Eros on early Christian *sarcophagi*. See now G. Rodenwaldt 'Der Klinkensarkophag von S. Lorenzo' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1930 xlv. 116—189 with 59 figs. and pls. 5—7.

ii. 1053 fig. 910 Aion. Other effigies of Aion are given by H. Gressmann in the *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1923—1924* Leipzig—Berlin 1926 p. 186 pl. 4, 8 and 9. O. Brendel in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlviii Arch. Anz. pp. 595—599 fig. 8 adds an interesting statue at Castel-Gandolfo, which shows him as a four-winged and four-armed god with leonine head, an eye on his chest, small lion-heads on his belly and on either knee. He is flanked by two snakes, which are not twined round him. At his right foot is a hydra and a horned lion; at his left foot is Kerberos. Altogether, an aggregate of symbols worthy of this syncretistic deity (*supra* p. 914 n. o).



Fig. 921

ii. 1054 ff. Zeus *Ktésios*. H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 pp. 53—74 deals at length with this curious cult. After stating my conclusions (pp. 64—66), he proceeds to develop a rival hypothesis, which is roughly as follows. He starts with a primary piece of magic: the jar containing *παγκραμία* is charged with *orenda* and serves as a praedeistic means of ensuring perpetual supplies in the storeroom. In course of time come secondary modifications: water and oil are added, and so the whole becomes *ἀμφορία* and is taken to imply a 'Sondergott' Ktesios ('Der ursprünglich magische Zwangsritus ist zum Opferritus geworden'). Ktesios under the influence of the 'Hausschlange' is conceived as a snake, and is finally identified with an Olympian deity as Zeus *Ktésios*. Reviews by H. J. Rose in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 149 and in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlvi. 181, by A. Momigliano in the *Studi e Materiali di storia delle religioni* 1932 viii. 119, by K. Keyssner in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 6, 1933 pp. 493—497, by C. Picard in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1934 xlvii. 377 f. and in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1934 cx. 247—249.

W. Peek in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1934 lix. 43 f. no. 6 (Aigina: archaic) Διὸς Παῖο | [κ]αι Σοῦρο[s], cp. *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 62 (*supra* i. 520 n. 2) and W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 no. 36, d 37 and 40 τῶι Παῖωι.

ii. 1059 Donatus as interp. Serv. On this much-debated point see P. Wessner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii A. 1837—1842, H. J. Thomson 'Servius auctus and Donatus' in the *Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 205 f., G. B. Waldrop 'Donatus, the Interpreter of Vergil and Terence' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1927 xxxviii. 75—142.

ii. 1059 ff. burial in the house. H. J. Rose in the *Class. Quart.* 1930 xxiv. 130 quotes F. von Duhn *Italische Gräberkunde* Heidelberg 1924 i. 36 (Saepinum, *Sepino*) for the only example of an Italian buried in and with his house. In 1930 G. Mylonas found 'Middle Helladic' houses, both rectangular and apsidal, on the southern slope of the *akropolis* at Eleusis. 'Under the floors of these houses and between the walls were found burials of small children' (E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 197. Further details by G. Karo in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvii Arch. Anz. p. 231 ff.). But the evidence of such practices is abundant and quite conclusive, as will be admitted by anyone who reads the important articles of G. Wilke 'Wohnungsbestattung' in Ebert *Reallex.* xiv. 443—445 and 'Hausgrab' *ib.* v. 215 f.

ii. 1066 Zeus *Ktésios* in Thasos. P. Guillon in the *Rev. Arch.* 1937 i. 195—200 figs. 1 and 2 publishes a boundary-stone from Thasos inscribed c. 400 B.C. Διὸς | Κτησίω Πατρῶι and cp. another from the same locality and of similar date published by G. Mendel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 270 no. 10 [Δι]ὸς | [Ἄ]γορῶι | Θεσίω (summarised by D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1937 xli. 617).

ii. 1066 Zeus *Ktésios* at Mylasa. A. W. Persson in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvii. 398 f. no. 3 a fragmentary inscription mentioning 8 f. [τὸν δῆνα τοῦ δῆνος, ἐε][ρέα] Διὸς Κτησίω.

ii. 1068 the jars of Zeus. A Pompeian painting from a house in the *Strada della Fortuna* published by H. Heydemann in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1868 p. 19 ff. and in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1868 xxvi. 33—35 pl. 4 (=my fig. 921) and reproduced by Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 9 no. 4 ('Jupiter consulte le sort') shows the god seated with one of the Fates holding lots (?) and Nike bearing a palm-branch behind him. He has a long sceptre in his left hand and extends the right, with the lot that he has drawn or is about to draw, over a jar set on the ground at his feet. This painting deteriorated so fast on exposure to the air that a month after its discovery a thunderbolt, originally painted beside the jar in front of the god's right foot, had completely vanished. Heydemann would connect the whole scene with a picture of Herakles and the snakes painted vertically beneath it on the same wall.

A relief dating from s. iii B.C. and found at Athens in the sanctuary of Artemis *Kalliste* represents a man and his wife invoking the goddess, who with a large torch held in both hands stands behind her altar and in front of two big jars set on the ground (A. Philadelphus in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1927 li. 158 no. 1 pl. 8. P. Roussel *ib.* pp. 164—169 'Remarques sur le bas-relief de Kallisté' traces the significance of the jars and cites the Homeric parallel. E. H. Heffner summarises both papers in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 360).

ii. 1069 f. Zeus *Agamémnon*. I. Harrie 'Zeus Agamemnon in Sparta' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 359—369 explains this cult as a case of Hellenistic divinisation ('die Apotheose wird nicht als der Kult einer wirklichen Gottheit betrachtet, es haftet ihr ein Beigeschmack von serviler Schmeichelei an; diese Spartiaten, die den Agamemnon zum Götterkönig ausrufen, atmen alexandrinische Hofluft') and seeks to account for its attribution to Sparta by assuming a learned revival of the early lyrical version which connected Agamemnon with Lakedaimon and Amyklai (K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 724).

ii. 1070 ff. Zeus *Amphiaraos*. B. Leonardos 'Ἀμφιαρέιου' in the *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1917 pp. 239—242, 'Ἀμφιαρέιου' *ib.* 1918 pp. 110—113, 1919 pp. 99—102, 1922 pp. 101—111, 1923 pp. 166—169 reports on his excavations at the Amphiareion near Oropos over a series of seven successive years. *Id.* 'Ἀμφιαρέιου ἐπιγραφαί' in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1885 pp. 93 ff., 153 ff., 1886 p. 53 ff., 1889 p. 1 ff., 1891 p. 71 ff., 1892 p. 33 ff., in the *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1917 pp. 39 ff., 231 ff., 1918 p. 73 ff., 1919 p. 54 ff., 1923 p. 36 ff., 1925—1926 p. 9 ff. collects 160 inscriptions from the site.

ii. 1072 Zeus *amphithalés*. A. Oepke 'Ἀμφιθαλεῖς im griechischen und hellenistischen Kult' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1934 xxxi. 42—56 deals in *primis* with the young acolytes in the Bacchic inscription found near Torre Nova (A. Vogliano in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 215 ff., F. Cumont *ib.* p. 232 ff., with abstract by C. Alexander *ib.* p. 264 ff.)

and stresses the importance of *pueri ingenui patrimi et matrimi* in a variety of ancient cults, mystic and otherwise.

ii. 1073 ff. Zeus *Trophónios*. F. Peeters 'À propos de l'oracle de Trophonios. i. Les onctions d'huile et le bain dans l'Hercyna' in *Le Musée Belge* 1929 xxxiii. 27—32 (the anointing with oil before the bath (Paus. 9. 39. 5—7) was not a religious rite, but a practical precaution against cold).

ii. 1075 Demeter *Erinýs*. A. H. Krappe 'ΕΡΙΝΥΣ' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1932 lxxxi. 305—320 ('die Erinyen sind die rossgestaltigen Zwillingstöchter des Herrn der Erdentiefe und einer alten Fruchtbarkeitsgottheit, einer frühgriechischen "Mutter Erde," beide gleichfalls rossgestaltig.... Nach einer gleichfalls alten Parallelüberlieferung ist nur eines der Zwillingskinder weiblichen Geschlechts; das andere ist ein Hengst...').

ii. 1077 f. Zeus *Asklepiós*. Cp. Galen. *περὶ ἀνατομικῶν ἐγχειρήσεων* 1. 2 (ii. 224 f. Kühn) ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἐτι διέτριβον τὸν χρόνον, ὑπὸ Σατύρῳ παιδευόμενος, ἔτος ἡδὴ τέταρτον ἐπιδημοῦντι τῇ Περγᾶμυ μετὰ Κουστουνίου Πουφίνου, κατασκευάσαντος ἡμῖν τὸν νεὼν τοῦ Διὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ (where Kühn prints the erroneous translation 'divi Aesculapii templum').

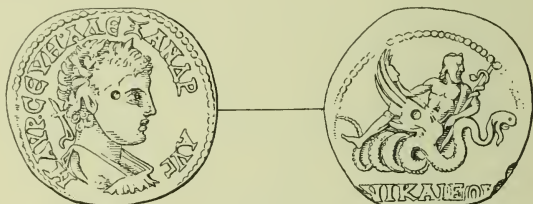


Fig. 922.

ii. 1082 metopes from the temple of Asklepios. But K. A. Neugebauer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1926 xli. 83 f. infers from their lack of an upper border, from their exact height, and from other indications that these are votive reliefs, not metopes at all.

ii. 1082 ff. *Asklepiós* and the Snake. An echo of Asklepios' snake at Epidaurus may be heard in the legend of St Hilarion (Oct. 21), who at Epidaurum or Epidaurus (*Ragusa vecchia*) in southern Dalmatia burnt a huge snake, of the sort called *boa* because they can swallow an ox (S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 xii. 516 f.). The story is told by Hieron. v. *S. Hilar. eremit.* 39 (xxiii. 50 B—c Migne).

On *Alexandros or the Sham Seer* see also A. D. Nock 'Alexander of Abonuteichos' in the *Class. Quart.* 1928 xxii. 160—162.

Comparable with the coin-types of Glykon is the snake that appears on bronze pieces issued by Caracalla at Pautalia in Thrace. This monster rises erect on quadruple coils with the tail of a fish and a radiate *nimbus* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 144 f. nos. 30—32, *McClellan Cat. Coins* ii. 195 no. 4525 pl. 170, 2) or wreath (*ib.* ii. 196 no. 4526) round his head. A specimen issued by Geta gives him a lion's head (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 146 no. 46). Other bronze coins of Pautalia struck by Caracalla show Asklepios with his serpent-staff borne through the air by a winged and bearded snake (*ib.* p. 145 no. 34 fig.). And the same type occurs, under Severus Alexander, at Nikaia in Bithynia (Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 474 no. 597 (wrongly described as holding a mask in his right hand) pl. 82, 24. Fig. 922 is from a coin of mine).

ii. 1087. One more effort to find a satisfactory etymology for *Asklepiós* is that of D. Detscev, who in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare* 1925 iii. 131—164 derives the name from a Thracian stem *ἀσι- 'snake' and -κλαπίος, καλαπίος cognate with the Thracian place-name κληπι-δόνα (connected with *glapi and *apio 'to bend'). On which showing *Asklepiós* might mean 'he who moves with serpent coils.' Further summary of these very rash speculations is supplied by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 207 f.

ii. 1089 ff. Telesphoros. G. Seure in the *Rev. Arch.* 1926 ii. 161 ff. no. 276 fig. 117, A publishes a Thracian statuette of Asklepios, with Telesphoros beside him, now in the Museum at Plovdiv. Other examples of the hooded type are fairly numerous: they occur e.g. in bronze at Amiens (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 13 no. 2), Avignon (ii. 470 no. 5), Djemila (ii. 470 no. 6), Florence (v. 223 no. 6), Nona in Dalmatia (iii. 22 no. 4 f.), Paris

(ii. 470 no. 4), Trèves (iv. 293 no. 3), Troyes (ii. 470 no. 2), in marble at Mantinea (ii. 469 no. 11), Munich (vi. 110 no. 1), in stone at Nîmes (vi. 110 no. 2), and even in amber at Oedenburg (iv. 293 no. 6). The type is further discussed by J. Schmidt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 315 ff., H. Herter *De Priapo* Giessen 1932 p. 193 ('Priapus agriculturalum potius exemplo hoc vestimenti genere uti videtur'), R. Egger 'Genius Cucullatus' in the *Wiener prähistorische Zeitschrift* 1932 xix. 311—323 (two altars inscribed *Genio Cucullato* in a small Celtic temple at Wabelsdorf in Carinthia: this deity, worshipped throughout the Romano-Celtic area, was introduced into Greece by the Galatians from Asia Minor, and under the Greek name Telesphoros travelled far and wide during the early centuries of our era), K. Kerényi 'Telesphoros' in *Egyetemes Philologiai Koezloeny* Budapest 1933 lvii. 7—11 (the cult of Telesphoros was essentially Graeco-Roman), F. J. de Waele in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 446 n. 2 (two figurines from Corinth 'may represent a similar small divinity, a predecessor of Telesphoros, as Euamerion...in Titane (Paus. 11, 11, 7)'), F. M. Heichelheim 'Genii Cucullati' in *Archaeologia Aeliana* Fourth Series xii. 187—194 ('among the Celts of the Danube region, Gaul, and Britain, native deities who wore the *cucullus* were assimilated not only to the Roman *genius* and the eastern Telesphoros...but also to the Cabiri...A survival of the *genii cucullati* in the similar representations of dwarfs, hobgoblins, and the like, in the post-Roman period...does not seem unlikely').

ii. 1089 *Grabphalli*. Paus. 8. 34. 2 (near Megalopolis) γῆς χῶμα...ἐπίθημα ἔχον λίθου πεποιημένον δάκτυλον, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὄνομα τῷ χῶματι ἐστὶ Δακτύλου μῆμα is interpreted by C. Belger in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 14, 1892 p. 640 as a *phallós*. But see the facts collected by Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 354—357.

ii. 1090 Zeus *Hórios*. On Zeus "Oprios see also H. J. W. Tillyard in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 65, S. Eitrem *Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte* Kristiania 1920 iii. 33, and E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 648. It must be borne in mind that Zeus "Oprios was not merely the Greek rendering of Iupiter *Terminus* or *Terminalis*, but also a genuine Hellenic deity, the natural protector of boundaries. Plat. *legg.* 842 E Διὸς ὅριον μὲν πρῶτος νόμος ὅδε εἰρήσθω· μὴ κνείτω γῆς ὅρα μηδεὶς κ.τ.λ. implies the sanction of long-standing usage. The calendar of the Attic *tetrápolis* found at *Koukounari*, which dates from the earlier part of s. iv B.C., prescribes for Skirophorion the sacrifice of a sheep to Zeus "Oprios (R. B. Richardson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1895 x. 209 ff. col. 1, 11=). de Prott *Leges Graecorum Sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 *Fasti sacri* p. 46 ff. no. 26, A 11 [ῥάδε δ' ἀρχῶν θύ?]ει· Διὶ Ὀρίῳ οἷς ΔΤΤ). And the northern boundary of the Thracian Chersonesos was marked by an inscribed altar of the same god ([Dem.] *de Halonnes*. 39 f. καίτοι Χερρονήσου οἱ ὅροι εἰσὶν, οὐκ Ἀγορά, ἀλλὰ βωμὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀρίου, ὅς ἐστι μεταξὺ Πτελεοῦ καὶ Λευκῆς Ἀκτῆς, ἥ ἡ διορυχὴ ἐμελλε Χερρονήσου ἐσεσθαι, ὥς γε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀρίου δηλοῖ. ἐστὶ δὲ τοῦτ'· τὸνδε καθιδρύσαντο θεῷ περικαλλέα βωμὸν | Λευκῆς καὶ Πτελεοῦ μέσσον δρον θέμενοι | ἐνναεταί, χώρης σημήϊον· ἀμμορίης δὲ | αὐτὸς ἀναξ μακάρων ἐστὶ μέσος Κρονίδης (J. H. Vince translates 'Zeus is Warden of our No Man's Land'. F. Blass had c.j. μόρης σημήϊον ἀμμορίης τε on the strength of *Od.* 20. 75 f.)). Hence Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 Ἐπιθετα Διός... 71 ὅριον, *ib.* i. 266 Ἐπιθετα Διός... 66 ὅριον. Cp. a dedication of the Abderites to Hadrian as *Τραιανῶ Ἀδριανῶ | Σεβαστῶ Ζηνι Ἐσφορίῳ* (G. Bakalakis in *Θρακικά* 1937 viii. 29=*Rev. Arch.* 1937 ii. 386 no. 170).

ii. 1091 ff. Zeus *Meilichios*. Short studies of this cult in H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 pp. 75—84 ('Zeus Philios und Zeus Meilichios') and M. P. Nilsson 'Die Götter des Symposions' (E Symbolis Philologicis O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatis seorsum expressum) Upsaliae 1932 pp. 224—227. G. Blum 'Meilichios' in *Le Musée Belge* 1913 xvii. 313—320 held that the appellative meant "'maître des abeilles," c'est-à-dire des âmes' (A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 423 n. 4): cp. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 19.

ii. 1095 *κύρβεις*. M. Guarducci "Axones" e "kyrbeis" in the *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia romana di Archeologia* 1929—1931 vii. 101—107 distinguishes *ázoves*, three or, more probably, four tables of wood set at an angle to each other and revolving on a common axle, from *κύρβεις*, prismatic or pyramidal blocks of stone tapering towards the top but not made to move: both forms of monument were inscribed *boustrophedón*. She publishes the limestone fragment of a law-*κύρβεις* from *Prinias* (Rhizenia?) and compares with it the inscribed tapering stone from Dreros (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 23, F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inscr.* iii. 2. 239 ff. no. 4952, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.* 3 no. 527) and a similar inscription on a block of red trachyte from Chios (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf *Nordionische Steine* (*Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1909 Phil.-hist. Classe ii. 64 ff. pl. 2 no. 25), E. Schwyzler *Dialectorum Graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora* Lipsiae 1923 p. 337 f. no. 687, M. N. Tod *A selection of Greek*

historical inscriptions to the end of the fifth century B.C. Oxford 1933 p. 1 ff. no. 1). See now M. Guarducci in *Inscr. Cret.* i. 84 ff. Dreros no. 1, 297 f. Rhizenia? no. 7. Note also the pillar of Poseidon, made of brass and inscribed with the laws, in the island of Atlantis (Plat. *Kritias* 119 c ff.). L. B. Holland 'Axones' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 302 (unpublished).

ii. 1099 n. 2 the altar of Zeus *Litaos* on coins of Nikaia. On these coins see now C. T. Seltman in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1926 lvii. 556 (report of a paper read to the Cambridge Philological Society, Nov. 25, 1926).

ii. 1101 Zeus *Xénios*. J. Vürtheim *Aischylos' Schutzflehende* Amsterdam 1928 pp. 6—8 ('Zeus Xenios'), O. Weinreich s.v. 'Xenios' in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 522—525 (a careful and comprehensive collection of data).

ii. 1102 n. 4 *Arántides*. H. Krahe 'Zu makedonisch APANTISIN · EPINTSI' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 393—395 regards the name as Illyrian.

ii. 1103. F. N. Pryce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1936 lvi. 77 f. pl. 5 publishes a small Attic bell-*kratér*, said to have been found at Corinth and now in the collection of Mr E. Armytage, which appears to show Theseus waiting at the altar of Zeus *Meilichios* to be purified of blood-guiltiness, cp. Bakchyl. 17. 46 ff.

ii. 1103 n. 7 Zeus *Sykástios*. H. Vorwahl 'Zum Ursprung des "Feigenblatts"' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1930 lxxix. 319 f. rightly concludes: 'So ergibt die philologische Untersuchung eine Bestätigung der psychoanalytischen Bemerkung, dass das Feigenblatt nicht das Symbol der Keuschheit, sondern der bewusst gewordenen Sexualität sei.'

ii. 1105 Zeus *Meilichios* enthroned. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 424 n. 3 cites a votive relief in the Museum at Corfu (inv. no. 352), which represents Zeus seated to the right on a rock with a sceptre in his left hand, a *phidie* in his right. On either side of him two snakes advance, raising their heads. Before him are traces of a small female votary with uplifted arm. The relief is inscribed in letters of s. iii or earlier 'Ηγησώ δὲ Μειλιχίω.

ii. 1114 Zeus *Meilichios* associated with Helios. S. G. Paraskeuaidēs in the 'Αρχ. Έφ. 1932 ἀρχ. χρον. p. 12 f. no. 1 fig. 1 publishes a grey marble slab from Mytilene bearing a manumission of c. 200 B.C. Τεῖμις Εὐκτιμένηα | ἀφείει ἐλευθέραν | Πέλεαν ὑπὸ Δία καὶ | "Αλιον, ἀνένκλητόν | μοι γενομένην, | ἐπεὶ κε τὸν βίον ἐγλίπη. || Τεῖμις Εὐκτιμένηα | ἀφείει ἐλευθέραν | ἐλευθέραν | ὑπὸ Δία καὶ "Αλιον. He quotes other manumissions ὑπὸ Δία Ἰὴν "Ηλιον (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 1212 with n. 2, *supra* ii. 729 n. ο) and ὑπὸ Δία "Ηλιον (K. A. Rhomaiois in the 'Αρχ. Δελτ. 1924—1925 ix παράρτ. 5 Thermos).

ii. 1115 Zeus *Meilichios* at Sounion. In the fortress outside the temple at Sounion G. P. Oikonomos in 1924 found 'a votive stele to Zeus Meilichios, with two snakes displayed symmetrically' (A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xlv. 274, cp. G. Welter in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1925 xl Arch. Anz. p. 314).

ii. 1124 n. ο a goblet inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Such γραμματικά ἐκπώματα have been listed and discussed by C. Picard 'À propos de deux coupes du Vatican et d'un fragment du Musée Kircher' in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* (École Française de Rome) 1910 xxx. 99—116 pls. 2 and 3 and *id.* in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 174—178 ('ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΑ ΕΚΠΩΜΑΤΑ'). He enumerates sixteen specimens, of which no. 7 is a *stámnos* from Fasano with a painted inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 226 no. F 548), no. 15 a *kýlix* of black Attic ware from Pantikapaion incised [ἀμ]φωτίς Διὸς Σωτήρ[ος] (B. Pharmakowsky in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv Arch. Anz. p. 209 f.), no. 16 fig. 5 a fragment of a black-glazed *kántharos* from the Peiraieus lettered in orange-red paint [ΔΙΟΣ] ΣΩΤΗ[ΡΟΣ]. See further C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1938 ii. 105—107.

ii. 1132 the soul of the divine king escaped as a bird. A. H. Krappe in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1928 lxxvii. 184 cites an Iranian tale from F. Spiegel *Eránische Alterthumskunde* Leipzig 1873 ii. 43: 'So hören wir (Yt. 19, 34) dass sich die königliche Majestät in Gestalt eines Vogels von Yima entfernte, als derselbe anfang lügnerische Worte zu sprechen; immerhin wird man gedacht haben dass die Majestät auf ein anderes Glied der königlichen Familie übergang.'

ii. 1132 n. 4 the sceptre of Zeus. Cp. Hes. *cat. frag.* 123 Kinkel, 103 Rzach, *ap. Plat. Min.* 320 D (Minos) δς βασιλεύτατος ἔσκε καταβηγῶν βασιλῆων | καὶ πλείστων ἤνασσε περικτύπων ἀνθρώπων | Ζηνὸς ἔχων σκήπτρον· τῇ καὶ πολέων βασιλευν.

ii. 1132 n. 6. On sceptre-worship see also M. Cary—A. D. Nock 'Magic spears' in the *Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 123 n. 5.

ii. 1135 the central slab from the eastern frieze of the Parthenon (pl. xlv). One or two fresh facts and fancies must be recorded. W. R. Lethaby 'The Central Part of the

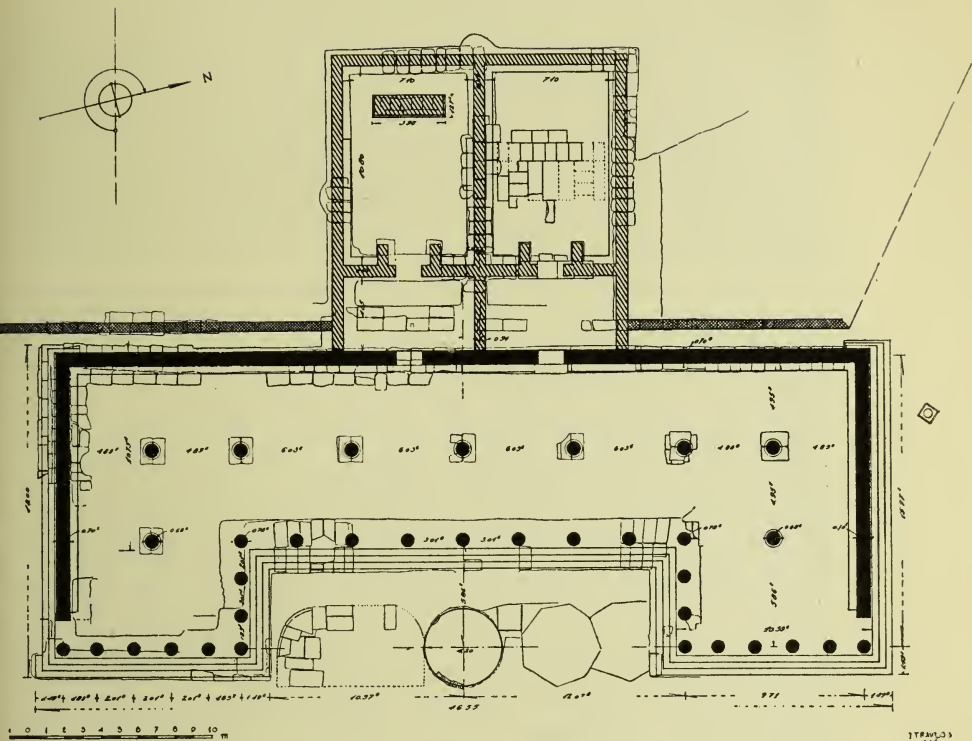


Fig. 923.

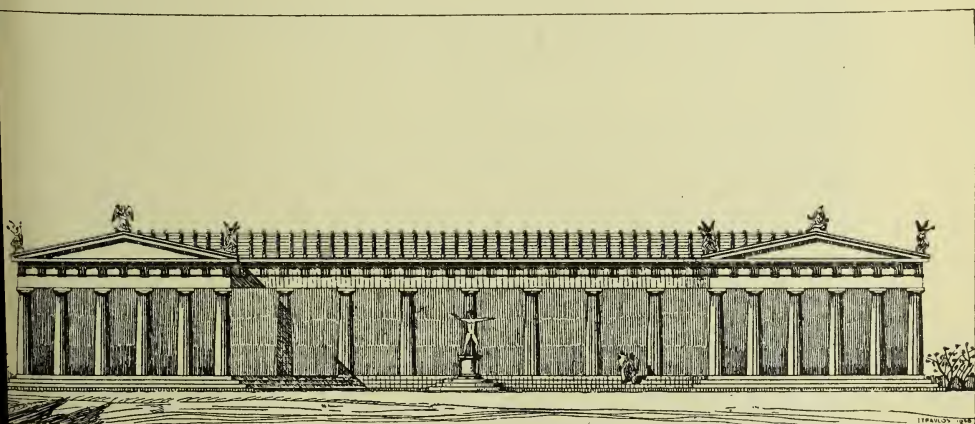


Fig. 924.

Eastern Frieze of the Parthenon' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1929 xlix. 7—13 figs. 1—6 (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1929 xxxiii. 555 f.) observes that exquisite sepia-drawings made in all probability by William Pars in 1765—6 and now in the Elgin Collection at the British Museum bring out sundry details no longer distinct (heads of Athena and Hephaistos, etc.). 'The central group is divided off from the rest of the frieze right and left by intervals of space down through which, on either hand, a slightly scored line may be traced. It is probable, I think, that these lines defined a difference of colour in the background which showed that the central action was on a different plane from the rest, that is, in the interior of the Temple.'

Lily Ross Taylor 'Seats and Peplos on the Parthenon Frieze' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 121 and *ead.* 'A *Sellisternium* on the Parthenon Frieze' in *Quantulacumque: Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake* London 1937 pp. 253—264 figs. 1—7 suggests that the *péplos* was intended, not as clothing for the *xóanon* of Athena, but as drapery to be placed over the chair of one of the gods.

ii. 1135 n. 4. N. Valmin 'Die Zeus-Stoa in der Agora von Athen' in the *K. Humanistika Vetenskapssamfundets i Lund Årsberättelse* 1933—1934 i (*Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund* 1933—1934 i) Lund 1934 pp. 1—7 with fig. 1 ('Skizzenplan') rightly located the *Stoà Basileios* and identified it with the *Stoà* of 'Zeus Soter-Eleutherios.' O. Walter 'Zeus- und Königshalle der Athener Agora' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1936 xxx Beiblatt pp. 95—100 maintains that the *Stoà Basileios* (c. 500 B.C.) was distinct from the *Stoà* of Zeus *Eleuthérios* (shortly before 400 B.C.). But that is not the view taken by the American excavators of the *Agorá* (*Hesperia* 1937 vi. 225 f.). Thanks to their highly successful researches it is now possible to assert with some confidence that the *Stoà Basileios* was identical with the *Stoà* of Zeus *Eleuthérios*, and to get some idea of its history and appearance. See the definitive account of the building contributed by H. A. Thompson to *Hesperia* 1937 vi. 5—77 ('Stoà of Zeus Eleutherios') with pl. 1 groundplan, actual state, pl. 2 groundplan, restored, and 39 figs. By the courtesy of Mr Thompson I am able to reproduce both the restored plan (pl. 2 = my fig. 923) and the restored elevation (fig. 34 = my fig. 924) of this important structure. It seems probable that certain earlier remains found beneath the *Stoà* (rectangular base of *póros* with neighbouring altar) belonged to a sanctuary of Zeus *Sotér* or *Eleuthérios* (schol. Aristoph. *Plout.* 1175 *ἐν ἅστει Δία Σωτῆρα τιμῶσιν, ἐνθα καὶ Σωτῆρος Διὸς ἐστὶν ἱερόν· τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ ἐνιοὶ καὶ Ἐλευθερίον φασί*), who owed his second title to the deliverance from Persia that he had wrought (Harpokr. s.v. 'Ἐλευθέριος Ζεύς.' *Ἵπερείδης* (frag. 25 p. 279 a 32 ff. Sauppe) "τῷ μὲν τοίνυν Δίῳ, ἃν ἄνδρες δικάσται, ἡ ἐπωνυμία γέγονε τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου προσαγορεύεσθαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐξελευθέρους τὴν στοὰν οἰκοδομήσαι τὴν πλησίον αὐτοῦ." ὁ δὲ Δίδυμός φησιν ἁμαρτάνειν τὸν ῥήτορα· ἐκλήθη γὰρ Ἐλευθέριος διὰ τὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. οὗτι δὲ ἐπιγέγραπται μὲν Σωτῆρ, ὀνομάζεται δὲ καὶ Ἐλευθέριος, δηλοῖ καὶ Μένανδρος, cp. *et. mag.* p. 329, 44 ff.). The pre-Persic statue of the god presumably perished in the sack of 480/479 B.C. and was later replaced by another statue bearing the appellation *Eleuthérios*. When the *Stoà* was designed, c. 430 B.C., room was left in front of it for the famous figure on a large circular base. The building, which was virtually completed by 409/8 B.C. (*Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 115, 7 f. *[πρόσθεν τῆς] Στοᾶς τῆς Βασιλείας*), was a Doric colonnade with a *façade* of seven columns and two wings of six by four columns—an arrangement perhaps suggested by that of Mnesikles' Propylaea. On the back-wall were paintings of the Twelve Gods (Paus. i. 3. 3); on 'the wall beyond,' probably the south wall, paintings of Theseus and Demokratia and Demos (Paus. *ib.*); also, presumably on the north wall, a painting of the battle fought at Mantinea by the Athenians sent to help the Lacedaemonians (Paus. i. 3. 4). The paintings were by Euphranor (Val. Max. 8. 11. ext. 5, Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 129, Plout. *de glor. Ath.* 2, Loukian. *imagg.* 7, Paus. i. 3. 4, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 145, 10 ff.). The tiled roof had two *akrotéria* in terra cotta, which represented Theseus hurling Skiron into the sea and Hemera carrying Kephalos (Paus. i. 3. 1), perhaps a relic of the official quarters assigned to the *basileis* before the Persian invasion (see, however, the suggestions of C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1938 ii. 95 f.). An annex of two large rooms was built behind the *Stoà* in s. i A.D. to secure greater privacy for the court of the *basileis* and for occasional meetings of the council of the Areopagites (cp. Dem. in *Aristog.* 1. 23).

ii. 1137 n. o the *basileis* about to wear Athena's *péplos* (?). Cp. Diod. i. 14 (each of the gods honoured Herakles with special gifts) Ἀθηναῖ μὲν πέπλω, Ἡφαίστος δὲ ῥοπάλῳ καὶ θῶρακι. For interchange of clothing see further W. R. Halliday *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* Oxford 1928 p. 216 ff.

ii. 1143. K. A. Neugebauer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1922 xxxvii Arch. Anz. p. 76 no. 25 records the acquisition by the Berlin Antiquarium (inv. no. 30021,

photo 3440) of a small bronze snake (0·187^m long) with raised head and inlaid pupils. Its back is inscribed in archaic lettering $\text{I}\Lambda\text{Ρ}\text{Ο}\Sigma\text{Ε}\text{Μ}\text{Ι}\text{Τ}\text{Ο}\text{Μ}\text{Ε}\Lambda\Lambda\text{Ι}\Psi\text{Ι}\text{Ο}\text{Τ}\text{Ο}\text{Π}\text{Ε}\Lambda\Lambda\text{Α}\text{Ν}\text{Α}\text{Ι}$ ($\text{ἱαρός ἐμὶ τῷ Μελλιχίῳ τῷ Πελάναϊ}$). This was purchased at Paris in 1911 as coming from the Peloponnese, and A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 424 n. 4 states that in 1916 he saw near the find-spot (Pellana in Achaia) a second small bronze snake, but uninscribed, which was said to have been found at the same time.

ii. 1146 n. o pyramidal tombs for horses at Agrigentum. C. M. Firth and J. E. Quibell found at Saqqara two mummies of horses, dating from the reign of Ramses ii (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1926 p. 205 f.). But on Greek pyramidal structures see now the important paper of L. E. Lord in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 78—84.

ii. 1150 tomb-ceiling as mimic sky. Sir A. J. Evans in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 26, 1931 p. 485 ff. publishes a temple-tomb close to the palace at Knossos. The rock-cut sepulchral chamber had a central pillar, and 'the rock ceiling—squares of which were visible between the beams—had been tinted with the brilliant Egyptian blue, or *kyanos*, so that the dead beneath the vault might not be without the illusion of the sky above.' See further *id.* *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 975 and context.

ii. 1151 Zeus *Meilichios* at Thespiæ, etc. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 422 f. no. 43 cites a fragmentary inscription from Thespiæ $\Delta\epsilon\zeta\acute{\iota}\alpha\delta\alpha\varsigma \mid \Pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu\varsigma \mid \text{ἱαρεὺς} \mid \Delta\iota\text{[?] Μελιχίῳ} \mid \kappa\eta \text{Μελιχίῃ.} \mid \kappa\tau\lambda.$ and no. 44 another from the same place $\Theta\rho\alpha\sigma\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\chi\omicron\varsigma \mid \Theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu\varsigma \text{ἱαρεὺς} \mid \Delta\iota\text{ Μελιχίῳ.}$ *Id.* *ib.* p. 423 n. 2 refers to A. D. Keramopoulos in the *Arch. Δελτ.* 1917 iii. 422 n. o no. 2 (Lebadeia) a marble *stelidion* (height 0·23^m) bearing an *omphalos* (height c. 0·05^m) and beneath it the inscription $\Sigma\text{ῴ}\sigma\iota\alpha\varsigma \mid \Delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\nu\iota \mid \text{Μελιχίῳ}$ with a snake creeping up towards it: Keramopoulos observes that $\Delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\nu\iota$ *Μελιχίῳ* may well be the Ἄγαθος Δαίμων . Plassart p. 423 n. 3 adds A. Jardé—M. Laurent in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902 xxvi. 324 ff. no. 15 (Anthedon) a marble *stèle* (height 0·40^m) with a snake [$\text{Ἄ} \mid \text{πολλόνιο[s]} \mid \text{[K]αφισδό[του]} \mid \text{[Δι]εῖ}$ (or [Ζην]εῖ?) Μελ[ι]χί[ε]ω] found above the door of the church of Hagios Athanasios, which appears to stand on the site of the sanctuary of Zeus *Meilichios*.

ii. 1153 n. 1. See further P. Kretschmer 'Oidipus und Melampus' in *Glotta* 1923 xii. 59—61, E. Fränkel in *Gnomon* 1928 iv. 447, H. Petersson in M. P. Nilsson *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* Cambridge 1932 p. 105 n. 11, L. W. Daly in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 2104 f.

ii. 1155 Zeus *Meilichios* in Thesaly. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 145 (Thebae Phthiotides) a white stone inscribed $\Delta\iota \text{Μελιχίῳ} \mid \text{Κρινῶ} \mid \text{Ἄρσι[α?]} \mid \text{ἀνέθ[η][κ]εν.}$

ii. 1156 Akrisios. A. H. Krappe in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 157 treats Akrisios as 'le vieux dieu Cronos lui-même' and compares Akrisios' expulsion of the infant Perseus (influencing the legend of Astyages and Kyros the Persian) with Kronos' expulsion of the infant Zeus, concluding that a folk-tale *motif* may be traced in both myths and even in the quasi-historical legend. L. Bieler in *Wiener Studien* 1931 xlix. 120—123 ('Der Tod des Akrisios') regards Ἀκρίσιος as Illyrian, Τευταμίδας as 'vorgriechisch-pelagisch.' H. Krahe 'Sprachwissenschaftliches zur Sage von der Flucht des Akrisios' *ib.* 1933 li. 141—143 argues that both Ἀκρίσιος and Τευταμίδας are names of Illyrian origin.

ii. 1156 Zeus *Meilichios* in Samos. E. Preuner in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1924 xlix. 42 no. 9 a votive inscription from *Tigani Κλέας Μεγάκλον* $\mid \Delta\iota \text{Μελιχίῳ.}$

ii. 1156 Zeus *Meilichios* in Nisyros. W. Peek in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1932 lvii. 57 f. no. 8 an inscription of Roman date from Rhodes (G. Jacopi in *Clara Rhodos* 1932 ii. 213 f. no. 52) $\text{Καλλικράτην ἱερῶα πατρός γεγαῶτα Θέωνος} \mid \text{Ζηνός Μελιχίῳ κλυτῇ Νείσυρος αἰέδει} \mid \text{καὶ Ζεὺ μ[ε]δ[ε]ῶν Νείσυρον, ἀπήμονα σῶζε Θέωνα} \mid \text{Καλλικράτους, δν στέφας, ἐπεὶ τοῖς εἰρὸς ἐνύχθη.}$ The two distichs are engraved within two wreaths on a *tabula ansata* of white marble. R. Herbst in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 765 adds *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii nos. 95 and 96.

ii. 1157 Zeus *Meilichios* in Kypros. T. B. Mitford in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1937 lvii. 29 no. 2 a boundary-stone at Amathous $\Delta\text{ΙΟΣ} \mid \text{ΜΕΙΛΙΧΙΟΥ}$ in large lettering with $\Omega\text{Ν}$ (*quid?*) in smaller lettering to the left of the second line.

ii. 1157 n. o Zeus *Apotrópaios*. E. A. Gardner—F. Ll. Griffith *Naukratis* London 1888 ii. 13, 61, 68 no. 14 pl. 22 $\text{ἱερὸν Δ[ι]ός Ἀπ[ο]τρ[ο]π[α]ίου}$ on a stone found in the *témenos* of Hera.

For the sale of priesthoods at Erythrai see L. Robert in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1933 lvii. 472.

ii. 1158 Zeus *Meilichios* at Kyrene. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf in *Hermes* 1930 lxx. 257 f. ('Lesefrüchte' no. 280) cites rock-cut inscriptions at and near Kyrene to show that the dead were associated in cult with the Eumenides and with Zeus *Meilichios* (after S. Ferri *Contributi di Cirene alla storia della religione greca* (Collezione Γραφή. 2) Roma 1923) pl. 10).

ii. 1158 Zeus *Meilichios* at Selinous. K. Lehmann-Hartleben in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1926 xli Arch. Anz. p. 179 fig. 36 briefly reports the discovery by E. Gàbrici of a sanctuary of Zeus *Meilichios* at Selinous. This small *témenos* occupied the north-east angle of the large site sacred to Demeter *Malophoros*, just as the *témenos* of Hekate *Propylata* occupied the south-east angle. For a full account of it see E. Gàbrici's official publication in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1928 xxxii. 91—107 figs. 53—64

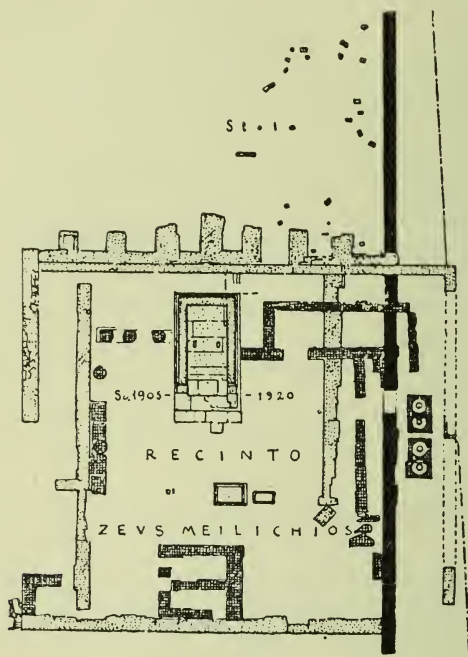


Fig. 925.

('Edicola ed altari di Meilichios e della Pasikrateia (?)'), 174—181 ('Stele figurate del recinto di Meilichios'), 381—383 (inscriptions), 403—405 (cult). The precinct (pl. 2, part of which = my fig. 925) included a little temple, the base of which measured only 5'20" by 2'97" — a mere casket for the statue or statues within. Two Doric columns stood opposite the *antae*; but their entablature was of a simplified Ionic order (fig. 58 = my fig. 926). In front of the temple were two oblong altars, one large, one small; and it was originally flanked by a pair of porticoes, each with five columns. Behind the west wall of the precinct were found numerous *stélai*, mostly small piers square in section, or pyramidal, or cylindrical, and nearly all without inscription. The few inscribed blocks were archaic in character: p. 381 f. no. 3 pl. 97, 4 τὸ Διὸς τὸ Μελίχιο ἐμὶ | πρὸτα Εὐμενίδο τὸ Παιδίαρχο ('I, the first-fruits of Eumenides son of Pediarchos, belong to Zeus *Meilichios*.' Wilamowitz in *Hermes* 1930 lxx. 258 c). πρὸ τῆ(ν) Εὐμενίδο(ν)), p. 382 no. 4 pl. 97, 1 = my fig. 927 Λυκίσσο (perhaps Γ'λυκίσσο) ἐμὶ | Μελίχιο, p. 382 f. no. 5 pl. 97, 2 Μελίχιο | τὸν Κλευιδᾶν, p. 384 no. 9 pl. 97, 3 τὸ Μελίχιο —]σαρο[—]. Other finds on the site were a double altar of simpler type (fig. 62), and several small wells (figs. 63—66) for the storage of lustral water, etc. Offerings made to the god were vases and objects of minor worth, which were burnt along with the animal sacrifice and buried in the ashes: over them was erected a *stèle*, often surmounted by a pair of busts, male and female (pls. 27, 1—4, 28, 1—6, 29, 1—8, of which 27, 3 f. = my figs. 928 f.). Gàbrici concludes

that the whole cult had a chthonian character, Zeus *Meilichios* and Pasikrateia (?) being the Selinuntine equivalents of Hades and Persephone.

ii. 1158 Zeus *Meilichios* at Pompeii. For a description of his temple in *Reg.* viii. 7 (8). 25 see A. Mau—A. Ippel *Führer durch Pompeji* Leipzig 1928 p. 162 f. R. C. Carrington in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1933 xxiii. 132 pl. 10 figures the wall of it and dates it early in s. i B.C.

ii. 1159 n. 1. On the names Δάξιος, Δάξος, and the like see H. Krahe *Die alten balkanillyrischen geographischen Namen* Heidelberg 1925 p. 86 and R. Vulpe 'Gli Illiri dell' Italia imperiale romana' in the *Ephemeris Dacoromana* (Annuario della Scuola Romana di Roma) 1925 iii. 131, 145 n. 1, 217. And on the Lares, E. Tabeling *Mater Larum* Zum Wesen der Larenreligion Frankfurt am Main 1932 pp. 1—104.

ii. 1160 ff. Zeus *Phlios*. See H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 pp. 75—84 ('Zeus Philios und Zeus Meilichios'), M. P. Nilsson 'Die Götter des Symposions' (E Symbolis Philologicis O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatis seorsum expressum) *Upsaliae* 1932 pp. 218—224.

ii. 1161 ff. Zeus *Phlios* at Athens. Gabriel Welter 'Eine Weihung an Zeus Philios' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1925 l. 165 f. publishes an inscription of the early fourth century B.C., found in a Byzantine wall above the *odeion* of Herodes Attikos at Athens and probably

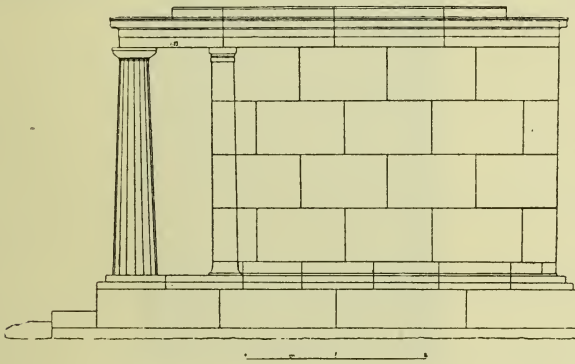


Fig. 926.

derived from the adjoining Asklepieion: Ἀνσικράτης | Ἀνσικλέος | ἐκ Κο[λ]ωνῶ Δ[ι]τ̃ Φιλίω | [ἀ]ρ[έ]θ[η]κεν).

ii. 1163 n. 6. H. J. Rose 'The Bride of Hades' in *Classical Philology* 1925 xx. 238—243 (the idea underlying Soph. *Ant.* 815 and other Greek passages is that the earth receives increased fertility from the potential, unused fertility of the chaste).

ii. 1167 love in relation to Zeus. Dion Chrys. *or.* 4 p. 71 Dindorf ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ φίλαν οὐκ ἄλλην ἢ τὸ ταῦτ' αὖ βούλεσθαι καὶ διανοεῖσθαι, ὁμνιοῦν τινα οὖσαν... ὅς ἐν οὖν τῷ Διὶ φίλος ἦ καὶ ὁμονοῇ πρὸς ἐκείνον, ἔσθ' ὅπως ἀδίκου τινὸς ἐπιθυμήσει πράγματος ἢ πονηρόν τι καὶ ἀσχερόν διανοηθήσεται; On this subject of personal intimacy with Zeus see further the able articles of F. Dirlmeier on 'ΘΕΟΦΙΛΙΑ—ΦΙΛΟΘΕΙΑ' in *Philologus* 1935 xc. 57—77 and 176—193.

ii. 1167 f. Diotima's τέλεα καὶ ἐποπτικά. A. M. Desrousseaux 'Plutarque, Mor. 382^{ed}' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1933 xlvii. 210—213 (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 78 διὸ καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐποπτικὸν τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς φιλοσοφίας καλοῦσιν, ὡς (Desrousseaux *corr.* ᾧ *vel.* quod praestat, ἐν ᾧ) οἱ τὰ δοξαστὰ καὶ μικτὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ ταῦτα παραμειψάμενοι τῷ λόγῳ πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον ἐκείνο καὶ ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἄνθρον ἐξάλλονται καὶ, θιγόντες ἀπλῶς (so Reiske for ἄλλως) τῆς περὶ αὐτὸ καθαρὰς ἀληθείας, οἷον ἐν τελέτῃ (so Reiske for ἐντελέῃ) τέλους, ἔχουν φιλοσοφίαν νομίζουσι—from which it is clear that Aristotle was following the very words of his master in *symp.* 210 A).

ii. 1176 n. 4 Zeus *Ephéstios*. See now H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 p. 115 f.

ii. 1177 n. 2. Cp. Aristot. *eis* Ἑρμείαν 16 ff. Edmonds, 14 f. Diehl *ap.* Athen. 696 D, Diog. Laert. 5. 8, Stob. *flor.* 1. 12 (ed. Gaisford i. 5) τοῖγαρ αἰοῖμιον ἔργους | ἀθάνατον τέ μιν αὐδήσουσι (so Wilamowitz for αὐξήσουσι) Μοῦσαι, | Μναμοσύνας θύγατρεις, | Διὸς Ξενίου σέβας αὐξοῦνσαι φίλῃς τε γέρας βεβαίον.

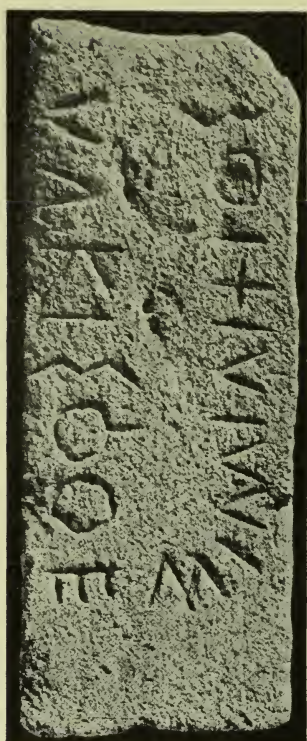


Fig. 927.



Fig. 928.



Fig. 929.

ii. 1179 ff. Trajan and Zeus *Philios* at Pergamon. W. H. Buckler 'Auguste, Zeus Patroos' in the *Rev. Philol.* Troisième Série 1935 lxi. 177—188 adduces a series of official Pergamene inscriptions (nine decrees and two letters) to show that the complete deification of Augustus was reached through three successive phases: (1) from 27 B.C. to 3 B.C. he was *αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστός*, and his highpriest *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ*; (2) from 2 B.C. to 14 A.D. Augustus was *αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος καὶ πατὴρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους*, and his highpriest *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος καὶ πατὴρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους*; (3) from 15 A.D. onwards (after his death on Aug. 19, 14 A.D. and his consecration by the Senate on Sept. 17, 14 A.D.) Augustus became *θεὸς Σεβαστός Καῖσαρ Ζεὺς Πατρώος αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, πατὴρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους*, and his highpriest *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος Διὸς Πατρώου αὐτοκράτορος καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, πατὴρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους*. Thus Augustus while alive was treated as (1) a hero and (2) a demi-god, when dead was raised to the rank of (3) a god and identified with Zeus *Πατρώος*. The documents relevant to this third stage are (a) Sir C. T. Newton *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae* London 1862—1863 ii. 2. 695—698 no. 6 pl. 87, G. Hirschfeld in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* London 1893 iv. 1. 63—65 no. 894; (b) J. Keil 'Zur Geschichte der Hymnen in der Provinz Asia' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst* 1908 xi. 101—107 (*Ödemish* near Hypaipa); (c) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3187 (Smyrna). Cp. also (d) a marble pedestal from Aphrodisias, which must have carried a statue of Zeus with the features of Augustus, inscribed *Δία Πατρώον | [Σεβ]αστὸν Καίσαρα* (W. Kubitschek—W. Reichel in the *Anz. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien Phil.-hist. Classe* 1893 p. 103 no. 13); and (e) a dedication from Dorylaeion [*θεῷ Σεβαστῷ Καίσαρι θ(ε)οῦ υἱῷ Διὶ Πατρώῳ, πατρί τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους*], κ.τ.λ. (I. Meliopoulos in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1897 xxii. 480 f., Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 479). Mr Buckler concludes his very noteworthy article on Augustus at Pergamon by a further suggestion: 'En y acceptant l'épithète divine, Trajan imitait le plus illustre de ses prédécesseurs; n'aurait-il pas choisi celle de Zeus Philios, symbole de sa bienveillance, afin de marquer le contraste avec les antiques splendeurs du Zeus Patroos?'

ii. 1187 n. o fig. 990 Zeus *Nemeios* at Alexandria. His wreath is probably of oak-leaves, not *selinon*. Oak-wreath and *aigis* are characteristic of Zeus on Alexandrine cameos (*supra* p. 537 f.).

P. Kabbadias in the 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1918 p. 192 f. fig. 39 publishes a dedication (no. 11) from Epidauros: Ἦρα Ἀργεῖα Διὶ Νεμεῖω | πατρί[ς] θεῶ[ς] ὁ ἱεροφάντης | Διογένης ἱερὰ πολήσας τοῦ | Σωτήρος τὸ | ΠΟΔ' ἔτος (= 297 A.D., cp. *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i nos. 1001 and 1002).

ii. 1187 n. 4. D. M. Robinson at Olynthos found Bottiaean pottery of quasi-Aegean character (A. W. Lawrence on Hdt. 8. 127. See G. E. Mylonas in D. M. Robinson *Excavations at Olynthus* Baltimore 1933 v. 60—63 (Group iii, second half of s. vi to beginning of s. v B.C.)).

ii. 1191 Olympic contests at Daphne. A bronze statuette (height 6 inches) now in the British Museum shows a naked youth carrying a board (?) inscribed in relief ANTIOX-ΕΩΝ | ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ | ΔΑΦΝΗΙ (Sir E. J. Forsdyke in *The British Museum Quarterly* 1929—1930 iv. 70 f. pl. 44, d)—presumably a record of success in these sports.

ii. 1194 emperors wearing the *aigis*. J. Arneth *Monumente des K. K. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinetes in Wien* Wien 1849 p. 31 f. pl. 18, 2 an onyx engraved with Julian(?) as a beardless Zeus. He wears an *aigis* and holds a sceptre in his raised right hand, a thunderbolt in his lowered left. At his left side is a trophy with seated prisoner; at his right side, an eagle. The legs of Zeus, the field, and the back of the whole gem are covered with 'Gnostic' inscriptions.

ii. 1197 n. 3. To the bibliography of Antiocheia add E. S. Bouchier *A short History of Antioch 300 B.C.—A.D. 1268* Oxford 1921 pp. 1—324.

ii. 1213 'Jupiter-columns.' M. P. Nilsson 'Zur Deutung der Juppitergigantensäulen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 182—184 argues from the wheel etc. that the god in question was a Celtic deity (Taranis?).

ii. 1213 the Column of Mayence. On Quilling's views see also L. Deubner in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 310 f.

ii. 1216 the *omphalos* found by F. Courby at Delphoi. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 85 n. 1 states that in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 (not 1920) i. 172 he did not regard Courby's *omphalos* as 'faux,' but holds that the inscription on it

('archaïque?') raises many doubts—see P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1915 xxviii. 457, *id.* in the *Rev. Arch.* 1925 ii. 49 n. 1. C. Picard in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 136 still hesitates ('L'omphalos n° 19 n'a pas encore ses lettres de créance bien établies').

ii. 1218 the witch-cult in western Europe. Cp. Miss M. A. Murray *The God of the Witches* London (1933) pp. 1—214 (reviewed by H. Coote Lake in *Folk-Lore* 1934 xlv. 277 f.) and *e contra* C. L'Estrange Ewen *Some Witchcraft Criticisms* (London) 1938 (printed for the author) pp. 1—6.

ii. 1219 the Milky Way conceived as a tree. U. Holmberg in J. A. MacCulloch *The Mythology of all Races* Boston 1927 iv (Finno-Ugric, Siberian). 82 cites the 'song of the Great Oak'—a Finnish account of the Milky Way 'regarded by some Arctic tribes as being the trunk of a great tree, along which those killed in battle wander.'

ii. 1221 the axe from Mallia. J. Charbonneaux in the *Mon. Piot* 1925—1926 xxviii. 6 ff. pl. 2 and figs. 3, 4, 6 publishes this axe as ending in the forepart of a panther, not a lioness. So also C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 70 n. 1, 78 n. 3, and P. Couissin in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 i. 261 fig. 6.

ii. 1221 fig. 1015 relief of lictors' axes. For similar reliefs see Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* p. 19 f. Scala i nos. 1 and 2 pl. 9, *ib.* p. 157 Sala degli Orti Mecenaziani no. 6 b pl. 59.

ii. 1221 the 'Tomb of the Lictor' at Vetulonia. See now H. Mühlestein *Die Kunst der Etrusker* Berlin 1929 p. 85 n. o and p. 228 f., who in fig. 149 publishes a good photograph (Alinari 45 853) of the 'Eisernes Rutenbeil <Labrys> aus Vetulonia <Tomba del Littore> Mus. archeologico Florenz' and refers it to s. vii B.C.

ii. 1221 carvings in amber. Other examples (human and simian figures from Vetulonia) in D. R. MacIver *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* Oxford 1924 p. 107 fig. 25.

ii. 1222 fig. 1017 the earliest representation of Zeus (?). S. Benton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1934—1935 xxxv. 85, 98 pl. 21, 1—3 provides three excellent photographs of this little bronze, but calls it cautiously 'the Dodona thrower,' 'the Dodona figure.'

M. P. Nilsson *Homer and Mycenae* London 1933 p. 80 suggests that a terra-cotta head and a stone axe found in the Mycenaean sanctuary at Asine 'are the earliest representations of Zeus, the Greek god of thunder.' See further O. Frödin in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 25, 1926 p. 548 fig. (2) and Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. xx—xxii pl. 4. The head (0.105^m high) showed traces of white on the face, but had eyes, lips, and hair painted red. With it were found five smaller female figures in terra cotta and sundry vases, including a two-handled bowl of the 'Granary Class' (A. J. B. Wace in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1921—1922, 1922—1923 xxv. 40 f. ('The Granary Class of L. H. III. Pottery')) and a composite vessel of three cups conjoined.

ii. 1228 Zeus *Telesiourgós* at Miletos. K. Latte 'Zeús Τηλεσιουργός' in *Philologus* 1930 lxxxv. 225—227 notes that in both inscriptions this is the god to whom sacrifice is made by a new priest at his ordination. Hence, he thinks, we obtain light on Hesych. *τηλεσίεργον παιᾶνα* τὸν ἐπιτελεστικὸν τῶν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτελούμενων ἱερῶν, where the manuscript reading *τηλεσιγέρων* was wrongly altered by T. Hemsterhuys into *τηλεσίερον*—a blunder perpetuated by M. Schmidt in both his editions. Sir H. Stuart Jones, however, in the new Liddell and Scott p. 1770 (following E. Diehl *Supplementum Lyricum*³ Bonn 1917 p. 66) says 'prob. a gloss on *τηλεσιείρον παιᾶνα* in Pi. *Pae.* 7. 2.' Unfortunately the text in Pindar is very insecure. O. Schroeder *Supplementum Pindaricum* Berolini 1923 p. 3 records Wilamowitz' cj. *τηλεσσι[πῆ] θεοῦ* cp. schol. *ἐπεσι*.

ii. 1229 relief of Agdistis and Attis. A Hellenistic relief (height 0.61^m), found in the Peiraieus and now in the Berlin Antiquarium, shows Agdistis as a draped goddess, with a *tympanon* in her left hand, presenting a flower to a youthful Attis, who sits before her clad in the costume of Asia Minor (*Kurze Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen im Alten Museum*² Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 106 no. 1612).

iii. 35 n. 10. Cp. Nikephoros Basilakes *progymn.* 7. 10 (i. 489, 5 f. Walz) *ἀνωθεν συνήγγε τὰς νεφέλας ὁ Ζεὺς*.

iii. 57 n. 2. J. D. Beazley *Der berliner Maler* Berlin-Wilmersdorf 1930 p. 21 no. 202 pl. 13, 3 fragments of a red-figured *hydria* at Athens (G 251) 'Triballos?' a barbarian in panther-skin (?) with *phallós* on staff, forehead, and nose! Perhaps cp. E. de Chanot 'Géryon' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1880 vi. 136—138 pl. 22=Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 26 no. 7, if not also Babelon-Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 482 f. no. 1175. To the literary allusions add Iuv. 6. O 26, and see W. B. McDaniel in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1918 xxii. 35 n. 1.

iii. 63 n. 3. See now E. Kapp 'Πισθέταιρος' in *Philologus* 1929 N.F. xxxviii. 259—261 (defends Πισθ- against Πισθ-).

iii. 85 n. o (2) fig. 28. This sarcophagus, now at Zagreb, is better published by G. M. A. Hanfmann in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 229 ff. fig. 2.

iii. 165 the sanctity of dew. J. Roscoe *The Northern Bantu* Cambridge 1915 p. 28: Among the Banyoro is a clan called 'The *Basita*, whose principal totem is the Milch Cow which has been with a bull, and their second Dew upon the Grass. The members of this clan avoid for several days drinking milk from a cow which has been with a bull, and also refrain from walking in grass while dew rests on it.'

iii. 245 f. The *epiboion*, as its name implies, was a sacrifice subsequent to, or additional to, that of a cow for Athena, and must not be viewed as a preliminary rite.

iii. 292 sea-bathing as a rain-charm. Miss M. A. Murray has kindly sent me a note (July 17, 1938) 'about ceremonial bathing (by the whole population), on a set day in the spring, in the sea. It is done at Gaza by Bedu and fellahin alike, men, women, children & animals. I think it may be connected with the cult of Atargatis.' May we not rather suppose that this is only another case of communal rain-charm?

iii. 298 the formula *kónx, ómpax*. I would venture to compare a spell to stop nose-bleeding by a whispered *móx, páx, rípx* (G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 233 no. 40 and p. 360 μ'. *Περὶ μὴτην ἐποῦ τρέχει, λέγε εἰς τὸ μέρος ἐκείνο ὅπου τρέχει, κρυφίως εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ· μὲξ, πάξ, ρίπξ, καὶ θέλει παύσῃ*—an extract from a medical treatise contained in an eighteenth-century MS. possibly written by a physician named Constantine Rizioti).

iii. 322 n. o *Τήνιον ὕδωρ*. Cp. the sacred and curative character of Ascension Day rain-water. A. R. Wright—T. E. Lones *British Calendar Customs* (England i) London 1936 p. 141 f. cite examples from five counties, of which one will serve: 'A Warwickshire cook of a relative of mine was seen last Ascension Day, May 1, standing out of doors, basin in hand, to catch the rain that was falling. In explanation she said that Holy Thursday rain was holy water, and came straight from heaven. The reason that she preserved it was that it was good for weak or sore eyes' (Cuthbert Bede in *Notes and Queries* Sixth Series 1883 vii. 367).

iii. 336 n. 5. Sieve-superstitions are collected with a wealth of detail by Eckstein in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1936 vii. 1662—1686 ('Sieb'), 1686—1701 ('Siebdrehen, Sieblaufen, Siebtreiben').

iii. 341 n. 3. On the pentagram see further Col. Allotte de La Fuye 'Le Pentagramme pythagoricien, sa diffusion, son emploi dans le syllabaire cunéiforme' in *Babyloniaca* 1934 xiv. 1—56 figs. 1—10.

iii. 345 n. 1. With regard to Egyptian receptacles for *viscera* Mr Sidney Smith informs me (Nov. 17, 1934) (1) that limestone pots with plain lids go back to the late Old Kingdom (Dyns. v—vi), (2) that jars with lids in the shape of the deceased's head are typical of the Middle Kingdom and occur down to Dyn. xviii, and (3) that 'the four children of Horus' belong to the New Kingdom from the late xviiith Dyn. onwards.

iii. 348 the 'Canopi' of Osiris. See now F. W. Freiherr von Bissing *Ägyptische Kultbilder der Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit (Der Alte Orient* xxxiv. 1/2) Leipzig 1936 pp. 28—34 'Das Kultbild von Kanopos' pl. 4, 10 a and 10 b (an Osiris of Kanopos in marble, from Egypt), pl. 4, 11 a (an Osiris of Kanopos in bronze, from Egypt, resting on an 'Opfertafel'), pl. 5, 11 b (an Osiris of Kanopos, owned by the Queen of the Netherlands), pl. 8, 18 (a Kanopos with spiral fluting, in the Vatican).

iii. 348 Nile-water. The sanctity of Nile-water is discussed by F. J. Dölger *Antike und Christentum* Münster in Westfalen 1936 v. 3. 153—187 ('Nilwasser und Taufwasser').

iii. 349. Theonoe was not the wife, but the unsuccessful lover, of Kanobos (n. 8).

iii. 358 n. 6. G. A. Megaz in *Hermes* 1933 lxviii. 415 ff. argues that the story of the Danaïdes was a folk-tale later localised at Argos. He cites (after B. Chalatianz in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1909 xix. 362) an Armenian parallel, heard at Etschmiatsin in 1899, which however so closely resembles the Greek myth that I should rather assume classical influence, direct or indirect.

iii. 426 the Danaïdes and the fertility-charm. C. F. A. Schaeffer in his Schweich Lecture of Jan. 27, 1937 ('Fertility cult and cult of the dead at Ugarit. Devices for libations in the Mycenaean tombs. The jar of the Danaïds') compared the *πίθοι τετηρημένοι* of the Danaïdes with the libation-funnels at Ras Shamra. *Id.* 'Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Septième campagne (printemps 1935)' in *Syria* 1936 xvii. 105—148 refers to the period 'Minoen ou Helladic récent III' (s. xiv—xiii B.C.) several sepulchral deposits (p. 112 f. with fig. 4) 'caractérisés par la présence d'un grand entonnoir à libation percé d'ouvertures enfoui verticalement dans la terre avec, à sa base, une accumulation de vases. Parmi eux des rhytons attestent bien le caractère votif de ces dispositifs (fig.

et 4). Comme nous l'avions déjà dit⁽²⁾ ((2) Cf. Rapport de la troisième campagne, *Syria*, 1932, p. 12), ils ont dû servir au rite magique, ayant probablement pour but de favoriser la fécondité de la terre et dont l'une des tablettes de Ras Shamra semble donner la formule⁽¹⁾ ((1) L.c., *Syria*, 1932, p. 12).'

iii. 429 the *manalis lapis*. F. Bömer 'Der sogenannte lapis manalis' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1936 xxxiii. 270—281 discusses previous interpretations of this 'Regenstein,' rejecting both the derivation from *manare* and that from *Manes*. He starts afresh from the authoritative statements of Varro (*supra* p. 435 n. 2) and contends that *aquae mānale* meant a 'Handkrug für Wasser,' being derived from *mānus* (cp. *id.* 'Lat. *aquae manale*' in *Glotta* 1937 xxvi. 1—7); that *mānalis lapis*—originally termed *mānale sacrum*—was a sacred water-pot, probably a hollow stone of pot-like formation used for ritual purposes (so O. Gilbert *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum* Leipzig 1885 ii. 154 n. 1); and that later this *mānalis lapis* was confused with the *lapis Mānalis* or 'stone of the *Manes*,' Festus' *ostium Orci* (*supra* p. 432 n. 4). Bömer sums up: 'Das Instrument des römischen Regenzaubers war ein *manale sacrum*, ein heiliges Wassergefäß; der wirkliche *lapis manalis*, der Stein der Manen, steht mit dem Regen in keiner Verbindung. Einen *lapis manalis* als Regenstein, an den man bisher glaubte, hat es nie gegeben. Er ist eine etymologische Konstruktion der Antiquare.'

iii. 434 f. the *manales petrae*. T. F. G. Dexter *The Sacred Stone* Perranporth (1929) p. 27 no. 51 cites from Morris *Celtic Researches* a 'Maen Glaw' or "Rain Stone," "which they rolled about when they wanted rain," and compares the *Lapis Manalis* at Rome.

iii. 475 f. the birth of Montezuma. Cp. E. S. Hartland *Primitive Paternity* London 1909 i. 11 'A pearl fell into the bosom of a girl and she swallowed it, as the Chinese tell, with the result that a boy was born (according to one version, from her breast) who afterwards became the great emperor Yu.'

iii. 538 n. o pl. xlv. F. Lenormant 'Jupiter Ægiochus, camée sur chrysoprase' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1875 i. 95—99 pl. 13 published a very large cameo from the Northwick collection (then owned by Feuardent), a chrysoprase in the Asia Minor style of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. Its subject is a facing Zeus, almost exactly like that of my malachite relief, but coarser in effect and without acorns on the oak-wreath.

iii. 564 ff. 'ox-driving.' F. Cumont 'St. George and Mithra "The Cattle-Thief"' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1937 xxvii. 63—71 notes that at the monastery of Ilori in Mingrelia, as late as c. 1850 A.D., 'every year on the Festival of St. George, to whom the church of the monastery was dedicated, an ox mysteriously entered the building ready for sacrifice.' Cumont argues that St George has here replaced Mithras the *βουκλόπος θεός* (Porph. *de antr. nymph.* 18).

iii. 573 Zeus *Polieús* and altar. (Mrs) J. P. Shear in *Hesperia* 1936 v. 316 with fig. 22, 6—8 says: 'Is it not possible to connect this type [my figs. 399—402] with the greatest of the Athenian festivals of Zeus, the Diasia, which was of a propitiatory character?' *Ead. ib.* p. 301 with fig. 11, 1—2 [my fig. 548] would recognise the altar of Zeus Polias [*sic!*] and associate it with the Dipoleia. She gives the same explanation of the *bucranium*-type (her pl. 5, 1—29).

iii. 580 n. o with fig. 404. See now C. Watzinger in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 343 ff. fig. 163 and pl. 175.

iii. 593 Diomos, priest of Zeus *Polieús*, first to slay an ox. But Synkell. *chron.* 153 B (i. 289 Dindorf) says of Kekrops οὗτος πρῶτος βοῦν ἐθυσίασε καὶ Ζῆνα προσηγόρευσεν, ὥς τινες.

iii. 612 n. o. On the Βαλλητύς see also S. Weinstock in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 856.

iii. 623 n. 1 with fig. 423. The design on these glass plaques is drawn (rather unsuccessfully) to a larger scale by W. Technau in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1937 lii. 98 f. fig. 12.

iii. 634 n. 2. E. C. Yorke in the *Class. Quart.* 1936 xxx. 153 f. maintains that the *Prometheus Bound*, 'if Aeschylus was its author,' must have been the latest of his extant plays, to be dated between 458 and 456 B.C. Prof. D. S. Robertson in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1938 lxix. 387 reviews recent opinions and argues from the 'Sophoclean features' of the play for 'the latest possible date.' He even suggests that 'Aeschylus left the *Prometheus* trilogy incomplete' and that some of the odes may have been 'supplied by one of his sons, Euphron and Euaion, or by his nephew Philocles, all tragic poets.'

iii. 655 n. o with figs. 464—469. My conjecture that the head on these coins represents Zeus *Ólbios* can, I find, claim the support of A. Reinach, who in the *Revue*



Bronze statuette of Zeus *Olympios* from Bulgaria,
now in the Museum of the Augusta Trajana Society at Stara Zagora.

See page 1196.



b



a

Fig. 930.

épigraphique 1913 i. 172 no. 461 anent an inscription from Lampsakos dedicated Θεῷ Ὀλβίῳ observed: 'À la lumière de cette inscription il y aurait lieu de se demander si ce n'est pas Zeus Olbios à cornes de taureau qu'il faut voir sur les monnaies à tête cornue qu'on qualifie de Zeus Ammon, Pan ou Priape corniger.' Johanna Schmidt in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 2430.

iii. 767 fl. guardian snakes in pediment. Cp. J. Johnson 'Apotropaic serpents in Minturnae temple decoration' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 306.

iii. 813 n. 3 the cult of Athena on the Nike-bastion. P. Lemerle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1937 lxi. 443 with figs. 4—7 reports that N. Balanos now recognises at least two successive sanctuaries below the level of the classical temple. One, the less ancient, is connected with the altar found by G. Welter (fig. 6). The other, the more ancient, included a hollowed block on which idols were lying (fig. 7) and an altar of Athena Nike mentioned in an archaic inscription [Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 671, A 11 f., Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*³ no. 63, A 11 f. καὶ βοῦδὸν λήγονον ('Adiectivum indicat fuisse quidem iam antea aram, sed non lapideam'), *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 24, 14 f.].

iii. 832 n. 2. Dr H. Frankfort's paper on 'The Burney Relief' has now appeared in the *Archiv für Orientforschung* 1938 xii. 128—135 accompanied by three fresh photographic illustrations. This paper, of which he most kindly sent me an offprint, conclusively vindicates the genuineness of the relief, refers it on stylistic grounds to the Larsa period, and inclines to identify the female figure as Lilith or some other 'inhabitant of the Land of Death.' Her domed crown with four horns marks her as divine. Her so-called "ring and staff" are either 'a measuring rod and line,' as on the *stèle* of Ur-Nammu, or 'on our relief they might well be a continuous coiled piece of rope,' such measuring instruments serving as symbols of justice.

iii. 845 the earliest *Gorgoneion*. F. Chapouthier 'A travers trois gemmes prismatiques (époque Minoenne ['M. M. 1']) in the *Mélanges G. Glotz* Paris 1932 i. 183—201 publishes a three-sided seal-stone in greyish steatite from Mallia, of which one side represents a facing *Gorgoneion* with bristling hair, large ears and eyes, wide cheeks but small mouth, and pointed chin (photographic pl. and fig. 2=J. Charbonneaux in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1933 xlv. 76 fig. 3). The face is flanked by two small branches.

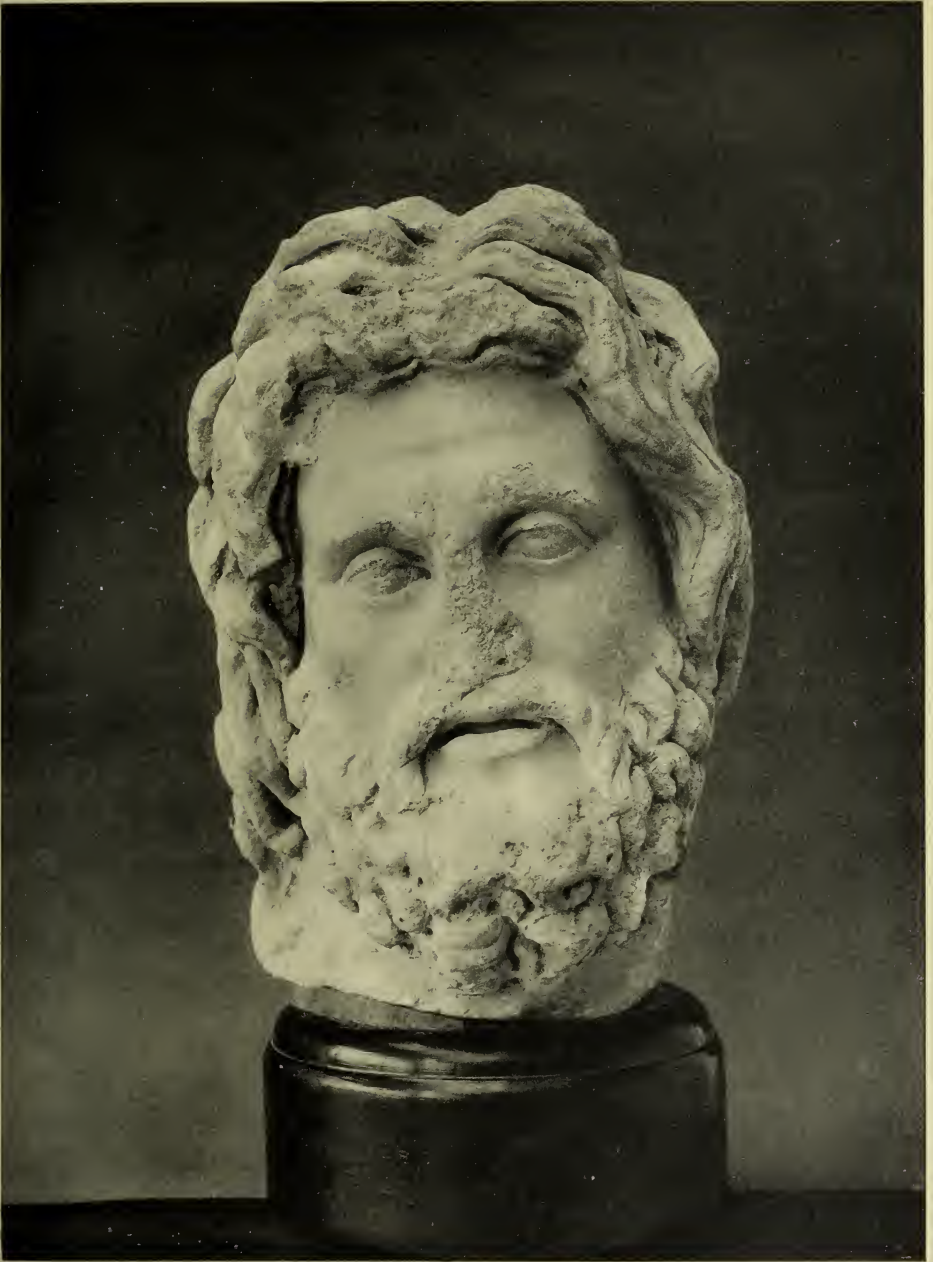
iii. 927 Akmon. On Doias the 'Twin'-brother of Akmon see Norbert Jokl in *Ebert Reallex.* x. 144 and 147 (after A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1907 xli. 347).

iii. 958 the temple of Zeus at Olympia struck by lightning (Paus. 5. 11. 9). C. Picard 'Zeus, Aristophane et Socrate' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1938 li. 60—63 finds an allusion to this incident in Aristoph. *nub.* 401 f. 'Prodige favorable et pieuse intention du ciel, disaient les bons esprits! Τι μαθὼν; εὐτὶς ἐπλήκει le Socrate d'Aristophane, introducteur de dieux nouveaux et destructeur de la tradition religieuse.' This is much better than, with V. Coulon in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1937 l. 453 f., to assume a like happening in the sanctuary of Zeus *Sotér* and Athena *Soteira* at the Peiraieus (Lykourg. in *Leocr.* 17, *alib.*—see Severin Solders *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas* Lund 1931 p. 2). Picard takes the opportunity of listing all the Zeus-cults in or near Athens—a useful record.

iii. 964 copies of the Pheidias Zeus (?). Mr R. M. Cook in a letter from Athens dated Aug. 16, 1935 drew my attention to a small bronze figure of Zeus *Olympios* recently discovered in Bulgaria, and very kindly enclosed the photograph reproduced in my pl. lxxxi. He comments: 'It is a bronze statuette, found last March casually at Smero, a village a little north-east of Stara Zagora. The overall height is about 25 cm.; the height of the figure alone, 18 cm. All of the base is, I believe, original. It is not yet published, though photos of it (from the same negative as this) have appeared in a local paper & in one of the Sofia dailies. It is now in the Museum of the Augusta Trajana Society, at Stara Zagora: the director is Mr C. Raikov.'

iii. 973 Christ in the likeness of Zeus. In the Christian appropriation of pagan statuary two methods were followed, which it might be convenient to distinguish as the outward and the inward. The one imposed some external sign of the new religion. The other sought to appreciate the internal qualities of the old. The first adopted. The second adopted. And naturally the former, as the easier process, was more frequent than the latter. The facts are fairly obvious, and I shall content myself with a single example of each.

H. Bulle in the *Einzel aufgenommen* nos. 1436 and 1437 (=my fig. 930, a and b) Text v. 93 publishes a bearded head of Pelentic marble (height 0.23^m), which came from the neighbourhood of Athens and is now at Karlsruhe, and comments: 'Gehörte ohne Zweifel zu einer Herme.... Wohl originale Arbeit aus der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrh.



Marble head from Jerash :
a third century Zeus (?), which perhaps served as a fifth-century Christ.

See page 1197.

v. Chr.' Bulle ignores the incised cross, which is simply omitted also in the small sketch given by the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1890 v Arch. Anz. p. 5 no. 11. But A. J. B. Wace in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlv. 65 says with more circumspection: 'Cases are known...where a cross was scratched on a work of art in early Christian times to sanctify what would otherwise have been ungodly.'

J. Garstang in *The Illustrated London News* for July 31, 1926 pp. 193—197 devotes a whole article to the interesting head found by H. Horsfield on the east side of the 'Street of Columns' at Jerash (Gerasa). For a detailed study of the site see the reports of J. W. Crowfoot 'The Church of S. Theodore at Jerash' in the *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1929* London pp. 17—36, *id.* 'The Churches of Gerasa, 1928, 1929' *ib.* *Quarterly Statement for 1930* London pp. 32—42, *id.* 'Recent Work round the Fountain Court at Jerash' *ib.* *Quarterly Statement for 1931* London pp. 143—154, *id.* *Churches at Jerash* A Preliminary Report of the Joint Yale-British School Expeditions to Jerash, 1928—1930 (*British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. Supplementary Papers.* iii) London 1931 pp. 1—48 with 13 pls. and a plan. Garstang *loc. cit.* says: 'Between the doorway of the Basilica and that of the circular church, nearer to the former, and in the cloister into which both doors open, the head was found lying upon débris about a foot from the floor, and covered with more débris mixed with architectural remains....Such, briefly, is the evidence which attests that the head was in use contemporaneously with the Christian buildings of the area in which it was found.' Garstang well suggests 'that the head was originally chosen from among the earlier pagan sculptures of the place, or imported specially, as responding to a Christian conception.' He agrees 'that it belongs to the latter half of the second century A.D.' but adds somewhat inconsistently: 'One thing seems clear—that it was fashioned by a great artist who, working upon the established and familiar models of pagan Zeus or Asklepios, glorified them in the realisation of an ideal. Did such a genius exist in the fourth or fifth century at Jerash? And was that ideal the Suffering of Christ?' Accordingly the fine full-face view prefixed to his article is labelled: 'The earliest representation of Christ?...a remarkable sculptured Christ-like head (probably of the latter half of the 2nd century A.D.) found in a 5th-century Christian church at Jerash.' I confess that Garstang's enthusiasm leaves me a little breathless. I had the opportunity of examining the original head soon after its arrival in London (pl. lxxxiii is from the official photographs) and judged it, on stylistic grounds, to be a third-century head of Zeus. I did not think that its pathos was so pronounced as to justify us in calling it an ideal of Suffering. Indeed, the vertical furrows between the eyes, as distinct from the horizontal furrow across the forehead, were suggestive of concentrated thought rather than intense pain. I held, therefore, and still hold, that the Jerash head came from a third-century statue portraying Zeus, perhaps in his character of Providence (*supra* p. 946), a statue which may conceivably have served the fifth-century Gerasenes as an embodiment of Christ.

CORRIGENDA

- i. 13. For 'bliss' read 'bless.'
- i. 117 n. o. For 'p. 444' read 'p. 517.'
- i. 134 n. 4. For 'Lydia' read 'Ionia.'
- i. 175 n. 2. For 'Maas' read 'Maass.'
- i. 216 n. 3. For 'Athen. 84 c ff.' read 'Athen. 456 c ff.'
- i. 220. For '*bacchos*' read '*bákchos*,' and so elsewhere (i. 221, 425, 442, 648, 649, 673).
- i. 236 n. 10. For 'Liban. *or.* ii' read 'Liban. *or.* 11.'
- i. 245. For 'daughter of Helios' read 'granddaughter of Helios.'
- i. 272. For 'man' read 'men.'
- i. 302 n. 5. Delete comma after 'Μυκήνην.'
- i. 330. For 'Saltzmann' read 'Salzmann.'
- i. 335 n. 7. For '104' and '105' read '267' and '268.'
- i. 375. For 'Libye⁷' read 'Libye².'
- i. 398 n. 4. For 'p. 92' read 'p. 311.'
- i. 474. After '*swastika*-patterns' insert 'and.'
- i. 513 n. 5. For 'fig. 113' read 'fig. 387.'
- i. 546 n. 4. For '471 n. 4.' read '471 f.'
- i. 571 n. 2. For '§ 10 (a)' read '§ 10 (b).'
- i. 591 n. 3. For 'In this' read 'In the.'
- i. 604 n. 10. For 'mother-god' read 'mother-goddess.'
- i. 646 n. 3. For 'Ζάν' read 'Ζάν.'
- i. 660 n. 2. For 'Strab. 476' read 'Strab. 475.'
- i. 675. For 'Kuster' read 'Küster.'
- i. 717 n. 2. For 'E. Cumont' read 'F. Cumont.'
- i. 732 n. 1. For 'n. 2' read 'n. 1.'
- i. 768 n. o. For '*in Alterthum*' read '*im Alterthum*.'
- i. 776. For 'millenium' read 'millennium.'
- i. 800. For 'Zeus Πελωνάινος' read 'Zeus Πελωνάιος.'
- i. 824. For 'Kynados' read 'Kounados.'
- i. 827 *s.v.* Makedonia. For 'Zeus 126 ff.' read 'Zeus 100 ff.'
- i. 837 *s.v.* Phrygia. For 'Zeus Παπίας 393₃' read 'Zeus Παπίας 399₃.'
- i. 842 *s.v.* Seimios. For '533 f.' read '553 f.'
- i. 855 *s.v.* Zeus *nursed by*. For 'by goat 112₂ 112₃' and '720₄' read 'by goat 112₃' and '720₃.'
- i. 856 *s.v.* Zeus *Attributes*. For 'blue mantle 33₁' read 'blue mantle 33.'
- i. 867 *s.v.* Fick, A. For '690₄' read '690₅.'
- i. 867 *s.v.* Fire. For 'Zeus 702₆' read 'Zeus 702₁.'
- i. 870 *s.v.* Heydemann, H. For '698₁' read '698₄.'
- i. 870 *s.v.* Hill, G. F. For '356₂' read '356₄' and for '602₄' read '602₅.'
- i. 875 *s.v.* Nilsson, M. P. For '669₃' read '669₆.'
- i. 879 *s.v.* Rolland, E. For '357₃' read '257₃.'
- i. 882. For 'Svoronos, J. H. (*cont.*)' read 'Svoronos, J. N. (*cont.*).'
- ii. 864. For 'nforms' read 'informs.'
- ii. 1093 n. 1. For '*recques*' read '*grecques*.'
- ii. 1096 n. 4. For 'μοιοῦμενον' read 'ὁμοιούμενον.'
- ii. 1113 n. o. For 'ὀνομάζοντες' read 'ὀνομάζοντας.'

- ii. 1323 s.v. Syria. The last entry 'Sun, Moon, and Morning-Star in folk-tale from 1004 ff.' should have been s.v. Syra.
- ii. 1361 s.v. Eitrem, S. For '1042₁₁' read '1142₁₁.'
- iii. 57 n. 2. For 'ὀρνιθογονίας β' read 'ὀρνιθογονίας β'.'
- iii. 79. For 'Man said' read 'Men said.'
- iii. 104 n. 1. For 'n. 3' read 'n. 4.'
- iii. 360 n. 4. For 'vi. 2089' read 'iv. 2089.'
- iii. 400 n. 2. For 'Gábrici' read 'Gàbrici,' and so on p. xxi of vol. ii.
- iii. 416 n. o. For 'Tetz.' read 'Tzetz.'
- iii. 518 n. 3. For 'être à' read 'être là.'
- iii. 775. For '(fig.)' read '(fig. 569).'
- iii. 976. For 'Brugman' read 'Brugmann,' and so on p. 977.
- iii. 981. For 'pl. lxix' read 'pl. lxx.'



Fig. 931.

Zeus *Tróios*
on a bronze coin of Hierapolis in Phrygia
(Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen*
p. 214 f. no. 693 pl. 12, 22).
Supra ii. 571 n. 6.

INDEX I

PERSONS PLACES FESTIVALS

The contents of each item are arranged, as far as possible, under the following heads: *Cults Epithets Festivals Oracles Rites Priests Worshippers Personations Myths Metamorphoses Genealogy Functions Etymology Attributes Types Identifications Assimilations Associations Comparisons Relations Supersedure.*

In the Genealogies f. = father, m. = mother, s. = son, d. = daughter, b. = brother, st. = sister, gf. = grandfather, gm. = grandmother, gs. = grandson, gd. = granddaughter, h. = husband, w. = wife.

The larger numerals refer to pages, the smaller numerals to foot-notes.

- Abaddir
Cults: Manliana 937₀ Poeni 937₀
Epithet: Sanctus 937₀
Priests: eucaddires 937₀
- Abaris, controls wind 106
- Abbeville, statuette of pantheistic Zeus at 1129
- Abdera, coins of 1002 f. 1008
- Aberkios, epitaph of 972₀ 1128
- Abirkios, tombstone of 1126
- Aborras 1027₁
- Abydos
Cult: meteorite 886
 — coins of 856₀
- Acerbas 646₀
- Achaeans
Cults: Zeus 650₀ Zeus 'Ελλάδιος 1164
 — shaft-graves of 362 (?)
- Achero 98_{0(s)}
- Acheron 152 416
- Achilles
Cult: Olbia 654₀
Epithet: Ποντόρχης 654₀
Myth: Penthesileia 956
Type: passage to Islands of the Blest 135
 — shield of 596 f. when dead demands bride 395 (?)
- Achilleus, s. of Thetis 1043 See Achilles
- Achilleus, the earth-born 1043
- Adad
Cults: Heliopolis in Syria 1095
 Nabataioi 1097 Palmyra 1093
Attribute: golden thunderbolt 1095
Types: seated between two bulls with thunderbolt 1097 standing on bull with thunderbolt 831 standing on bull with double three-pronged thunderbolt in either hand 1095
Identified with Zeus 945
Compared with Ramman, Tešub, and the god of Mt Tabor 1173
- Adighe 1114 See Circassians
- Admete, d. of Eurystheus 1029
- Adonia 1118
- Adonis
Cult: Malta 1031₇ (?)
Myth: killed by boar 817₀
Identified with Aion 914₀
Superseded by John the Baptist 1031₇ (?)
- Adraa, coins of 907
- Adrasteia
Epithet: ὀρεῖν 922₈
Myth: served by Kelmis, Damna-meneus, and Akmon 922₈
- Adrasteia, a Cretan Nymph 931₃
- Adrian, St 523₄
- Aeneas 102 f.
- Aërias 646₀
- Aether See Aither
- Aëthlios, s. of Aiolos, reputed to be s. of Zeus 107
- Agallis 596 f.
- Agamedes
Associated with Trophonios 507₅
- Agamemnon
Myth: Palladion 609
 — early connected with Lakedaimon and Amyklai 1181 later divinised as Zeus Agamēmnōn 1181 stone ship of 1171
- Agapius, St 1102
- Agatha, St 447₆
- Agathos Daimon
Type: ὄφις ἱερακόμορφος 343₁
Identified with Daimon Milichios (?) 1187
- Agave 1124
- Agdistis
Cult: Peiræus 1192
Myth: pomegranate springs from his severed member 815₀
Function: doublet of Attis 1174

- Agdistis** (*cont.*)
Type: draped goddess with *týmpanon* presenting flower to Attis 1192
- Agdos**, Mt
Myth: Agdistis 236
- Agenor** 161₁
- Aglauros**
Rites: human sacrifice at Salamis in Kypros 653₀ oath of *épheboi* 242
Myths: Erichthonios 185 f. 248₆ 764 f. voluntary death for her country 242₆
Genealogy: Agraulos or Agraulis d. of Aktaios or Aktaion 242 w. of Ares 283₅ m. of the Kekropides 242 m. of Keryx by Hermes 602 f.
Functions: dew 237 603 944 earth-goddess 242 944 water-nymph 237₂ (?)
Etymology: 237₂
Associated with Demeter *Κουροτρόφος* 242
- Aglibol**
Cult: Palmyra 1158 f.
Type: in military dress with crescent horns and spear 1159
Associated with Bel and Iaribol 1158 f.
- Agni**
Genealogy: f. of Ekata, Dvita, Trita 544 f.
- Agnostos** Theos
Cult: Athens 1162
- Agon** Capitolinus 1141
- Agorakritos** 707 f. (?)
- Agra**
Cults: Artemis *Ἀγορέρα* 725 Eileithyia 168 724 Persephone and Demeter 722
Rites: Lesser Mysteries 722
- Agrai** 168 See Agra
- Agraulides** 659₀ (?) 660₀ (?)
- Agraulis** See Aglauros
- Agraulos** See Aglauros
- Agreus**
Cult: Korkyra 271₃
Attribute: *cornu copiae* 271₃
- Agrigentum**
Cults: Zeus *Ἀγαθύριος* 525 Zeus *᾽Ολύμπιος* 1171 f.
 — coins of 414_{0(w)} 415_{0(w)} 1146
 Olympion at 1171 f. (bibliography)
 tombs for horses at 1187
- Aia** 236₉
- Aiaia**
Etymology: 1073 (?)
- Aiakidai** 650₀
- Aiakos**
Genealogy: forefather of Aeginetans and Pergamenes 1164
Function: judge of dead 402
Type: head on coins of Aigina (?) 1164
- Aias**
Epithet: *τελαμώνιος* 650₀
Function: faded god (?) 650₀
Etymology: 651₀
- Aias**, s. of Oileus
Myths: Cassandra 867 956 struck by lightning 868
- Aias**, s. of Teukros, as name of priestly dynasts at Olba 643₀ 645₀ founds cult of Zeus *Ὀλβιος* 643₀ prehistory of 650₀ ff.
- Aidoneus** 6
- Aigaion** 139₂ (?)
- Aigaion**, Mt 929
- Aigeion**, Mt 1177
 See also Aigaion, Mt
- Aigeira**
Cult: Zeus 1107 f.
 — coins of 1107 colossal head of Zeus from 1107 f.
- Aigeus**
Myths: leaves sword beneath rock at Troizen 484₁₁ suicide 240₁
Type: witnesses birth of Erichthonios 186
- Aigikoreis** 1083
- Aigina**
Cults: Zeus 650₀ Zeus *Ἑλλάγιος* 1164 f.
Festivals: Amphiphorites (*Ἀμφορίτης ἀγών*) 603₁₂ Delphinia 603₁₂ Hydrophoria 603₁₂
Myth: contest of Poseidon with Zeus 751₁
 — coins of 1164 (?)
- Aigina**, d. of Asopos 1121 f.
- Aigion**
Cult: Eileithyia 663₂
- Aigipan** 620₀ (?)
- Aigis**, a monster slain by Athena 839
- Aigos** Potamos, coins of 886₂ meteor of 885 f.
- Aigyptos**
Genealogy: s. of Belos and twin-b. of Danaos 355 f. of fifty sons 355
- Aimilius** Paullus impressed by the statue of Zeus at Olympia 960
- Aineias**
Myth: rescued from Diomedes by Apollon 103
 — phantom of 103
- Ainos** in Thrace
Cult: Hermes *Περφεραίος* 1137
Myth: Epeios' statue of Hermes caught by fishermen in net 1137
- Aiolie** 106 140
- Aiolis** 161
- Aiolos**
Epithet: *ἰπποχάρμης* 109₇
Genealogy: f. of Aëthlios 107 f. of Makedon 110
Function: wind 157
Etymology: 109
Identified with Aiolos Hippotades 109 ff. 944
- Aiolos** Hippotades
Myth: 106 ff. 975
Genealogy: six sons and six daughters 106 107₃
Functions: a dead chieftain 107 944 'a

Aiolos Hippotades (*cont.*)

sort of Zeus' 107 (?) cp. 944 keeper
or king of the winds 106 f. 944

Etymology: 107₃

Identified with Aiolos eponym of
Aeolians 109 ff. 944

Compared with Amakleides (Amal-
keides), Protokles, Protokreon 122₂

Aiolos, Islands of, called Plotai 987

Aion

Cult: Alexandria 913

Epithet: Αἰὼν Αἰώνων 913₄

Rite: birth from Kore 913

Function: syncretistic deity combining
Chaldaean, Persian, Phoenician,
Egyptian, and Gnostic elements
914₀

Attributes: horned lion 1180 Hydra

1180 Kerberos 1180 two snakes 1180

Types: leonine head, four wings, four
arms, eye on chest, lion-heads on
belly and both knees, etc. 1180
naked child marked with five golden
crosses 913 916 f. phoenix with
radiate nimbus 913₁ standing in
zodiacal ring carried by Atlas 1128
syncretistic 1180

Identified with Adonis 913₄ Osiris 913₄

— philosophic laudation of 913₄

Aion, s. of Baaut and Kolpias 914₀

Aisa

Genealogy: d. of Nyx 718₁

Function: spinner 716

Associated with Poros 747₁

Aischylos, date of *P.v.* by 634₂ 1194 makes
Athena both winged and wingless
in same play 810 f. on the succession
of Ouranos, Kronos, Zeus 739 on
the possible overthrow of Zeus 740 f.
on Zeus and the problem of evil
974

Aither

Cults: Amaseia 879 Orphists 879

Epithets: 'Αλεξιχάλατος 879 Διὸς Αἰθέρ
454₁ pater 453₂ pater omnipotens
452₃

Genealogy: f. of Nephelai 70 879

Function: rain 452₃

Aithra 485₀ 485₁₂

Aitne, Mt

Cults: Hadran 177₀ Hephaistos 177₀

Myths: Briareus 3₀ Enkelados 3₀
Typhoeus 3₀

Aix, d. of Helios

Myth: hidden by Ge in a Cretan cave,
where—tended by Amaltheia—she
nurtures infant Zeus with her milk
839₆ 840₀

Compared with Minotaur in Labyrinth
840₀

Akakallis 414₀

Akamantes

Cults: Kyrene 115 Marathon 115

Functions: the dead 116 (?) winds
116 (?)

Akanthos in Egypt

Cult: Osiris 338

Rite: priests empty Nile-water daily
into holed *pitthos* 338 f. 354 372_s

Akephalos Theos 1127

Akeso 1083

Akhmim 884₀ See Chemmis

Ak Kilsse

Cult: (Zeus) Πόλωξος 1140 (?)

Akmon

Genealogy: twin-b. of Doias 1196 of
Ouranos 927

Function: servant of mountain-
mother 922

Etymology: 925

Identified with Kronos 927₅ Ouranos
927₄

Akmoneia

Cult: Zeus 794

— coins of 794 1070

Akragas See Agrigentum

Akraiphia

Cult: Zeus Κεραίως 1162 1165

Akrisios

Myths: imprisons Danaë in bronze
chamber 364 455 expulsion of infant
Perseus 1187 sends Danaë and
Perseus adrift in a chest 455 killed
by *diskos* of Perseus 1187

Genealogy: f. of Danaë 364 f. of Danaë
by Eurydike d. of Lakedaimon
455

Identified with Kronos (?) 1187

Aktaion

Type: Polygnotos 1067

Aktaion, f. of Aglauros 242₄

Aktaios, f. of Agrauros 55₅ 242

Akte 260

Alban Mt

Cult: Iupiter *Latiaris* 492

Alcumena 517 See also Alkmene

Aleos 823

Alexander the Great

Personates Zeus 540₀

Types: leonine 957₀ Lysippos 957₀
thick neck, upward glance, leonine
hair 540₀ wearing *aigis* as *chlamys*
540₁

In relation to Zeus *Ammon* 1076 f.
(bibliography)

— coins of 226 consults oracular trees
of Sun and Moon in Prasiake 420₀
hurls spear at Troad 754₂ reverts to
pre-Pheidias type of seated Zeus
1155 f. sacrifices to Liber *Pater*
in Thrace 1118

Alexandreia

Cults: Aion 913 Demeter 990 ff.
Isis 346 Kore 913 Osiris 346 ff.
Serapis 553₂ Zeus Νέμειος 1191

Rites: birth of Aion 913 ἡ τοῦ καλᾶθου
πρόσδος 990

— coins of 346 ff. 904₅ 913₄ 991 f.
1045 1111 f. 1191 Koreion at 913
Serapion at 553₂

- Alexandros
Myth: Helene 78
- Ali, Abbas 1168 ff.
- Aliphera
Cults: Asklepios 126₅ Athena 126₅
 Zeus Αεχέαρης 99₀ 127₀
- Alipheros, eponym 126₅
- Alkamenes 169₀ 171₀ 215 216₁ 223 722₃
- Alkestis dies for love 99₃
- Alkman brings *kalathiskos*-dance from
 Sardeis to Sparta 1003 (?)
- Alkmene
Myth: consorts with Zeus 506 ff. 518
Genealogy: w. of Amphitryon and m.
 of Herakles by Zeus 506
Type: seated as suppliant on altar
 511 f.
- Allât 914₁
- Aloeus 4₀
- Alybe (Halybe) 1101
- Amalberga, St 338₁
- Amalkeides 121
- Amaltheia the goat
Myth: flayed by Zeus, who wears its
 skin 839
- Amaltheia the nymph
Myth: entrusts infant Zeus to her goat
 839₆
Genealogy: m. of Dionysos by Ammon
 126₄ (?)
- Amaseia
Cult: Aither 'Αλεξιχάλας 879
- Amasis, the vase-painter 681 (?)
- Amastris = Amasra
Cults: Augustus 1163 Ge (?) Κυρία
 1140 Theos Aniketos 'Ασβαμεύς 1140
 Theos Hypsistos 'Επήκοος 'Ηλιος
 1163 Zeus Στρατηγός 148
 — coins of 794 'Vogelfels' near
 1162 f.
- Amathous in Kypros
Cults: Iupiter *Hospes* (Zeus Ξένιος)
 653₀ Zeus Μελίχιος 1187
Rite: human sacrifice to Iupiter
Hospes (Zeus Ξένιος) 653₀
Myth: Cerastae 653₀
 — scarab from 807
- Anathus, s. of Aërias 646₀
- Ambrosia the nymph, attacked by
 Lykourgos, is transformed into vine
 1111 f. gives bowl to Ganymedes (?)
 982
- Ambrosiai Petrai 978 ff.
- Āmen
Cults: Napata 882₂ Thebes in Egypt
 882₂
Function: sky-god 882₂
Types: aniconic 882₂ enthroned bundle
 representing dead man in sitting
 posture 1077 meteorite (?) 882₂
omphalós 882₂
Identified with Ba'al-hammān 1076
Compared with Jehovah 884₀
- Āmen-Râ
Function: sun 885₀
- Āmen-Râ (*cont.*)
Identified with Zeus 882₂ 945
In relation to Min 885₀ the other ram-
 gods Heryshef, Khnum, and the
 Lord of Mendes 885₀
- Ammon
Cult: Oxyrynchos 1076
Myth: hides Dionysos 126₄ (?)
Genealogy: f. of Dionysos by
 Amaltheia 126₄ (?)
Identified with Zeus 945
- Ammoneion 882₂ 1076 See Oasis of Siwah
- Amnisos, Artemis bathes in 1032₃
- Eileithyia, d. of Hera, born in cave
 at mouth of 1032₃ Nymphs of 1032₃
- Amon 882₂ 1076 See Āmen
- Amphiareion near Oropos, excavations at
 1181
- Amphion 54
- Amphion and Zethos (bibliography) 1135
- Amphiphorites ('Αμφιφορίτης άγών) 603₁₂
- Amphipolis, coins of 856₀
- Amphitrite
Epithet: Ποσειδωνία 1047₁₁
Etymology: 124 f.
Associated with Poseidon 681 958
- Amphitryon
Myth: Alkmene 506 ff.
Genealogy: f. of Iphikles by Alkmene
 506
Etymology: 506
 — cup of 507 507₅ *thálamos* of, built
 by Trophonios and Agamedes 507₅
 tripods dedicated by 507₅
- Amūn 882₂ 884₀ 885₀ See Āmen
- Amyklai
Cult: Apollon 1109 f.
 — throne of Apollon at 220 631₄
 1109 f.
- Amyklaion, relief from 1109 *stéle* from 1008
- Amykos 145₃ 177₀
- Amymone
Myths: Satyr 356 Poseidon 361 369
Function: fountain-nymph 357
- Amynandridai 771₄
- Anagyrus See Vari
- Anahita
Cult: Persia 916₁
Etymology: 916₁
- Anaitis 1134 See also Anahita
- Anaktes
Cult: Athens 120
Priests: *Anaktoteléstai* 1068
- Ananke, spindle of 1116
- Anaphe
Cult: Apollon 'Ασγελάδας 570₂
Festivals: Aegelaia 570₂ Taurophone(i)a
 570₂ Theudaisia 570₂
- Anaxagoras 418₀ 454 481₃ 886
- Anaximandros 949₆
- Androgeos
Cults: Athens 157 Phaleron 158
Epithets: Εβρουγής 157 f. κατά πρύμναν
 ήρας 158₄
Genealogy: 158₂

Andros, Isiac hymn from 986

Anemoi

Cult: Tarentum 105 f.

See also Venti

Anemokoitai 104

Anesidora 202₀

Annakos 527 f.

Anogeia, folk-tale from 1070

Anoubis

Cults: Delos 154 f. Egypt 48₀

— oath by (?) 48₀

Antaios challenges strangers to wrestling-
bout 177₀ keeps in touch with
mother-earth 1174 grave of, at Tingis
372₈ 440₉ myth of, influenced by that
of Kyknos 440₉ (?)

Anthedon

Cult: Zeus Μιλίχιος 1187

Anthesteria 430₀

Anthousa 71₄

Antimacheia

Cult: Zeus 'Τέτιος 562

Antiocheia on the Orontes

Cult: Zeus Σωτήρ 22

Rite: alytarch of Olympian games

personates Zeus 562₃

— bibliography of 1191 chalice from
972

Antiochos I of Kommagene

Epithets: Θεός Δίκαιος 'Επιφανής 951

Personates Zeus 'Ωρομόσδης 951 (?)

Antiope

Myth: consorts with Zeus 467 469 615₃

Type: pendant to Danaë 469

Antipas, St 1102

Antiphilos, the painter 627₀

Antisthenes 595

Antoninus Pius

Personates Zeus 1130

Aonia 531

Aos 512 See also Heos (Eos)

Apameia in Phrygia

Cult: Poseidon 22

Festival: Kibotoi 530 (?)

— coins of 293₂ 528 f. 530 named

Kibotos 530

Apeliotes 130

Apelles 297

Apesas, Mt

Cults: Zeus 'Απεσάντιος 1165 Zeus
'Αφέσιος 1165

Aphrodisias in Karia

Cult: Zeus Πατρώος (= Augustus) 1191

— coins of 1148

Aphrodisias in Kilikia, coins of 763₂ (?)

Aphrodite

Cults: Argos 320₄ Askalon 154 Athens
170₀ 171₀ 722 725 f. 726 Athmonia
or Athmonon 55₅ Mt Eryx 172 f.
Gaza 553 Ioulis 269₁ Cape Kolias
172 Megalopolis 567₀ Paphos 238₁
1112 1134 Samos 66₂ Saracens 915₂
Sparta 722₃ Thessaly 271 (?)

Epithets: ἀναδυομένη 297 ἐν 'Ελει 66₂
ἐν Καλάμοις 66₂ ἐν Κήποις 165 168

Aphrodite (*cont.*)

169₀ 171 174₀ 722 726 'Ενόπλιος 722₃

'Ερυνίκη 175₂ καλή 1073 Κτήσυλλα

269₁ Μαχανίτις 567₀ Οὐρανία 55₅ 152₆

153 f. 171₀ 722 Παφία 899₅ 1134

Χαβάρ (Χαμάρ) 915₂ 915₃ 917₇

Rite: sacrifice of heifer 171₀

Priestesses: ιερόδουλοι 177₀

Personated by woman on ladder (?) 1118

Myths: springs from seed of Ouranos

274 springs from seed of Zeus 274

is borne by dolphin to Kypros 274

plants pomegranate in Kypros 817₀

sleeps with Hephaistos 175₂ trans-

forms Melos the Delian into μηλέα

and Pelias into πέλεια 817₀

Genealogy: eldest of the Moirai 171₀

m. of Eryx by Boutas or by Poseidon

176₀

Functions: mountain-mother 177₀

unites Sky with Earth 453 morning

dew 172 vegetation 175₂

Etymology: 274₆ 275₀ 276₀

Attributes: bud 1060 dove 175₂ 638₀

1057 doves 1112 flower 1060 mirror

94₀

Types: acrolithic *πάνον* 567₀ Alka-

menes 171₀ (?) 722₃ Capuan 173₀

Cnidian 970 cone 650₀ crouching

561 Damophon 567₀ Doidalses 471

draped and veiled 681 draped and

flanked by two hovering Eroses 1018

draped and flanked by two winged

female figures (Nikai?) 1016 ff.

drawn by sparrows 831 drawn by

swans 831₂ Fréjus 171₀ 173₀ (?) herm

171₀ 722 holding pomegranate 818₀ (?)

in archaistic reliefs of the Twelve

Gods 1055 ff. leaning on archaistic

effigy of herself 171₀ leaning on

pillar with tree in background 171₀

Melian 171₀ nude 834 nude goddess

flanked by two Sirens 1016 nude

goddess pressing her breast with

dove or doves flying about her 1016

Pheidias 698 698₆ riding on goat

831 rising from sea 957 f. semi-

draped 698₆ standing with dove on

finger 638₀ with Eros at her shoulder

1022 with uplifted sandal 1020

stepping on to boat 137₄

Identified with Astarte 177₀ (?)

Associated with Ares 681 Eros 170₀

700 (?) 704 725 f. 746 Eryx 176₀

Poseidon 675₂ 699 f.

Compared with ψυχή 747₂

In relation to Astarte 275₀₍₂₎ 276₀ coot

52₁ dove 275₀₍₁₎ (?) Moirai 722

— meadows of 1064₄

Aphros, forefather of Aphroi

Genealogy: f. of Aphrodite by Astynome

276₁ s. of Kronos by Philyra 276₁

Apidanos 366

Apis

Types: bovine bust with solar disk

Apis (*cont.*)

between horns and lunar crescent
round neck 1032 double bust (with
Isis) 1132

Apollo

Cult: Rome 436₀

Epithet: *pastoralis* 268₁

Type: in Pompeian paintings of Twelve
Gods 1062_(1 f.)

See also Apollon

Apollodoros the mythographer 1103 f.

Apollon

Cults: Amyklai 1109 f. Anaphe 570₂
Athens 725 Bulla Regia 825₅ Chembis
983 Delos 119 984 f. Dreros 1087
Ephesos 1174 Gaza 553 Gryneion
100 Hybla 1029 Hyperboreoi 106₁
Karthia 269₁ Kaulonia 830 Klaros
100 Korkyra 1120 Leukas 137₄
Miletos 474₀ Peiraius 1083 Selinous
614₅ Tenedos 1146 Thebes in
Boiotia 507₅ 880 Thespiiai 1070 Vari
261 265₀

Epithets: Ἀγρεύς 267 Ἀγνιεύς 1120
Ἀσγελάτας 570₂ Γαλάξιος (?) 880₁
Δελφίνιος 1087 Ἐριφύλλιος (?) Ἐρί-
φυλλος 321₀ Ἐρρος 261 Ἰσμῆνιος 507₅
880 Κάρνειος 996 Καρνείος 1078
Λατῶς 1047₁₁ Λευκάτης 137₄ Λύκιος
355₄ Ναπαῖος 100₆ (?) Νόμος 265₀ 267
ὀλβιοεργός 630₆ ὀλβιος 630₅ Πυθαῖος (?)
1120 Πύθιος 725 Σκυλακεύς 413₀ (?)
Φίλιος (= Φιλήσιος) 474₀ Χαλάξιος 880

Oracles: Delphoi 100₄ Gryneion 100
Klaros 100

Rite: sacrifice of asses 106₁

Priestess: the *Pythia* 100 (?) 1122

Myths: is born in Delos 984 f. is hidden
by Leto in Chembis 983 f. borrows
aigis of Zeus 314₃ wears *aigis* 866
wraps *aigis* round Hektor 866
rescues Aineias from Diomedes 103
steals Delphic tripod 799₁ visits
Lesbian oracle of Orpheus 99 f.
woos Thetis 742 Branchos 474₀
Kroisos 519 f.

Genealogy: s. of Zeus by Leto, and b.
of Artemis 744₁₍₆₎ s. of Dionysos by
Isis, and b. of Artemis 984 f. of
Kydon by Akakallis d. of Minos
414₀ f. of Miletos by Akakallis d. of
Minos 414₀

Functions: hail 880 sun 120₆ 726₆
welfare 630₅

Etymology: 1135 (?) 1136

Attributes: apple (?) 1136 bay-branch
99 bay-wreath 99 bow and arrow
675 hawk 1073 *kithára* and *pléktron*
683 684 swan 757₀

Types: square pillar inscribed KAPN-
EIOΣ 996 first wooden statue 119
holding double axe 1146 nude,
archaic, advancing to right with
filleted bay-branch and strung bow
1164 with Charites in right hand

Apollon (*cont.*)

1124 with hawk on head 46 Kassel
1155 Pheidias (?) 1155 *kitharoidós*
707 ff. 725 contest with Marsyas
659₀ 710 slaying Niobids 955 riding
on swan 831 1136 in car drawn by
swans 830 f. in archaistic reliefs of
the Twelve Gods 1055 ff.

Identified with Aristaios 267 f. Horos
984

Associated with Artemis 707 958 Zeus

Βροντῶν 1160 f. Zeus Πατρώος 1174

Compared with meteor 885

Supersedes Dionysos 1125

— *provenance of* 1135 1137

Apollonia ad Rhyndacum, coins of 856₀

Apolloniastai 155

Apollonios of Tyana greets Pheidias'
statue of Zeus at Olympia 961

Apulia

Myth: Daunus 364

Apulu 88₀

Apulum

Cult: Iupiter Optimus Bussumarus 1140

Iupiter Optimus Maximus Bussu-
marius 1140

Aquae Albulae 1013

Aquae Cutiliae, floating island in 1012 f.
sacred to Victory (*sc.* Vacuna) 1012

Aquae Salsulae, floating island in 1015

Aquae Sulis

Cults: Luna 863₁₁ Sol 863₁₁ Sulis 858 ff.

— bronze head from 862 large pedi-
mental relief from 862 ff. smaller
pedimental reliefs from 863₁₁ some-
times called Aquae Solis 863

Aquileia in Venetia, mosaic from 627₍₃₎

Aquilo 107 162₅

Arabia

Cults: Arsu 1163 Hobal 334₁ Manāf
1163 Morning Star 915₂

Myth: *Kalila and Dimna* 405₀

Arachova 335₁

Arados

Cult: 'Dagon' 126₄

— coins of 159₀

Arantides

Cult: Illyrioi (?) 1184

Ararat, Mt 530₇ 531₀

Aratos, the exordium of 947 953 f. 974
quoted by St Paul 954

Arcadian League, coins of 715₀

Arcadians called προσέληνοι 315₀

— claim to have seen Zeus shake the
aigis 314

Archelaos of Priene 37 1070

Archilochos on rights and wrongs of
animals 949

Ardea 365

Arelate, stag-mummers at 1067

Ares

Cults: Makedonia 282₆ Papremis 344₃

Epithet: Θαῦλλος (?) or Θαῦλος 282₆

Genealogy: s. of Zeus 344₃ s. of Zeus
by Hera, and b. of Hebe and

Ares (cont.)

Eileithyia 744₁₍₇₎ h. of Agrauros 283₅

Functions: originally more than war-god 283₅ (?) fire in air 235₇

Attribute: hound 683

Type: in archaic reliefs of the

Twelve Gods 1055 ff.

Associated with Aphrodite 681

Arethousa 515₁

Argaios, Mt, as object of worship 1068 ascent of 1176 image of, as head-dress 1177 image of, in hand of Zeus 1177 small bronze eagle on pillar representing (?) 1177 small bronze eagle on stag representing (?) 1177 small bronze model of 1177

Arge 1172

Argo 778₁ 779₆ 975

Argonauts, found Amphiphorites ('Αμφοριτης άγων) at Aigina 603₁₂ historical element in myth of 360₂ sent past Planktai by Hera 975 warned of Kyaneai by Phineus 976

Argos

Cults: Aphrodite 320₄ Athena 'Οξυδερχής 785₁ Athena Σάπλιγξ 729₃ Demeter Πελασγίς 417₆ Hellotis 1092 Hera 65 566₂ 1043 ff. 1085 Hera Βασίλεια 66 Hera Ειλείθια 725₄ Zeus 'Ερκείος 455 Zeus Μηχανεύς 142₈ 566₂ Zeus "Ολβιος 631 Zeus 'Υέτιος 563

Epithets: άννδρον 361₈ f. 368 διψίαν... χθόνα 361 πολυδίψιον 361 368

Festival: Hysteria 320₄

Rites: ιερὸς γάμος 1044 ff. initiation 1046 Λεχέρνα 1044 women present veil to Hera 1046

Myths: Akrisios 364 Danaos and the Danaïdes 355 ff. irrigation by Danaos or the Danaïdes 361 f. Io 631 ff. Kleobis and Biton 1044 Polyneikes 563 Poseidon contends with Hera 751₁ Tyrsenos discovers trumpet 729₃

— early kings of 67₂ after the peace of Nikias 62 f. Amymonian Waters at 361 archaic bronze vessel at 566₂ bones of Tantalos at 417₆ (?) bronze chamber of Danaë at 455 coins of 355₄ 471 Hellotion at 1092 Heraion at 633₀ tomb of Pelasgos at 566₂ relief of Selene from 1085 f.

Argos, watcher of Io

Attribute: bull's hide 837

Types: with eye on his chest 631₄ covered with eyes 633₀ wearing ox-hide cape 634₁ wearing panther-skin 638₆

Ariatha 1090

Aristaios

Cults: Arkadia 268 Keos 267 f.

Myths: builds altar to Zeus Ιkmaïos 266 sacrifices to Seirios 266 saves Keos from drought 266 Sardinia 270

Aristaios (cont.)

Genealogy: s. of Apollon by Kyrene and f. of Aktaion 266₃ f. of Charmos and Kallikarpus 270

Functions: culture-hero 266 f. king embodying sky-god 269

Type: Zeus-like head 270 f.

Identified with Apollo Αgreüs and Νόμιος 267 f. Zeus 270 Zeus Aristaios 267 f.

Aristoteles, false reading for Aristokles (?) 1043₄

Aristotle 482 f.

Arkadia

Cults: Aristaios 268 Zeus Λύκαιος 525

Rite: priest of Zeus Λύκαιος makes rain by stirring the spring Hagno with oak-branch 315

Arkalochori Cave near Lyktos, perhaps the famous cave of Zeus and Rhea 1143 treasure from 1143

Arkesilaos, the sculptor 1022

Arkesine, coins of 820₂

Armenia

Cult: Astlik 293₂

Festival: Vartavar 293

Rite: pigeons set free 293

Armenios 946

Arnouphis 325 f. 332

Arrhephoria 165 ff. 179 188 236 240 f. 602

Arrhetophoria 165₇ (?) 166₆

Arsu 1163

Artemidos, St 269

Artemis

Cults: Agra 725 Athens 1181 Bithynia

992 f. Boiotia 990 Ephesos 896₂ 968

Gygaia Limne 989 Ioulis 269

Messene 66₂ Olympia 1009 Palaio-

polis in Korkyra 844₁₀ Patmos 986

Sardeis 1082 Sparta 1009 1030

Epithets: 'Αγροτέρα 725 'Αλφειονία 671₀

'Αμαρυσία 55₅ 'Αναίτις 899₅₍₃₎ 'Αρίστη

268₆ γαιάδοχος 10₄ διοτρεφής 34₂ (?)

'Ελεία 66₂ 'Ελευθέρα 899₅₍₂₎ 'Εροδία

279₄ 'Εφεσία 324₅ 899₅ 900 1133

1134 'Θροσία 1083 Καλλίστη 263₆

1124 1181 Κολονηή 989 Κορδάκα 1009

Λυγοδέσμα 1030 f. 1031₅ Μουνυχία

233₁ 'Ορβία 1009 1030 1031₅ 1134

Παγασίτις 1083 Παρθένος 986 Πατμία

986 Περσία 565₁ Σκυλακίτις 413₀

Ταυροπόδος 624₆ 636₆

Rites: άρκτηύσασα 1083 νέβρεια (?) 1083

παρθένεια 1008 sacrifice of she-goat

in girl's clothing to Artemis Μουνυ-

χία 233₁

Priestesses: νεσποί (?) 1083

Myth: is born in Delos 985

Genealogy: d. of Zeus by Leto, and st.

of Apollon 744₁₍₇₎ d. of Dionysos by

Isis, and st. of Apollon 984

Functions: childbirth 985 moon 726₆

Attributes: bow 638₆ 725 fawn 640₆ fish

990 two jars 1181 torch 1181 wheel-

torch 638₆

Artemis (*cont.*)

- Types:* cult-statue with veil 899₅(2 f.)
Endeios 968 hasting to greet the
new-born Athena (?) 710 f. 'Colonna'
710 f. riding horned doe 831 slaying
Niobids 955 standing with wheel-
torch and bow 638₀ in archaistic
reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff.
Identified with Bendis 189₁ 233₁
Boubastis 984 Diktyinna 189₁ Oupis
189₁

Associated with Apollon 707 958

In relation to stags 1134

Superseded by St John the Evangelist
986

— birthday of 178₀ fawns of 1064₄
two images of, on coin of Aspendos
899₅(1)

Artemision, bronze statue fished up from
sea off 1151 ff.

Ascension Day 1193

Asia

Etymology: 1107

Asies, nephew or brother of Atys 1107

Asine, 'Mycenaean' finds at 1192

Asis

Cult: Euyuk 1106 f.

Askalon

Cult: Aphrodite Οὐρανία 154

Asklepios

Cults: Aliphera 126₅ Athens 775
Epidauros 1182 Inönü in Phrygia
1146 Nikaia in Bithynia 1182 Pau-
talia 1182 Sparta 1030₄

Epithet: 'Αγνίας 1030₄

Metamorphosed into snake 1182

Etymology: 1182 (?)

Type: holding serpent-staff and borne
through air by winged and bearded
snake 1182

Aspalis 283₄

Aspasia

Epithet: Τύραννος (?) or Τυραννοδαίμων (?)
66₄

Personates Hera 32₅ 66₄

Aspendos, coin of 899₅(1)

Aspis ἐν Ἀργεῖ 356₅

Assteas 511₀

Assyria, demons of, influence Etruscan
conception of Charon 1143

Assyrioi (= Syrioi)

Cult: dove 1103

Astaroth, *kteis* of (?) 918₃

Astarte

Cults: Delos 152₆ 153 f. Sidon 1023
Tyre 892 f.

Epithet: Παλαιστίνη 152₆ 153 f.

Myth: finds fallen star 892 917

Functions: moon 892₄ the planet Venus
892₄

Type: nude goddess 834

Identified with Aphrodite 177₀ (?)

In relation to Aphrodite 275₀(2) 276₀

— *kteis* of (?) 918₃

Asteria, name of Delos 984 f.

Asterie, Titaness

Myth: Zeus 984 f.

Metamorphosed into quail 985 stone 985

Asterion 619₁ 628₀

Asteropos 1067

Astlik 293₂

Atabyrion, Mt, in Rhodes

Cult: Zeus Ἀταβύριος 1172

— excavations on 1172 See also

Atabyros, Mt

Atabyros, Mt, in Rhodes, geology of 986

See also Atabyrion, Mt

Atargatis

Cults: Heliopolis in Syria 1095

Nabataioi 1097 Palmyra 1093

Attribute: lions (?) 1096

Types: bust with fish-scales (?) on face
and chest 1097 bust with two fishes
as head-dress 1097

Athamas

Myth: Nephele 73 f.

Athanasia 60₅(3)

Athanasios, St 1187

Athens

Cults: Aliphera 126₅ Argos 729₃ 785₁
Athens 749 f. 827₈ 859₁ Ausées 128₁
Boiotia 608 820₁ Corinth 1092
Crete 126₄ (?) Elis 224 f. Emesa 888
Hephaestia in Lemnos 216₁ Ilion 283₄
Korone 782 Kos 566₂ Mt Kynthos
1172 Lakonike 776 Libye 128₁ 839
Marathon 1092 Megalopolis 567₀
Megara 782 f. Olympia 967 Oxy-
rhynchite nome 190₆ Peiraieus 659₀
1196 Pelasgians 226 Pella 869
Pergamon 794 872 Plataiai 773₆
Rhodes 355 Salamis in Kypros 653₀
Sparta 11₁ 661 Syracuse 850₆
Tanagra 567₀ Tegea 1141 Thespiai
1066 Thessaly 608 871₁ Troy 193₀

Epithets: ἀγλαότιμη 776₁ Ἀγλαυρος 240₈
246 Αἰθια 608₄ 782 f. 795 αἰολόμορφε
776₁ Ἀλέα 1141 Ἀλκίδημος (not
'Αλκίς) 869 Ἀρεία 773₆ Ἀρχήγευς
827₈ Βαλενίκη 60₅(4) Βία 608₃ Βοαρμία
608 Βούδεια 608 γλαυκῶπις 193₀ (?)
201₃ 781 834 844 Γοργοεπήκοος 836
(See Panagia *Epithets*) Γοργῶπις 189₁
γοργῶπις 844 δράκαινα 776₁ δύναμις
τοῦ Διὸς 873₂ Εγκέλαδος 55₅ Ἐλλωρίς
1092 Ἐργάνη 191₈ 795 967 εὐώδιον
763₄ (?) Ζωστειρία 567₀ Ἡφαιστία
216 218 1047₁₁ θύγατερ Διὸς αἰγίλοιο
866₇ Ἰππία 13₀ Ἰωνία 820₁ 871₁
Κόρη 608₄ κοῦρη Διὸς αἰγίλοιο 866₇
Κυνθία 1172 Λυνδία 355 Μαχαίς
566₂ Μαχανίτις 567₀ Μήτηρ 225₁ 749
835 Μόριος 762 Νίκη 811 813 1196
Νικηφόρος 794 ὀβριμοπάτηρ 737₈
Οἰνάνθη 184₃ (?) Ὀμολοίς (at Thebes
in Boiotia) 608₃ Ὄξειδερκής 785₁
Παλλὰς 201₂ 573 743₀ Πάνδροσος 246
Παρεία 776 Παρθένος 573 749 823
1155 Πολιάς 213 244 573₄ 614 721
749 758 772₄ 813 Πολιοῦχος 771

Athena (cont.)

Πρόνοια 727₃ Πρόνοια 727₃ Σάπιγξ 729₃ Σάπειρα 659₀ 1196 Τριτογένεια 123₃ 719 f. 726 Τριτογενής 123₇ Τριτωνίς 126₀ 726 'Υγία 614₅ 775 859₁ φίλἐνθεος 776₁ Χαλκίοκος 11₁ 661

Festivals: Athenaia 212 f. Chalkeia 211 ff. Panathenaia 720 Plynteria 224₃ 749 Tritomenis 719₄

Rites: annual fight of maidens among Auses 128₁ annual washing of Argive image in Inachos 224₃ 749 bull-hanging at Ilion 283₄ ἱερὸς γάμος 224₃ liturgy of Pallas' snake 775 πέπλος woven at Chalkeia 212 priestess with *aigis* visits newly married couple 225₂ sacrifice of ox 782₄ sacrifice of ram 782₄ sacrifice of sow 225₁

Priestesses: 'Αρρηφόροι 165 ff. 212 Auge 823 drawn from Bouzygai 609

Personated by fairest virgin of Auses 128₁ priestess 225₂

Myths: birth from head of Zeus 477 657 ff. 737 744 birth at Athens 720 birth in Crete from cloud cleft by Zeus 727 birth beside river Triton 125 743₀ is wooed by Hephaistos 218 ff. 236 274 734 slays the monster Aigis and uses its skin as breastplate 839 slays the Gorgon and wears its skin 844 flays Pallas the Giant, who had attempted to violate her, and wears his skin and wings 842 adorns woman 201 at Ikonion makes images of clay 528 brings Kekrops to Megara 783 809 f. (?) entrusts Erichthonios to the Kekropides 238 ff. carries Lykabettos 238 plants olive-tree at Athens 750 f. contest with Gorgon about beauty 850₆ contest with Poseidon about Athens 750 ff. contest with Poseidon about Trozen 751₁ gives πέπλος to Herakles 1186 helps Herakles in rape of Delphic tripod 799₁ helps Herakles against Hydra 797 cuts spear for Peleus 209₂ superintends building of Argo 778₁ 779₀ nurses Bakchos or Iakchos 225₁ would bestow immortality on Tydeus 60₅₍₃₎

Genealogy: d. of Brontas 60₅₍₄₎ d. of Pallas the Giant by Titanis d. of Okeanos 842 d. of Poseidon by lake Tritonis 216 d. of Poseidon by lake Tritonis, later adopted by Zeus 128₁

Functions: goddess of the Akropolis at Athens 189 837 originally Pelasgian mountain-mother in Asia Minor 236 736 831 originally mother-goddess, later virgin 737 749 originally wife of Hephaistos 200 223 736 867 mountain-mother 224 246 729₃ 748 831 866 earth-goddess 200₀ 246

Athena (cont.)

pottery 191₈ arts and crafts 201 women's handiwork 795 nurse of children 225₁ wisdom 726 727₃ 728 *aithēr* 726₆ 727 728 clouds 729 dawn 728 (?) morning twilight 728 (?) earthquake 3₀ keeper of the thunderbolt 867 second self of Zeus 872 f. sneeze of Zeus 662₁ (?) 732 (?)

Etymology: 60₅₍₃₎ 191₈ 726 727 727₃ 728 839₂ (?)

Attributes: *aigis* 837 ff. 866 f. chariot drawn by four winged horses 807 double axe 190₆ *Gorgōneion* 837 ff. Gorgon-shield 39 helmet 811 ff. winged helmet 820₃ olive-tree 190 749 ff. owl 190 558 776 ff. pillar 190 763₂ pomegranate 811 ff. snakes 189 f. 764 ff.

Types: primitive pre-warlike 189₁ advancing to left with thunderbolt and Gorgon-shield 868 f. 871 f. advancing to right with thunderbolt and Gorgon-shield 869 advancing to right with spear and shield 869 ff. advancing with uplifted lance 573 Albani 837₀ 857 archaistic 225₁ 837₀ 868 ff. in archaistic reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff. bearing dead warrior across sea 809 f. bearing infant on her arm 218 806 bearing snake in basket 218 Bronze Athena by Pheidias 225₁ 862 Cassel 837₈ 858 clay vessel as fetish and symbol 191₈ cock with human face wearing skin of cock's head as helmet 804 cult-statue in Erechtheion 574₀ cult-statue in Peisistratic Hekatompedon 574₀ Elgin statuette 830 emergent from head of Zeus 662 f. 668 ff. exhibiting olive-plant 755 762 f. fighting on Ionic column 1006 fulminant 793₂ 868 ff. grouped with Hephaistos in the Hephaisteion 213 ff. gull 783 hasting to right in full armour 659 694 ff. hawk 781 holding corn-ears 607 holding crow 782 782₃ holding double axe 867₅ holding helmet in hand 686 687 human-headed bird wearing helmet 801 in chariot drawn by two owls 830 in chariot drawn by two snakes 769 f. 831 kite or shearwater 781 Lanckorónski relief 830 Lansdowne relief 779₀ 'Lemnía' 211 216₁ 858 Lenormant 773₆ letting owl fly 830 nude (?) 868₅ ornithomorphic passing into anthropomorphic 794 or-nithomorphic, semi-ornithomorphic, anthropomorphic in combination 799 799₁ ὀρθότιγθς 225₁ owl 781 784 ff. 837 owl as spinner 795 owl with human helmeted head 801 f. 'Palladion' 573₄ 609 1006 *Parthénos* 211 868₅ 933 *Parthénos* with olive

Athena (*cont.*)

instead of pillar 763₂ Pheidias 933
(See also Bronze Athena, Lansdowne relief, 'Lemnia', Lenormant, *Parthénos*, Varvakeion) pigeon 781
pursued by Hephaistos 220 f. rising from head of Zeus 612 669 673 ff.
688 seated and weaponless 574₀
seated beside Hephaistos 205 seated beside olive 763₂ seated beside Zeus 1049₁ seated with *phiale*, helmet, spear, and snake 614 seated with pomegranate in right hand and helmet in left 811 ff. setting foot on chariot 807 snake 776 (?) 837 (?)
standing before Zeus 663 686 ff.
standing beside olive 763₂ standing on knees of Zeus 663 681 ff. standing to left with owl in right hand and spear in left 827 standing to right with owl in left hand and *phiale* in right 827 standing to right with owl in right hand and spear in left 830
standing with lance at rest 573 swallow 782 Varvakeion 773₆ 837₈
858 vulture 781 wearing helmet with features of Sokrates, Silenos, etc. 804₁ winged 88₀ 225₁ 785 804 ff.
winged and advancing to right with brandished thunderbolt and outstretched *aigis* 820 871 winged and armed on Graeco-Roman gems 822 winged and flying to left with helmet, spear, and shield 821 winged and standing *en face* between two owls 822 winged and standing to left carries Nike on right hand and holds shield and spear with left 820 f. winged and standing to left crowns the king's name with raised right hand and holds shield with lowered left 820 winged and wingless on same vase 809 811 with cock on helmet 46₄ with glaucous eyes 216 with owl on head 46

Identified with Basileia 60₅₍₄₎ Gorgon 189₁

Assimilated to Aphrodite 225₁

Associated with Hephaistos 200 ff. 736
Herakles 958 Zeus 872 f. Zeus *Μαχάρης* 566₂ 567₀

Compared with Cretan snake-goddess 189 f. 225 f. meteor 885

In relation to Erechtheus 190 758
Gorgon 836 Nike 811 olive-tree 763 f. owl 781 784₁ 789 791 snake 770

Supersedes Demeter 607 f. Ge 188

Superseded by Panagia *Ὁργοσηήκοος* 189₁

— birthday of 719 f. five Athenas 842₄ honoured by Peisistratos and his successors 188₃ motherhood of, passes into maidenhood 224

Athene, early name of Athens 224 748

Athenis 969

Athens

Cults: Agnostos Theos 1162 Anaktres 120 Androgeos 157 Aphrodite 725 f. Aphrodite *ἐν Κήποις* 165 168 726 Aphrodite *Οὐρανία* 171₀ 722 Apollon *Ἰούλιος* 725 Artemis *Καλλίστη* 1181 Asklepios 775 Athena *Ἀρχήγετις* 827₈ Athena *Νίκη* 811 ff. 1196 Athena *Ἰολιάς* 244 573₄ 614 721 749 758 Athena *Ῥγία* 775 859₁ Basile or Basileia 60₅₍₆₎ Blaute 177₁ Eros and Aphrodite 170₀ Demeter 990 f. Demeter *Χλόη* 177 Dionysos 604₂ Dionysos *Ἐλευθερείς* 574 Eileithyia 588₁ Eros 725 f. Eumenides 189₁ Ge *Θέλις* 168 Ge *Καρποφόρος* 242 601₂ Ge *Κουροτρόφος* 177₁ 244 Ge *Ὀλυμπία* 169₀ Hephaistos 211 ff. 226 f. 721 Hera 663 725 Hermes 725 Hermes *Χθόνιος* 604₂ Heros *ὁ ἐπὶ βλαύτῃ* 177₁ Isis 588₁ Kekrops 771 Kronos and Rhea 169₀ Men 308 f. Meter 67₀ Moirai 721 Nike *Ἀπτερος* 811 Nymphs 308 f. Pan 308 f. Panagia *Ὁργοσηήκοος* 189₁ 588 Pandrosos 243 f. Poseidon 721 Poseidon *Γαίηχος* 11₃ Poseidon *Ἐλάτης* 9₁ Sarapis 588₁ Tritopatores 113 ff. Zeus 1196 Zeus *Ἐλευθέριος* 212₂ 1186 Zeus *Ἐρκείος* 243 749 Zeus *Ἡραῖος* 1047 Zeus *Κάριος* 569₅ Zeus *Μοιραγέτης* 721₄ Zeus *Ὀλύμπιος* 604₂ Zeus *Ἰπάρδημος* 212₂ Zeus *Ἰολιεύς* 317 570 ff. 720 f. Zeus *Σωτήρ* 575₀ 1184 Zeus *Ῥψιστος* 939₄ Zeus *Φίλιος* 1189

Festivals: Anthesteria 430₀ Arrhēphoria 165 ff. Balletys 612₀ 1194 Bouphonia (See *Rites*: *βουφόνια*) Choes 1105 Chytroi 604₂ Deipnophoria 241₀ 246₅ Diasia 1194 Diisoteria 575₀ Dipolieia 317 574 ff. 656 f. Genesia 1105 Haloia 815₀ 1105 Hephaistia 213 Hieros Gamos 1047 Hydrophoria 603 f. Niketeria 754₄ Oschophoria 241₀ Theogamia 1047 Thesmophoria 815₀ 1030 f.

Rites: *ἄροτος Βουζύγιος* 606 *βουφόνια* 570 576 ff. 873 bridal bath from Kallirrhoe (Enneakrounos) 370 ff. bull-carrying 1091 communion of worshippers devouring sacred flesh 606 *ἐπὶ ὀχλήματος φέρεσθαι καλὰθιον* (*v.l. κάλαθον*) *εἰς τιμὴν τῆς Δήμητρος* 990 f. pitchers placed over tombs of the unmarried 372 sacrifice of pig to Zeus *Ἡραῖος* 1047 women celebrating Thesmophoria called *μέλισσαι* 1083 women celebrating Thesmophoria lie on bed of willows 103

Priestesses: *Ἐρρηφόροι* 166 261 *Λουτρίδες* 749

Myths: birth of Athena 720 Bouzyges

Athens (cont.)

606 ff. contest of Poseidon with Athena 750 ff.

In relation to Megara 783₁

— Aglaurion at 169₀ 242 f. Asklepieion at 775 1189 Boutypon at 597 bronze double axe with incised man, water-fowl, horse, and wheel found near 1145 f. Christianised Parthenon at 588₁ sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite at 170₀ coins of 187₂ 254 f. 485₁₂ 569₅ 570 ff. 694 695₁ 713 725-754 f. 755 f. 775 779₀ 788 f. 794 801 (?) 812 827 830 853₅ 871 897 f. 1194 court ἐπὶ Παλλαδίδω at 609 Διὸς ψῆφος at 600₍₄₎ Disoterion at 576₀ Enneakrounos at 370₅ Erechtheion at 213 574₀ 721 725 737 749 f. 758 f. 867 Hekatompedon at 574₀ 768 f. Hephaisteion at 213 ff. 223 701 Kallirrhoe at 370₅ Kekropion at 771 Nike-balustrade at 706₅ 819 Nike-bastion at 813 1196 Nike-temple (eastern frieze) at 581₀ 755₂ olives as life-trees of 187₂ 760 olive-tree on the Akropolis at 187₂ 749 ff. Olympieion at 725 Pandroseion at 243 260 749 f. Parthenon at (See Parthenon) Propylaia at 775 1186 Pythion at 725 sepulchral stēlai etc. from 373 380 382 386 snakes in painted pōros from pediment at 767 ff. Stoā Basileios at 216 1185 1186 (description and history) Stoā Bastileios identified with Stoā of Zeus Eleuthērios at 1186 stratification of cults on Akropolis at 736 'Theseion' at 223₆ 'Tower of the Winds' at 129 f. town-arms of 785 ff.

Athmonia or Athmonon

Cult: (Aphrodite) Οὐρανία 55₅

Athos, Mt

Epithets: "Αγιον "Ορος 748₅ δαιμόνιε (voc.) 748₅

Personified as a giant 748₅

— Macrobian dwell on 748₅ shadow of, touches Lemnian cow 1102

Atlantis

Cult: Poseidon 283₁ 1184

Rite: bull sacrificed to Poseidon on pillar 283₄

— brass pillar inscribed with laws in 1184

Atlas

Epithet: ὀλοόφρων 1103

Myths: Herakles 956 at Polos 417₀

Genealogy: s. of Ouranos by Ge 887

Function: supports sky 1064

Etymology: 417₀

Types: bearing pōlos 417₀ bearing Aion in zodiacal ring 1128

— pillars of 1115

Atreus

Myth: golden lamb 1080

Atropos 717

Attes 874 See also Attis

Attike

Cults: Zeus 1196 Zeus 'Τέτιος 319₁ 563

Attis

Cults: Ephesos 1174 Peiraeus 1192

Epithets: "Της ('Τῆς?) 874₁₁ χλοερός σπάχυν ἀμνηθελς 300₍₁₎

Function: rain 874

Etymology: 952

Attribute: pomegranates 815₀

Types: recumbent 1128 triumphant 1127 f.

Associated with Agdistis 1192 Kybele

1174 Kybele and Zeus 1174

Inrelationto Christianity 952 Kybele 952

— as doublet of Agdistis 1174 as pig (?) 874₁₅

Atys

Cult: Smyrna 22

Genealogy: uncle or brother of Asies 1107

Auge 823 823₃

Augustus

Cults: Amastris 1163 Aphrodisias in Karia 1191 Dorylaeion 1191 Pergamon 1191

Epithet: ὁ ἐπουράνιος θεὸς Σεβαστός = divus Augustus 1163

Priests: ἀρχιερεὺς 1163 1191 perpetuus sacerdos 1163

Personates Zeus Ἰακωῶς 1125 1191

— complete deification of, reached through three stages (hero, demi-god, god) 1191

Aulus, head of, dug up on Capitol 441

Aura 225₁

Auramazda 1112

Aurelian, solar monotheism of 945 cp. 907

Aurora 73

Aurva 95₃(1)

Ausees

Cult: Athena 128₁

Autariatai 502₂

Auxesia 612₀

Avenches See Aventicum

Aventicum, bronze statuette from 827

Axieros 1070 1128 f.

Axiokersa 1070 1128

Axiokersos 1070 1128 f.

Ba'al (Baal, Bel)

Cults: Palmyra 1158 Ras Shamra 1156

Function: cosmic power 1159

Type: brandishes club in right hand and holds stylised thunderbolt in left 1156

Associated with Iaribol and Aglibol 1158 f.

Ba'albek See Heliopolis in Syria

Ba'al-hammān

Identified with Amon 1076 Zeus 945

Ba'al-šamin

Identified with Zeus 945 1095

— solar eagle of 982

- Ba'al Zaphon
Identified with Zeus Κάριος in Syria and Egypt 1177
- Babylonia
Cults: 'Breakers of Heaven and Earth' 483 'the fettered god' 483 484; Ishum 889
Myth: tree of life and tree of the gate of heaven 1136
- Bacis, the bull of Hermonthis, bibliography of 1082 See also Bakha, Bouchis
- Baganda, kings of, have lion as totem 957₀
- Baitylos, s. of Ouranos by Ge 887 891
- Bakchos
Cult: Halikarnassos 558
Epithet: 'Ομβρικός 558 560₆
Function: rain 558
Etymology: 953₃
- Bakha, the bull of Hermonthis 953₃ See also Bacis, Bouchis
- Baki(s)
Cult: Lydia 1082
Identified with Dionysos 1082
- Baktriane, coins of 532 ff. 540 871 f.
- Balletys 612₀ 1194
- Balor 933₇
- Barbara, St 472₃
- Baros See Embaros
- Basile 662 (?)
- Basile or Basileia
Cult: Athens 605₍₆₎
Function: 'Queen' of Heaven, or of Underworld (?) 605₍₆₎
- Basileia as Athanasia (?) 605₍₃₎ as Athena (?) 605₍₄₎ as Basile (?) 605₍₆₎ as bride of Pisthetairos 57 ff. as Hera Βασίλεια 61 as an imaginary goddess recalling the Basilissa and Hera 605₍₈₎ as Kore (?) 605₍₇₎ as Meter (?) 67₀ as Orphic Dike (?) 950₄ as d. of Ouranos by Titaia (Ge) and st. of Rhea (Pandora), who brought up the Titans, was called Megale Meter, and became by her b. Hyperion the m. of Helios and Selene (?) 605₍₅₎ as personification of Royalty (?) 605₍₁₎ as d. of Zeus (?) 605₍₂₎
- Basques
Rites: corrida 1090 Toro de Fuego 1090
- Bath See Aquae Sulis
- Bathykles 220 f.
- Baubo
Type: seated on pig 1119
Compared with analogous apotrópαια 1119
- Begoë (?) 434
- Beisân See Beth-Shan
- Bektashi order still worships Zeus on Mt Tomori near Berat 1170 f.
- Beliar 332₃
- Bellerophontes 413₀
- Bellona
Cult: Rome 1142
Epithet: Pulvinensis 1142
Priest: cistophorus 1142
- Belos
Genealogy: f. of Danaos 368
Function: sky-god 369₁
- Beltis (?) 1159
- Benacus, Lake, floating island in 1014 f.
- Bendis
Cults: Philippi 1134 Thrace 189₁
Identified with Artemis 189₁ 233₁
- Benedict, St 338₁
- Beni Hasan, mimetic dances from tomb at 993
- Bes
Function: apotropaic 847₁
Types: female 847₁ full-face 847₁ musician 1001 pygmy with wrinkled forehead and nose, broad face, and hanging tongue 847₁
Compared with Gorgon 847₁
- Bethel
Cult: stone of Jacob (Ματτῆβηαῖ? meteorite??) 891 f.
Etymology: 891
Compared with Egyptian meteor-cults (?) 884₀
In relation to baityloi or baitylia 891
 — two places so called 891
- Beth-Shan
Cult: Antit 195₀
 — burial pithoi from 195₀ tubular stands from 195₀
- Billutschei 334₁
- Bithynia
Cults: Artemis 992 f. Zeus 1160
Rite: ὁ κάλαθος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος 992 f.
 — coins of 820
- Blaute
Cult: Athens 177₁
- Boghaz-Keui, Hittite forms of Greek names in cuneiform texts from 112₀
 Hittite rock-carvings at 1097
- Boïdas 149 ff.
- Boiotia
Cults: Artemis 990 Athena Βοαπυία 608
 Athena Ἴρωνία 820₁ 871 Athena Λογγαίτις 608₃ Dan 736₃ Hera Βασίλεια 61₁ Poseidon 736₃ Zeus Βασίλειός 61₁
- coins of 819 f.
- Boiotos 109₄
- Bol, Palmyrene form of Bel 1159
- Bononia in Bulgaria
Cult: Iupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus 1098
- Boôtes 491
- Boreas 130 160 See also Borrás
- Boreios 129
- Borrás 335 See also Boreas
- Borysthenes 655₀ (?)
- Borysthenis 135 140
- Bosporos
Cults: Twelve Gods 147 f. Zeus Οὐρίος 142 ff.
 — 'Praying Boy' on shore of 149 ff.
- Bosporos Kimmerios 155 gold eicalas from 253₀

Bostra

Cults: Zeus "Αμμων 912₄ Zeus 'Επι-
κάριος 912

— carved lintel of temple near 909
coins of 908 912₄

Boubastis

Identified with Artemis 984

Boubrostis

Cult: Smyrna 1156

Bouchis 1082 See Bacis, Bakha

Boupalos 969

Bouphonia 570 576 ff. 873

Boura 21 f. 1118

Bourina 363 f.

Bousiris, king of Egypt, sacrifices strangers
to Zeus 653₀Boutas 176₀

Boutes 589

Boutes, ancestor of Eteoboutadai

Cult: Erechtheion 758

Priest: *τερεός* 213₃

Boutike Limne, floating island in 983

Bouto (Boutos, Boutoi) in Egypt

Cult: Leto 983

Bouto, the goddess (earlier Udó)

Identified with Leto 984

Boutypoi, family of clan Kerykes 585 589
597 603Bouzygai 608 ff. furnish priest of Zeus
Téleios, priest of Zeus *ἐν Παλλαδίῳ*,
and priestess of Athena (*ἐπὶ*
Παλλαδίᾳ?) 609 keep sacred oxen at
Eleusis 610Bouzyges, eponym of Bouzygai 608 first to
plough with yoke of oxen 606 f.
identified with Epimenides 610
plough of 606Boxing Day 530₀

Brachmanes 107

Branchos 474₀

Briareos 120

Briareus 3₀

Bricia 1117

Brimo

Epithets: *πρόνια* 300₀₍₁₎ 913₄ *ρήξίχθων* 4₀

Brimos 300₀₍₁₎ 301 913₄

Brisai

Myth: taught Aristaios 266

Britomartis

Cult: Gaza 550

Genealogy: d. of Zeus by Hekate (?)
544₄

Etymology: 550

Associated with Marnas 550

Brontas 60₅₍₄₎Brontes 125₃

Brundisium

Etymology: 1115

Buddha

Myths: birth from side of Mâyâ 97₀₍₄₎
fight with Mara 1087

Buenos Aires 160₂

Bulgaria

Cults: three-headed rider-god with
epithets *Κύριος* *θεός* and *θεός*

Bulgaria (cont.)

Πανθοποιός (or *Πάνθοπτος*) 1125
Zeus *Διούσος* 1126

Bulla Regia

Cult: Apollon 825₅

— two statues of winged Minerva
from 825₅

Byblos

Cult: Zeus *Σωτήρ* 1163

— excavation and restoration of
temple at 1163

Byzantion, bull-headed furnace at 1102
coins of 1120Caelestis 1045₅

Calaminae 988 f.

Caligula attempts to bring statue of Zeus
Olympios to Rome 968 f. marries the
Moon 1092 personates Helios 1092
personates Zeus 969₁

Campania

Cults: Iuno *Feronia* 1155 Jupiter

Anxurus 1155

Cancer 589 1146

Canicula 266₃Capitoline triad (Jupiter flanked by Iuno
and Minerva) 40 f. 904

Capua

Cult: Jupiter *Olbius Sabaeus* 656₃

— Arretine *skýphos* from 1003 coins
of 408₀ *mundus* at 429₁ tomb-painting
from 1000 f.

Caracalla

Personates Zeus 37₆

Caradoc and the serpent 1124

Carchemish, Hittite god at 957₀

Carmel, Mt, as object of worship 1068

Carnuntum

Cults: Manaphus 1163 Theandrius
1163

Carthage

Cult: Hera 1045

Rite: sacrifice of children to Kronos by
fire 611₅

Caucasus 236

Celtiberians

Cult: Epona 1179

Celts

Cults: Boussourigios 1140 Bussumarus
(Bussumarius) 1140 Danu 367
Epona 1179 Genius Cucullatus 1183
Taranis (?) 1191

Myth: *Tuatha Dé Danann* 367

— traverse Europe in second
millennium B.C. 367 enter Asia
Minor in s. iii B.C. 367

Cerastae 653₀

Ceres 1124 f.

Ceres

Rite: sacrifice of a pregnant sow 23

Myth: consorts with Jupiter 452

Attributes: corn-wreath 1062₂ (1f.) torch
1062₂ (1f.)

Type: in Pompeian paintings of
Twelve Gods 1062₂ (1f.)

Ceres (*cont.*)

Identified with earth 452

Cernuunos, rock-carving of, in Val

Camonica 1147

Chaabou (?) 914₁

Chaamou

Cult: Petra 914

Genealogy: m. of Dousares 914 f.

Chabakta, coins of 856₀

Chaironeia

Rite: Βουλίμων ἐξέλασις 1031₅

Myth: Kronos swallows stone 929

Chaldeans

Cult: fire 339₃ 340

Myth: outwitted by priest of Kanopos 339 f.

Chalke

Cults: Zeus and Hekate 544₃

Chalkeia 211 ff. 223

Chalkis ad Belum (?)

Cult: Helioseiros 1074

Chaos

Etymology: 1179

Identified with Poros 747₁

— in Orphic theogony 1177 ff.

Charachmoba, coin of 908 f.

Charadros 361

Charis

Cult: Vari 261₇

Associated with Hephaistos 958

Charites

Genealogy: daughters of Zeus 955

daughters of Zeus by Eurynome 744₁₍₃₎ cp. 1070

Types: joining hands for dance 1057
naked 1070 three small females on
hand of Apollon 1124

In relation to Zeus 1057

Charon

Epithet: Ἀκμωνιδης (?) 927₃

Attribute: hammer 927₃

— conceived by Etruscans under
Assyrian influence 1143 mallet or
hammer of, produces chthonian
thunder 1143 receives plate of
pomegranates 815₀ recent biblio-
graphy of 1143

Cheiron

Myth: gives spear to Peleus 209₂

Chemibis

Cult: Apollon 983

Chemmis

Cult: Min 884₀

Chersonesos in Crete, coins of 1092

Chersonesos Taurike, coins of 1146

Chersonesos Thraikike

Cult: Zeus Ὀρεος 1183

Cherubim 324₁

Chios

Cult: Dionysos Ὀμάδιος 599₍₂₎

— inscribed block of red trachyte
from 1183

Chipa 624₀

Chloia 178₀ 179₀

Choes 1105

Christ

Epithets: ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν 552₁ Porus
Consilii Filius 747

Functions: judge 972 law-giver 972
teacher 972 timely storm of rain
326 552

Types: as infant borne by
St Christopher 1020 youthful and
beardless 970 ff. mature and bearded
970 ff. bronze group at Kaisareia
Panaes 971₁ divine ruler 972₀
enthroned with globe as his footstool
948 seated on globe 948 974₀
shepherd-judge 972₀ threatening
storm-god 973 in the likeness of
Zeus 970 973 1196 influenced by
pre-existing pagan types (the child
Zeus or Dionysos? the Pheidias
Zeus?) 972 f. possibly influenced by
other pagan types (Asklepios,
Orpheus, Sarapis, etc.) 972₂ 972₃
973₀

Compared with Zeus Astérios 954

— painted in the guise of Zeus 970
perhaps alludes to the Eleusinian
mysteries 307₀

Christina, St 1013

Christmas 915₃

Christodoulos, St 986

Christopher, St

Type: bearing infant Christ 1020

Chrysaor, twin-b. of Pegasus

Genealogy: f. of Geryones 1070

Type: in the pediment from Corfu
844₁₀ 845₀

Chrysippos 726 1027₃

Chytrol, the festival 604₂

Cicero comments on Pheidias' statue of
Zeus at Olympia 960 f.

Circassians (Adighe)

Cult: Schiblé 1114

— treat as sacrosanct tree or man
struck by lightning 1114

Çiva

Attribute: trident 1156

— traced back to c. 3000 B.C. 1156

Claudia Quinta tows ship up the Tiber
895 f.

Clusium, tomb of Porsenna at 956₁

Commodus

Personates Hercules 1100 Jupiter 1100
Zeus 37₀ Ziu 1100

Constantine, St 1166

Constantinople, church of St Sophia at
906 f. conflagrations at 970₂ House
of Lausus at 969 f. throne in the
Magnaaura at 957₀

Consualia 437

Consus 10₁

Corfu, archaic pediment from 844₁₀ 845₀

Corinth

Cults: Athena Ἐλλωρίς 1092 Zeus
Ὀμβριος 526

Myth: men sprung from mushrooms 478
— coins of 1136

Cornutus 727

Corona 483 f.

Corycian Cave

Cult: Zeus 651₀

Crete

Cults: Athena 126₄ (?) Diktyнна 189₁

Helotis 1092 snake-goddess 189

Zeus Ἰδαίος 953 Zeus Σκόλιος 413₀

Zeus Σκύλλιος 413₀

Rites: communion of worshippers
devouring sacred flesh 606 *τερόδς*
γάμος 1032 1092

Myths: Aix, d. of Helios, hidden by
Ge in a cave, where—tended by
Amaltheia—she nurtures infant
Zeus with her milk 839₆ 840₀ bull
1032₄ golden hound 1110 Iasion and
Demeter 75 ff. infancy of Zeus 953
Zeus nursed by Meteres 225₁

In relation to Philistines 551₀

— special virtues ascribed to
foreigners from 592 tomb of Zeus in
1070 1173 tubular stands from
195₀ ff.

Cucaña 505

Cuccagna 504 f.

Cuclu 1075

Cyāma and Qabala, the hell-hounds of
Yama 410₀ ff.

Cynics 595

Cyprian, initiations of 775 1046

Da, an ancient name of the earth-mother
9₀

Daānāu See Danauna

'Dagon'

Cult: Arados 126₄

Dagon, that is Siton, s. of Ouranos by
Ge 887

Daidalos

Attributes: adze 1111 double axe 1111
saw 1111 square 1111

Compared with Ikaros and Talos 1111

Daimon Milichios

Cult: Lebadeia 1187

Attribute: snake 1187

Identified with Agathos Daimon (?)
1187

Daitroi, family of clan Kerykes 585 597
603

Daktyloi

Cults: Mt Ide in Crete 1033₁ Mt Ide in
Phrygia 1033₁

Function: servants of mountain-
mother 922

Etymology: 99₀ (?)

Type: three small male figures
wreathed with flowers 1033

Daldis, coin of 899₅(5)

Damateres

Cult: Rhodes 1124 f.

Rite: sacrifice of pregnant sheep 1124

Damia 612₀

Damigeron 920 f.

Damnameneus 922

Damophon 567₀ 712 968 1108

Dan

Cult: Boiotia 736₂

Dan, the Hebrew tribe 354₆

Danaai 361 See also Danaides

Danaë

Myths: founds Ardea 365 is imprisoned
by Akrisios in bronze chamber 364
is visited by Zeus as a fall of golden
rain 455 ff. 518 is sent adrift in a
chest with Perseus by Akrisios 455
is drawn ashore on Seriphos by
Diktys s. of Peristhenes 455

Genealogy: d. of Akrisios 364 d. of
Akrisios by Eurydike d. of Lake-
daimon 455 m. of Perseus by Zeus
455

Types: Nikias of Athens 460 462 on
coin 471 on gems 469 ff. recumbent
undraped 467 f. seated on couch 456
458 460 463 standing behind or in
chest 458₁ 458₂ standing half-draped
465 f. Titian 466 f. Van Dyck 467

Compared with St Barbara 472₃

St Irene 472₃ the Virgin 467₀

In relation to Danaai, Danaïdes 476

— as described by Simonides of Keos
471 f. as pendant to Antiope 469 as
pendant to Leda 465 flanked by
Antiope and Leda 467

Danaïdes 354 ff.

Myths: escape from Egypt 355 touch
at Rhodes 355 make Argos well-
watered 361 f. slay Aigyptiadaï 356
bury heads of Aigyptiadaï at Lerna
356 369 carry water to holed *pithos*
in world below 369 f. 1193 f.

Genealogy: descended, through
Epaphos, from Zeus 142

Type: emptying *hydriai* into *pithos*
425

Compared with priests of Akanthos in
Egypt 339 354 users of libation-
funnels at Ras Shamra 1193

In relation to Danaë 476 Orpheus 425₀

Danaoi

Etymology: 362 366

Identified with Danauna 354 360 362

In relation to Daunioi 364 f.

— *thālos*-tombs of 362 (?)

Danaos

Myths: Egypt 355 Rhodes 355 Argos
355 f. makes Argos well-watered
361 f.

Genealogy: s. of Belos 355 368 twin-b.
of Aigyptos 355 f. of fifty Danaïdes
354 f.

Danapris 366

Danastris 366

Danauna attack Rameses iii soon after
1200 B.C. 354 settle in Egypt 368
identified with Danaoi 354 360 362

Dānavās 362₃

Dānu 362₃

Danu 367

Danube See Danuvius

Danuvius

Epithet: νεφελοφόρος 368₆

Etymology: 366

Daphne, near Antiocheia on the Orontes

Festival: Olympia 1191

Daphnephoria 880

Dardanos

Identified with Polyarches 77₄

Das, an ancient name of the sky-father 9₀

Daunioi

Etymology: 364 f. 366

In relation to Danaoi 364 f.

— bury Aetolian envoys alive 365
thólos-tombs of 365 (?)

Daunios 364₇

Daunus 364 f.

Dazimos 1188₉

Dazos 1189

Deíoneus 72

Deiphophoria 241₀ 246₈

Delos

Cults: Anoubis 154 f. Aphrodite

Οὐρανία 152₆ 153 f. Apollon 119

984 f. 1135 Astarte Παλαιστίνη

152₆ 153 f. Harpocrates 154 f. Isis

154 f. Iupiter *Sequandus* (Zeus

Οὐριος) 155 Kabeiroi 1172 Sarapis

154 f. Tritopator Πυρρακιδῶν Αλ-

γλιῶν 116 ff. Zeus Οὐριος 152 ff.

Zeus Ὑψιστος 1162

Festivals: Euergesia 593₂ Pataikeia

593₂ Philetaireia 593₂ Sopatreia

593₂

Rites: γέρανος-dance 1087 Labyrinth-

dance 1087 διαμεσίγωσις (?) 1087

εὐσεβῶν Βωμός 593₂

Myths: birth of Apollon 984 f. birth of

Artemis 985 Hyperoche and

Laodike 1172 Opis and Arge 1172

Etymology: 985 (?)

— altar of horns at 1087 1172 as a

floating island 984 f. called Asteria

984 f. Egyptian sanctuary in 154 f.

formerly sacred to Poseidon and

Doris 985 marble group of

Aphrodite and Pan from 1020 votive

ladder entered with snakes from

1119 winged Nike from 843₀

Delphinia 603₁₂

Delphoi

Cults: Apollon 1135 Ge 1121 Themis
1121

Rite: βούς τοῦ Ἡρώος 604₇

Myth: Zeus sets up stone vomited by
Kronos 929 937

— acanthus-column at 1009 f. Cni-

dian Lesche at 398 distyle bases at

1131 E at 1121 group of Ge and

Themis from 1121 'Mycenaean' finds

at 937₆ *omphalós* at 1120 f. plane-

tree of Agamemnon at 1122 west

frieze of Siphnian Treasury at 807

Demeter

Cults: Agra 722 Alexandria 990 ff.

Demeter (*cont.*)

Argos 417₀ Athens 177 990 f. Eleusis

967₁ 990 Kolonos 179₀ Lykosoura

712 Megalopolis 66₂ Megara 569₅

1136 Melite, the Attic deme 202₀ (?)

Mytilene 167 Pelasgians 191₀ (?)

Phlysea 202₀ Selinous 1136 1188

Theira 992

Epithets: ἀγλαδωρος 596₆ Ἀνησιδώρα

202₀ Δεκάμαζος 916₁ Ἐλευσινή 596₆

ἐν Ἐλει 66₂ Ἐρινύς 1182 ἐνπλόκαμος

77₁ Εὔχλος 178₀ 179₀ Θεσμοφόρος

168 244₃ Ἴουλῶ 178₀ Κουροτρόφος

242 Μαλοφόρος 1136 1188 μεγάλα

θεός εὐρύανασσα 991 Μεγαλόμαζος

916₁ Πελασγίς 417₀ πολυτρόφε 990

πυλνυμέδιμνε 990 Προηροσία 527 562

Χλόη 177 χλοόκαρπος 179₀

Rites: basket 104 990 ff. sacrifice of

ram 178₀ sacrifice of pregnant sow

179₀

Priest: Φαιδωντής 967₁

Priestesses: δαδοῦχος 724₀ κερμοφόρος

724₀ μέλισσαι 1083

Personated by priestess 301₀(3)

Myths: consorts with Zeus 301₀(3)

615₃ 744₁(4) Demophon 609 611₅

Iasion 75 ff.

Genealogy: m. of Kore 562₂ m. of

Persephone by Zeus 744₁(4)

Functions: earth 726₆ agriculture 527

provides food for man and beast

453 birth-goddess 673 ff.

Etymology: 1127

Attributes: corn-ears 1060 poppies 1060

sceptre 1060 torch 712

Types: Damophon 712 helping Zeus

in labour 673 ff. in archaistic reliefs

of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff. seated

with corn-ears and sceptre 12₀

Associated with Aglauros 242 Despoina

712 Dionysos 302₀(6) Kore 178₀

Kore and Zeus Βουλεύς or Εὐβουλεύς

1124 Persephone 712 Zeus Βουλεύς

1124

Superseded by Athena 607 f.

— table of 177₁

Demetra, St 598₃

Demetreioi 302₀(5)

Demetrios of Phaleron, sumptuary law

passed by 380

Demetrios Poliorketes

Personates Zeus Kataibátēs 1115

Demokratia 1186

Demon 121

Demophon

Festival: Balletys 612₀

Myths: Eleusis 609 611₅ Palladion 609

Demos 1186

Dendra, thólos-tomb at 623₁

Deo

Epithet: Βριμύ 301₀(3)

Myth: consorts with Zeus 301₀(3) 615₃

Genealogy: m. of Pherephatta or Kore

301₀(3)

Derwentwater, floating island in 1015

Derzelas

Cult: Thrace 1129

Despoina

Cult: Lykosoura 712

Rite: pomegranates taboo in her temple 815₀

Type: Damophon 712 f.

Associated with Demeter 712

— marriage with 396

Deukalion

Myth: Lykoreia 526₇ 966

— flood of, drained off by cleft at Athens 169₀ grave of 604₂

Deus 320 671₃ 672₀ 1130 See also Zeus

Devil

Type: serpent 767₂

— *phallós* of 1078

Dia See Hebe

Dia, the festival 320₄

Diana

Epithet: *Laodicia* (?) a blundered allusion to the cult at *Aricia* (*supra* i. 282₁, 282₃, ii. 147, 420₁)) 903₆

Function: *daemonium meridianum* 1130

Attributes: bow and arrows 1062₂ (1 f.) crown 1062₂ (2) fawn 1062₂ (1) sceptre 1062₂ (2) spear 1062₂ (1)

Types: pillar with crown-shaped top 1119 f. in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062₂ (1 f.)

Superseded by St Christina (?) 1013

— couch of 1044₄ name of, still survives as *Jana*, *Janara*, *Janassana*, etc. with a male counterpart *Diano*, *Dianu*, or the like 1130

Diasia 320₄ 1194

Diaskourai or Dias Kourai 664₀ (?)

Didyma near Miletos

Cults: Zeus *Σωτήρ* 563 Zeus *Υέτιος* 563

Rite: *βοήγία* 563

Diipoleia 575₄ 596 See Dipolieia

Diipolia 320₄ 575₆ 593 See Dipolieia

Diipolieia 179 575₂ See Dipolieia

Diisoteria 575₉

Dike

Epithets: *ἀγλαόμορφος* 950₄ *πανδερκής* 950₄

Genealogy: d. of Zeus by Themis 823

Function: *páredros* of Zeus 949 f.

Type: guarding Peirithoos 402

Identified with Basileia 950₄ (?) Parthenos 823 Zeus 951

In relation to Zeus 949 ff.

Diktyna

Cult: Crete 189₁

Identified with Artemis 189₁

Diktys, s. of Peristhenes 455

Dinos 163

Diodoros, sources of, for things Cretan 1032₃

Diogenes of Apollonia 276₂

Diogenes the Babylonian 726 f.

Diokaisareia in Kilikia See Olba

Diomedes

Rite: human sacrifice at Salamis in Kypros 653₀

— shield of 224₃

Diomeia, Attic deme

Cult: Herakles 594 724

Festival: Diomeia 594

Myth: Diomos 594

Diomeia, the festival 594

Diomos 593 ff.

Myths: first to kill ox 589 593 661₃ 1194 founds Kynosarges 594

Etymology: 594₆ 595₀

Dion Chrysostomos, describes Pheidias' statue of Zeus at Olympia 961 ff. 974 enters a plea for idolatry 963₁

Dion in Macedonia

Cult: Zeus *Ἰσχύμιος* 1068

Dione in repose identified with Mt Emertsa 1173

Dionysios, St 294

Dionysos

Cults: Athens 574 Chios 599₍₂₎ Ephesos 422₀ Kos 413₀ Krastonia 1118 Lakonike 94₂ Samos 1030₃ Tenedos 599₍₂₎ Thebes in Boiotia 1103 Thracio-Phrygians 874

Epithets: *Ἀνθρωποραίστης* 599₍₂₎ *Βακχευίτης* 94₂ *Βασσαρεύς* 94₂ *Βρόμιος* 1161 *Δενδρίτης* 753₂ *Δημοτελής* 212₂ *διγόνος* 1105 *διθυραμβογενής* 1105 *Διογενής* 1105 *Διὸς φῶς* 80₂ (2) 685₂ *Εἰραφιώτης* 834₍₁₎ 94₂ *Ἐλευθερέυς* 574 *Ἐλιγεύς* 1030₃ *Ἐπάφις* 99₀ *Ἐριφος* 94₂ *Εἴσιος* 1103 *Ἑρικεπαῖος* 515₆ (cp. 64₀ 1179) *Ἡρώς* (?) 1160 *Μελάναιγος* 837 1105 *Παντοκράτωρ* 422₀ *Περικίωνος* 351₄ *πολυγῆθης* 1103 *πυριγενής* 1118 *ῥηξίχθων* 4₀ *Σεμελεύς* 1105 *Σεμεληγενέτης* 1105 *Σκυλλίτας* 413₀ 414₀ 416₀ *Thyoneus* 1047₁₁ *Ἵτης* 500 874 *Ἰμάδιος* 599₍₂₎

Rites: at Chytroi 604₂ *διθύραμβος* 1104 f. marriage with *Βασίλισσα* 61₀ 1105

Worshippers: human *ἔριφοι* 1104

Myths: simulated birth from Zeus 89₁ 737 Zeus rains ambrosia at his birth 477 500 gives Bakchos or Iakchos to Athena as nurse 225₁ brings Hephaistos to Olympos 1106 attacked by Lykourgos, s. of Dryas 228₈ beats Pallene in wrestling-match 522₆ Tyrrhenian pirates 1031₄ pomegranates spring from his blood 815₀

Metamorphosed into kid 1104

Genealogy: s. of Ammon by Amaltheia 126₄ (?) *νιός Στραμνίου* 1114 f. by Isis of Apollon and Artemis 984

Functions: earthquake 4₀ life-giver 515₆ life-god of Thracians 953₄ rain 874

Etymology: 834₍₁₎

Attributes: *bullae* 88₀ ivy-wreath 675 685₂ *kántharos* 675 685₂ 996 1053₍₁₎ 1109 *nárthex* 88₀ 996 *nebris* 1060

Dionysos (*cont.*)

panther 757₀ panther-skin 713 721
pedum 88₀ (?) torches 685₂ vine-staff
 1053₁₍₁₎ vine-stem 685₂ vine-wreath
 681

Types: pillar 1103 pillar with mask or
 masks 1103 herm on Ionic column
 1006 double bust 1132 emerging
 from thigh of Zeus 80_{2(3 ff.)} 686₀
 standing on knees of Zeus 685₂
 infant 88₀ 685₂ infant riding on
 goat 1109 riding on bull 831 in
 chariot drawn by two griffins 842₂
 recumbent 713 f. 721

Identified with Baki(s) 1082 cut corn
 302₀₍₆₎ (?) Dousares 911 f. Zeus 1126

Associated with Demeter 302₀₍₆₎ Helene
 1083 (?)

In relation to bull 94₂ fox 94₂ goat 94₂
 Helios 718₁

Superseded by Apollon 1125

— points of contact between Diony-
 siac and Christian practice 953

Diopan 620₀ (?)

Diores 110

Dios, the Thracian Zeus

Cult: Thracio-Phrygians 952

Epithet: Νῦσος 952

Dios Chorion

Cult: Zeus Ὀλύμπιος 22

Dios Hieron in Lydia, coin of 1117

Dioskourides, the gem-engraver 641₀

Dioskouroi

Attributes: caps with stars 542

Dios Phos 80₂₍₂₎ 685₂

Diospolia 575₇ See Dipolieia

Diospolis 515₈ See Laodikeia on the Lykos

Diotima 315₄ 746 1189

Diounsia 1125 f.

Dipolieia 575₃ See Dipolieia

Dipolia 575₅ See Dipolieia

Dipolieia

317 574 ff. myths of the (Diomos)

593 ff. myths of the (Sopatros)

590 ff. myths of the (Thaulon) 596 ff.

purpose of the 598 ff. 719 ritual of

the 577 ff. 656 f. 662 669 f. 719 733

737 873 1194

Dis

Cult: Rome 904₂ 1115

Epithet: Pater 432₁ 904₂

Rite: human sacrifice commuted 433₀

Associated with Proserpina 432₁

Di-Sandas (?) 1097

Dithyrambos

Etymology: 1104 f.

Dius

Epithet: Fidius 946

Functions: lightning 946 protector of
 pledges 946

Diuturna 1112 f. See Iuturna

Dodo 289₂

Dodola, in the rain-magic of the Balkans
 288 f. variations of her name 288
 etymology of her name 289₂

Dodona

Rites. priests go with unwashed feet

1168 priests sleep on ground 1034₁

1168 cp. 1174

Priests: Ἐλλοί 1092 Σελλοί 1034₁

τομοῦροι (τόμουροι) 1168

Etymology: 289₂

— bronze statuettes of Zeus (?) from
 1078 1192 recent excavations at
 1131

Doias 1196

Doidalses 471

Dois, clipped form of Domater 289₂

Domater, Aeolic name for Demeter 289₂

Domitian

Personates Zeus 37₆

— a devotee of Minerva 872 claims
 to be s. of Athena 872₃

Domouzi (later Tamouz) 1125

Donar

Identified with Volcanus (?) 210

— birch-broom a symbol of 1072
 cuckoo an animal form of (?) 65₀

Donatus as author of the scholia P. Danielis
 on the commentaries of Servius 1181

Dorians

Festival: Thaulia 282₇

Doros 109₇

Dorylaeion

Cult: Zeus Πατρῶος (= Augustus) 1191

— monuments of 1160

Doto 129

Dousares

Cults: Elousa 915 Nabataioi 907 ff.

Petra 914 ff.

Epithet: Ἀνίκητος 911₃ 912

Rite: libation of victims' blood 907

Priest: ιερεὺς 911₃

Genealogy: s. of Chaamou 914 f.

Functions: solar (?) 912 viticulture (?)
 911 f.

Etymology: 911 915₁

Types: black stone, square and un-
 shapen, set on base of wrought
 gold 907 hemispherical stone on
 cubical base 907 meteorite (?) 917
 triad of stones surmounted by flat
 disks (? shew-bread) and set on plinth
 908

Identified with Dionysos 911 f. Zeus

Ammon (?) 912₄ Zeus *Epikárpios* (?)

912

— misspelt Θεὸς Ἄρης and mis-
 interpreted θεὸς Ἄρης 907 911

Drac, water-spirit of Languedoc 446₄

Draco 489

Drakanon

Myth: birth of Dionysos 83₄₍₁₎

Drekanon 83₄₍₁₎

Drapanon 83₄₍₁₎

Dreros

Cult: Apollon Δελφίνιος 1087

— altar of horns at 1087 bronze
Gorgóneion from 848₂ inscribed
 tapering stone from 1183 f.

Druses

Rite: cakes etc. passed through wooden calf 1092

Dryas, s. of Lykourgos king of Edonoï 426₄

Dryas, suitor for hand of Pallene

Myth: 522 f.

Compared with Idas 1072

Dryousa, name of Samos 1027₁

Dura-Europos

Cults: Hestia (?) 1163 Zeus Βέτυλος 890 f. Zeus Θεός 1095 Zeus Κύριος 1095 Zeus Μέγιστος 1163

Dvita 545 ep. 546₁

Dyauš 531 1134

Easter Island

Rite: *Tangata-Manu* ('Man-Bird') 1137

Ebora Cerialis, coins of 1074

Echidna 410₀

Edonoï 426₄

Eëtion 77₄

Egeria 433₀

Egypt

Cults: Anubis 48₀ *HA* of the Double Axe 351 Heh 914₀ Isis 302₀ (6) Zeus 'Ελευθέριος 1130

Festival: Neiloia 344₁

Rite: sacrifice of strangers to Zeus 653₀

Myths: Bousiris 653₀ Kanobos (Kanopos) 339 f.

— floating islands in marshes of 987 invaded by Mediterranean peoples 1077 f. (bibliography) regulations for the guild of Zeus *Hypsistos* in 1163 f. supposed influence of, on Eleusinian mysteries 302₀ (5 f.)

Eileithya 679₀ See Eileithya

Eileithya

Cults: Agra 724 Agrai 168 Aigion 663₂ Athens 588₁ Pelasgians 679₀ Pyrgoi 679₀

Epithet: Εύκολινη 724₁ (?)

Priestesses: Έρσηφόροι 168

Genealogy: d. of Hera 711 725 1032₃ d. of Zeus by Hera, and st. of Hebe and Ares 744₁ (7)

Function: birth-goddess 673 ff.

Etymology: 664₁ 665₀

Types: acrolithic *xánon* at Aigion 663₂ helping Zeus in labour 82₀ (4) 667₁ 667₂ 671₀ 673 676 (3) flying from scene of Athena's birth 711 youthful 711

In relation to Hebe 711

Superseded by St Eleutherios 588₁ Hera 685₂

Eileithyiai

Cults: Kalchedon 667 f. Megara 668

Types: helping woman in labour 80₂ (1) helping Zeus in labour 662 ff. Etruscan 665₀ winged 86₀ 88₀ 664 ep. 85₀ (2)

Ekata 545 ep. 546₁

Elagabalos

Cults: Emesa 900 ff. 905 f. Rome 902 ff. Mt Tauros 902

Epithet: *invictus Sol Elagabalus* 901₁

Priest: Elagabalus 902 ff.

Etymology: 900₄

Identified with Helios 901₁ Jupiter 902 904 Sol 901₁ 902₃

— altar of 902₀ stone of 900 ff.

Elagabalus brings black stone of Emesa to Rome 902 ff. builds temples for black stone at Rome 903 f. collects other holy stones at Rome 903 offers human sacrifices 526₃

Elaioussa Sebaste

Cult: Zeus 'Ολβιος 643₀ 645₀

Elche, Lady of 1073

Elektra, d. of Atlas

Genealogy: m. of Dardanos by Zeus 77₆ m. of Iasion by Zeus 77₄

Elektryone 77₄

Eleusinia 297

Eleusis

Cults: Demeter 967₁ 990 Persephone 967₁ Thea 302₀ (6) 309 Theos 302₀ (6) 309 Zeus Πολλεύς (?) 598 605₀

Festivals: Chloia 178₀ 179₀ Eleusinia 297 Haloia 178₀ Kalamaia 179₀

Rites: ἀλαθε, μύσται 297 ἀπαρχαί 301₀ (4) bull-carrying 1091 exhibition of corn-ear reaped in silence 299 *ιεροφάντης...εὐνουχισμένος...διὰ κωνέλου...κέκραγε λέγων· Ἰερὸν ἔτεκε πόντια κόῦρον Βριμὺ Βριμὺν* 300₀ (1) 301 913₄ κόγξ, ὄμπαξ 298 ὁ (ῆ) ἀφ' ἐστίας 611₅ πλημοχόαι 298 pomegranates taboo 815₀ τὰ καλὰθω κατώντος 990 ὕε, κύε 299 307 454

Priest: *ιεροφάντης* 300₀ (1)

Priestess: Ἀρρηφόρος 167₆ 168

Myths: Demophon 609 611₅ Thaulon 597

— burials within 'Middle Helladic' houses at 1181 Dionysion at 297 Itonian Gate at 297 Kallichoron at 309₄ (2) (?) 'Ploutonion' at 309₄ (2 f.) reliefs from 309₄ (2 f.) Rheitoi at 297 small copies of figures from west pediment of Parthenon found at 698₄ supposed influence of Egypt on Eleusinian mysteries 302₀ (5 f.) tablet of Ninnion found at 722₇ Telesterion at 724₀ Triptolemos-relief from 202₀

Eleutherios, St 588₁

Eleuthernai, coins of 421₀ gold tablets from 420₀

Elias, St

Cults: Mt Olympos in Makedonia 1167 Mt Ossa 1167

Eliogabalus 901₁ See Elagabalos, Elagabalus

Eliouon

Cult: Phoinike 762₃

Elioun (*cont.*)

Epithet: "Υψιστος 762₃

Elis

Cults: Athena Μήτηρ 224 f. 749 Sosipolis 239₁ Zeus "Ομβριος 525 f.

Myth: Molpis 525 f.

— coins of 958 f.

Elishama s. of Gedaliah, seal of 1072

Elissa 646₀

Elos, called Kronos, s. of Ouranos by Ge 887

Elousa

Cults: Dousares 915 Lucifer 915₂

Venus 915₂

Rite: birth of Dousares 915

Elymnion (Elymnia)

Myth: union of Zeus with Hera 1041 f.

Elysian Way 1115

Elysium 1115

Embaros

Myth: sacrifices she-goat dressed as his d. to Artemis Μουνυχία 233₁

Etymology: 233₁

Emertsia, Mt, viewed as Dione in repose 1173

Emesa

Cults: Athena 888 Elagabalos 900 ff. 905 f. Keraunos 888₈

Festivals: Helia 901₁ Pythia 901₁

— coins of 901 905 relief from 888₆ 1158

Empedokles

Epithets: 'Αλεξανέμας 105₁ Κωλυσανέμας 105₂

— the personified elements of 736₁

Enalos 133 135

Endoios 968

Endymion

Myths: Hera 74 Zeus 74

Genealogy: f. of fifty daughters by Selene 357

Engonasin or Ingeniculus 483 ff.

Identified with Atlas 491 Herakles 489 ff. Ixion on his wheel 483 Keteus 484 Orpheus 488 Prometheus chained to the Kaukasos 483 Talas 484 491 Talos 491 Tantalos 491 Taos 491 Thamyras 488 'the fettered god' of the Babylonians 483 cp. 484; Theseus 484

Enhodia

Cults: Larissa in Thessaly 279 Pherai 279 f.

Rite: sacrifice of bull with gilded horns 280

Enkelados 3₀ 55₅

Enkidu 1106

Enkomi, Cypro-Mycenaean vase from 1150

Enoch 528

Enyo 608₃

Epaphos

Myth: 1082

Genealogy: ancestor of Danaïdes 142

Epeios 1137 1141 f.

Ephesos

Cults: Apollon 1174 Artemis 896₂ 968

Attis 1174 Dionysos Παντοκράτωρ

422₀ (Kybele) 'Ορεία 1174 Poseidon

599₍₂₎ Zeus Πανελλήνιος (? Hadrian)

422₀ Zeus Πατρός 1174

Rites: human ταύροι 599₍₂₎ ταυροκαθάψια (?) 1091

— a hot-bed of magic 332₃ attached by cords to columns of Artemision 896₂ coins of 323 899₅ excavations on the *Panaghir Dag*h at 1174 gold cicala from 253₀ neolithic pounder, faceted and inlaid with tin to serve as idol (?), from 898 ff.

Ephialtes 18₀

Epicureans 369

Epidauria 167

Epidauros

Cult: Asklepios 1182

— bronzestatuettes by Hybristas from (?) 1150 f. metopes (?) from temple of Asklepios at 1182 relief of Hephaistos and Athena from 205 ff.

Epidaurum or Epidauros in Dalmatia, St Hilarion burns snake at 1182

Epiktesis 1092

Epimenides and the Nemean lion 1085 controls wind 106 identified with Bouzyges 610 invited to Athens 592₃ *περί Μίνω και 'Ραδαμάνθυος* 1103 (further bibliography) quoted by St Paul (?) 954

Epiphany, pagan parallels to Christian 913

Episkopos 593 f.

Epona

Cults: Celtiberians 1179 Celts 1179

Epopeus

Personates Zeus (?) 1112

Er, s. of Armenios 946

Erechtheion at Athens 213 574₀ 721 725 737 749 f. 758 f. 867

Erechtheis, the Attic tribe 759

Erechtheis, the 'sea' of Poseidon in the Erechtheion 750 758 758₃

Erechtheus

Myth: war with Eumolpos 598

Genealogy: f. of Prokris 72

Etymology: 737 (cp. ii. 793) 867

Type: snake 773₈ (?)

Identified with Poseidon 12₃ 737 758 f.

Associated with Poseidon 758

Confused with Erichthonios 181₁ 773₈

In relation to Athena 190 758

Erichthonios

Myths: birth from ground 220 in charge of Aglauros and Herse 248₆ 764 f. first sacrifices to Ge Κουροτρόφος 244

Genealogy: s. of Hephaistos by Athena 218 s. of Hephaistos by Atthis d. of Kranaos 218

Etymology: 181₁ 220 245₆

Erichthonios (*cont.*)

Types: snake 218 753₂ (?) 771 773 half-snake 773 infant 218 771

Compared with Tithonos 248

Confused with Erechtheus 181₁ 773₃

— birth of 181 ff.

Eridanos

Etymology: 366

Identified with Neilos 349

Erikepaïos

Epithet: [βασι]λεῦ or [Εὐβου]λεῦ 1179

Function: ξωδοστήρ 64₀ (cp. 515₆)

Erinyes

Epithet: αἰολόδωροι 722₃

Myth: plant pomegranate on tomb of

Eteokles and Polyneikes 815₀

Genealogy: daughters of Gaia 481

Function: blight the land 426₄

— as horses 1182 as hounds 413₀ of (Hera) 928₅ of Ouranos 928₅

Erinys

Epithet: ἡεροφοῖτις 418₀

— lashes Sisypheos 416

Eros

Cult: Athens 170₀ 725 f.

Epithet: πολυτερεπής 745₄ 745₆

Myth: springs from egg laid by Nyx 53

Genealogy: s. of Poros by Penia 746

Attributes: axe 1129 *bulla* 92₀ hoop and hoop-stick 638₀

Types: ἀποσκοπεῖων 1019 as infant driving Polyphemos 1020 1023 at the shoulder of Aphrodite 1022 at the shoulder of lover 1022 bearing thunderbolt for Zeus 1023 flanking Aphrodite 1018 guiding bull for Europe 1023 handing Aphrodite ashore 1023 hovering 39 465 f. 1018 1023 1052₍₆₎ leading eagle to Ganymedes 1023 on ladder 1118 on shoulder of Herakles 1019 f. pouring golden rain on Danaë 1023 prompting 37₅ 1016 ff. receiving Aphrodite 957 f. removing Ares' helmet 1023 robbing Herakles of weapons 1019 spinning *iyne* 1023 standing on Aphrodite's arm 1018 stepping down from behind shoulder of Aphrodite 1018 touching breast of Aphrodite 1019 whipped 1179 whispering in Hebe's ear 1018 with crossed legs 1108 with thunderbolt and sceptre 1179

Associated with Aphrodite 170₀ 704 746

In relation to Zeus 1129

Erotes

Functions: attendants on historical lovers 1025 attendants on mythological lovers 1023 ff.

Types: hovering 1019 playing about Aphrodite 173₀ procession 170₀ two 1023 ff. three 1025 four 1025 six 1025 eight 1025 nine 1025 numerous in early Christian art 1025 1180

Erotes (*cont.*)

Superseded by Renaissance *putti* and modern Cupids 1025

Erse See Herse

Ersephoria 166 265₀

Erysichthon 118

Erythrai in Ionia, sale of priesthoods at 1187

Eryx, eponym

Genealogy: s. of Aphrodite by Boutas or by Poseidon 176₀

Eryx, Mt

Cult: Aphrodite 'Ερυκίνη 172 ff. Venus

Erycina 175₂

Priestesses: ιερόδουλοι 176₀

Essenes 1141

Eteoboutadai 589 758

Eteokles 815₀

Etephilai

Cult: Mytilene 167

Ethausva 665₀ 678₍₂₎

Etruria

Cults: Munthuch 430₀ 439₂ Tina (Tinia) 259₀

Myths: Evan 259₀ Hercle chooses between Menrfa and Turan 839 Memrun (Memnon) 259₀ Tages 203₀ Thesan 259₀ Tinthun or Tinthn 259₀

— face-urns from 193₀

Etrusci, lightning-lore of 156 lore of Tages and Begoë (?) 434 mirrors of 86₀₍₅₎ 89₁ 259 677₀ ff. 806 815₀ 839

Euamerion

Cult: Titane 1183

Euboia

Cults: Zeus 'Ελύμνιος 1042 (?) Zeus 'Επικάρπιος 912₂

Euelpides 44 ff.

Euergesia 593₂

Eukleides of Athens 1107 f.

Eukoline 724₁ See Eileithyia

Eumelos of Corinth 628₀

Eumenides

Cults: Athens 189₁ Kyrene 1188

Eumenouthis 349

Eumolpos, makes war on Erechtheus 242₆ 598 writes of Palamaon (?) 661₄ 661₅

Euphranor 20₃ 1186

Euripides, on the nature of Zeus 950

Europe

Myth: consorts with Zeus 469 615₃

Genealogy: d. of Phoinix and m. of Minos and Rhadamanthys by Zeus 627₁ d. of Phoinix and m. of Minos, Sarpedon, and Rhadamanthys by Zeus 628₀

Functions: earth-goddess 1092 tree-and-flower-goddess 617₀

Etymology: 1092

Attributes: basket 619₁ golden basket 1092

Types: beneath trees 622₍₃₎ borne off by Zeus as a bull 615 ff. draped

- Europe (*cont.*)
 619 622₃ semi-draped 619 622₄ naked
 619 622₅ floating 618₁ recumbent 618₁
 sitting 618₁ standing 618₁ standing
 to front with basket or vase 980
 stooping 618₁ in mosaics 626 (2)
 627 (3) in wall-paintings 624₁ (1)
 — originally named Hellotis (?) 1092
- Euros 130
- Eurydike
Myth: Orpheus 99
- Eurydike, d. of Lakedaïmon
Genealogy: w. of Akrisios and m. of
 Danaë 455
- Eurykomis 162
- Eurynome
Myths: consorts with Zeus 744₁ (3) hides
 Hephaistos in cave for nine years
 228
Genealogy: d. of Okeanos, and m. of
 Charites by Zeus 744₁ (3) cp. 1070
- Eurystheus, takes refuge in *pithos* 408₀
- Eustace, St 1102
- Eutychia
Epithet: καλή 1073
- Euyuk
Cult: Asis 1106 f.
- Evan 259₀
- Evander 314 315₀
- Ezekiel 832₅
- Falerii
Cult: Iuno 802₅
Rite: annual sacrifice of virgin to
 Iuno 802₅ (?)
- Falerio, statue of Zeus from 535 537
- Fates See Moirai
- Faustina the younger
Cult: Mt Tauros 902
- Fides 71₂
- Fillin 1134
- Finn mac Cumail 1174
- Finns
Myths: Milky Way conceived as
 'Great Oak' 1192 Terhetär 446₄
 Udutar 446₄
- Florence
Rite: *Scoppio del Carro* 791₆
- Fors 321₀
- Fortuna
Etymology: 321₀
- Freya 65₀
- Fro 65₀
- Fróyr 1134
- Fufuns 88₀
- Fundanus, Lake, floating island(s) in 1012
- Gabriel 917₅
- Gadeira
Cult: Herakles 983
 — golden olive of Pygmalion at 983
- Gaia
Cult: Mt Hymettos 526₈ (?)
Epithets: μεγίστη 454₁ μήτηρ πάντων
 454₁ πελώρη 928 1076
- Gaia (*cont.*)
Myths: receives infant Zeus from Rhea
 and rears him in Crete 928 trans-
 forms Ambrosia into vine 1112
Genealogy: m. of Erinyes, Gigantes,
 Meliai 481
Type: recumbent with hand uplifted
 85₀ (2) (?) 601₂
Associated with Ouranos 419₃ 420₀ 422₀
 477₃ 744 745 928
- Galatea 1023
- Galatia
Cult: Zeus Βουσσούργιος 1140
- Ganges
Cult: India 531
- Ganymedes
Myth: Zeus 955₇ 981 f.
Types: feeding eagle 981 f. standing at
 knee of seated Zeus 38 469 standing
 before seated Zeus 581₀ (?) 1050₀
 1051₀ standing behind seated Zeus
 1039 (?) 1040
- Gargaron, Mt
Myths: Zeus consorts with Hera 35
 Zeus visited by Apollon and Iris 35
- Gaza
Cults: Aphrodite 553 Apollon 553
 Britomartis 550 Hekate 553 Helios
 553 Kore 553 Marnas 549 ff. Tyche
 553 Zeus 'Αλδήμιος or 'Αλδος 556
Epithet: Μινώα 555
Rite: ceremonial bathing on set day
 of spring 1193
 — coins of 550 558 642₀ 945 1072
 Heroeion at 553 Marneion at 552 ff.
 St Porphyrios at 551 ff. Tychaion
 at 553
- Ge
Cults: Amastris 1140 (?) Athens 168
 244₃ 949 Καρποφόρος 242 601₂
 Phlyeis 202₀ Thermos in Aitolia
 1184 Vari 265₀
Epithets: 'Αρησιδώρα 202₀ Θέμις 168
 244₃ 949 Καρποφόρος 242 601₂
 Κουροτρόφος 177₁ 244 Κυρία 1140 (?)
 Μεγάλη Θεός 202₀ 'Ολυμπία 169₀ 188
 236 265₀ Πανδώρα 202₀
Rite: sacrifice to any god preceded
 by sacrifice to Ge Κουροτρόφος 244
Priestesses: 'Ερσηφόροι 168
Myths: brings bough of golden apples
 as wedding-gift to Hera 1064 con-
 sorts with Zeus 949
Genealogy: m. by her b. Ouranos of
 four ss.—Elos called Kronos,
 Baitylos, Dagon that is Siton, and
 Atlas 887
Function: earthquakes 22
Attribute: *omphalós* 265₀
Types: emergent from ground 181 ff.
 187 203₀ 205₀ full-breasted 182
 praying Zeus to rain 526₈ 601
Identified with Themis 1064
Associated with Themis 1121 Zeus and
 Helios 1184

Ge (cont.)

Differentiated into Demeter and Persephone 312

Superseded by Athena 188

Geb 1027₅

Gela, coins of 1122

Gelanor 355 362

Genesia 1105

Genetyllides

Cult: Cape Kolias 172

Genetyllis 172₁

Genius Cucullatus

Cult: Celts 1183

Assimilated to Kabeiroi 1183 Telesphoros 1183

Survives as post-Roman dwarf, hobgoblin, etc. 1183

Genius Iovis Dolicheni 1097

Genius Terrae Africae (?)

Cult: Ghardimaou 1095

Gennadios, St 970

Gennaïos

Cult: Heliopolis in Syria 888

Types: lion 888 lion's head 1095

— influences type of Hermes 1093

George, St

Myths: dragon-slayer 1114 attacks evil spirits with his double lance 1141 burnt in bronze bull 1102

Supersedes Aphrodite (?) 1112 Mithras (?) 1194

Geraistos 191₀

Geran(e)ia, Mt 1165

Gerasa, excavations at 1197 head of third-century Zeus perhaps treated as fifth-century Christ at 1197

Germe, coins of 408₀

Gertrude, St 65₀

Geryones or Geryoneus

Genealogy: s. of Chrysaor 1070

— rock-cut throne of, at Temenothyrai 1070

Geta

Personates Zeus 37₆

Ghardimaou

Cults: Genius Terrae Africae (?) 1095 Saturnus 1095

Gideon 500₁

Gigantes

Myth: Zeus 55₅ 56₀ 57₀ 306₀₍₈₎ 534 792₂ 966

Genealogy: sons of Gaia 481

Types: wearing leopard-skin or lion-skin 57₀ wearing wolf-skin (?) 57₀ with human legs and snake legs on same vase 842₂ with snake legs 56₀ 57₀ 842₂

Gilgamesh 1106

Gitiadas 661₇ (?)

Glaukos

Cult: Karystos 126₄ (?) 127 (?)

Function: sea-god 129 135

Glykon

Cult: Pautalia (?) 1182

Types: snake with human head 1182

Glykon (cont.)

snake with lion's head and with fish-tail (?) 1182 snake with radiate nimbus (or wreath) round head and with fish-tail (?) 1182

Gnostics, formulae of 1137 f.

Gordion

Myth: ox-drawn car of Gordios 1162

Gordios 1162

Gorgon

Cult: Kerne 189₁

Epithets: Γοργεῖν κεφαλὴ δεινοῖο πελώρου 844₉ Διὸς τέρας αἰγώχοιο 844₉ εὐπά-
ραος 850₆ Μέδουσα 851₀

Myths: contest of beauty with Athena 850₆ slain by Athena 844 slain by Perseus 843 846₆

Functions: amulet 846 'apotropaic mask' (?) 846 cuttle-fish (?) 846 'evening aurora' (?) 846 gorilla (?) 846 lion (?) 846 moon 845 'nightmare' (?) 846 night-sun or Underworld-sun (?) 845₉ octopus (?) 846 'ritual mask' (?) 846 storm-cloud (?) 846 sun 845 863

Attributes: diadem and earrings 851₀

Types: archaic 848 middle 848₂ 849 853 beautiful 849 ff. sinister 851 pathetic 851 ultrathetic 851 profile 853 dead 853 Etruscan 853 856₀ Rondanini 851₁ Strozzi 853₁ Tyszkiewicz 851₂ bearded 862 f. 865 with winged head 706₂ flanked by lions 844₁₀ 845₀ Gorgon-headed monster, with four wings and bird's claws, clutching two youths 836₃ 844 woman-headed monster, with two wings and bird's claws, clutching two youths 836₃

Identified with Athena 189₁

Compared with Beauty of the Land 851₀ Bes 847₁ Bird Dikjeretto 844 Bird of Truth 844 Speaking Bird 844 Tzitzinaia 844

In relation to Athena 836

Gorgones

Epithets: Αἰβυσσαι 847₁ Τιθράσιαι 847₁

Gortyna

Cults: Zeus 'Αστέριος 953 Zeus Σκύλιος 413₀
— coins of 618₀ 618₍₄₎ 1092 men of, called Kartemnides and Korystioi 1092

Gosforth, the sculptured cross at 1128

Gournia, tubular stands from 197₀

Gral 505

Gryneion

Cult: Apollon 100

Gümbet in Phrygia

Cult: Zeus Βροντων 1160

Gwydion 51₀

Gygaia Limne

Cults: Artemis Κολονηή 989 Nymphs 988 f.

Festival: annual reed-dance 989

Gygaia Limne (*cont.*)

- Genealogy*: m. of Talaimenes 989
 — called Koloë Limne 988 called
 Tala (?) 989 floating islands in
 988 ff.

Gyges, king of Lydia, finds horse of bronze 1114

Gyges, s. of Ouranos and Ge 120

Gymnopaïdai 997 1008

Gythion

- Cults*: Poseidon Γαίοχος 11₂ Zeus
 Ἀμμων 884₀ Zeus Καππώτας 884₀
 939 ff. Zeus Τεράστιος 939

Myth: Orestes cured of madness 939
 — coins of 12₀

HA of the Double Axe

Cult: Egypt 351

Rite: priest purifies king at his coronation 351

Hadad 1093 1173 See Adad

Hades

Cult: Mytilene 6

Epithet: Κλύμενος 593₈

Types: enthroned with Persephone
 standing beside him 402 seated with
 Persephone seated beside him 425

Associated with Zeus and Poseidon 6
 1156 f. (?)

In relation to pig 593₈

— marriage with 395

Hadra, excavations at 618₍₃₎ terra-cotta
 plaque from 618₍₃₎

Hadran

Cult: Mt Aitne 177₀

Identified with Hephaistos 177₀

Hadrian

Personates Zeus Olímpios 959₀

Hagelaidas 1153 f.

Hagioi Tessarakonta 11₁

Hagno, spring on Mt Lykaion 315

Halia 135

Halikarnassos

Cults: Bakchos Ὀμβρικός 558 560₆
 Zeus Ἀσκραῖος 569

Rite: sacrifice of self-chosen goat 569

Halizones 1101

Haloia 178₀ 815₀ 1105 (?)

Halos

Cult: Zeus Λαφύστιος 1167

— bronze statuette of Zeus (?) from
 1167

Halybe See Alybe

Hamalkeides See Amalkeides

Häpi 345₁

Harbaktēs See Horos *Epithets*

Harmonia, genealogy of 774 tomb of 978

Harpokrates

Cult: Delos 154 f.

Type: infant sucking his fingers 1174

Hathor

Type: double bust (with cow) (?) 1132

Haurān

Cults: bull-headed god 1098 Zeus
 Μάναφος 1163

Hebe

Cults: Kynosarges 724 f. Phlious 184₂
 Sikyon 184₂

Epithet: Δία 184

Genealogy: d. of Zeus 724 f. d. of
 Zeus by Hera, and st. of Ares and
 Eileithyia 744₁₍₇₎

Associated with Hera 704 1018₁ Herakles
 704 707 724 f.

In relation to Eileithyia 711

Hecate

Cult: Rome 544₃

See also Hekate

Heddernheim,

Cult: Iupiter Olbius 656₄

— reliefs from 209 f.

Heh

Cult: Egypt 914₀

Hekabe

Metamorphosed into bitch 413₀

In relation to Hekate 413₀

Hekate

Cults: Chalke 544₃ Gaza 553 Pherai 272₃

Selinous 1188 Stratonikeia 544₃ 1066

Epithets: Γοργά 805₄ Αἰδοφόρος 544₃

εἰνοδία 413₀ Ἐροδία 279₄ Καλλίστη

268₈ κυνοκέφαλος 413₀ κυρία 413₀

κύνων 413₀ κύνων μέλαινα 413₀ Μήνη

805₄ Μορμύ 805₄ πολύμορφε 805₄

Προσπυλαία 1188 ῥηξίχθων 4₀ Σκυ-

λακίτς 413₀

Genealogy: m. of Britomartis by Zeus
 (?) 544₄

Attributes: myrtle-wreath 272₅ two
 torches 272₅ 544

Type: holding torches 544

Identified with Ekata (?) 545 Kerberos
 413₀

Associated with Zeus 544₃ 544₄ 1066

In relation to Hekabe 413₀

Hektor

Cult: Thebes in Boiotia 1174

Etymology: 1114 (?) 1174 (?)

Hel 447₀ 447₆

Helene

Myths: birth from Leda's egg 738 f.

Alexandros 78 Egypt 78 f. Menelaos

78 f. 1179 Proteus 78 Sparta 78

Genealogy: st. of Helenos 922

Associated with Dionysos 1083 (?)

Helenos

Myths: advises Greeks to fetch

Philoktetes from Lemnos 921

receives from Apollon the prophetic

stone *siderites* or *oreites* 922

Genealogy: b. of Helene 922

Helia 901₁

Helike, in Achaia 21 f. 1118

Heliogabalos, Heliogabalus 901₁ See

Elagabalos, Elagabalus

Heliopolis in Syria

Cults: Adad 1095 Atargatis 1095

Gennaios 888 Hermes 1093 Iupiter

Heliopolitanus 1093 ff. Magna Mater

(?) 1093 Seimios 1095 Zeus 888

Heliopolis in Syria (*cont.*)

- excavations at 1093 idol of gilded bronze from 1095

Helios

- Cults*: Gaza 553 Kara Adili 1071 Mytilene 1184 Thermos in Aitolia 1184

Epithets: 'Ανικητος 912 Φύτιος 1071

Genealogy: h. of Rhodos, f. of seven sons, gf. of Ialysos, Kameiros, Lindos 986

Types: driving chariot 958 driving quadriga up from sea 718 radiate bust 1126 unworked stone 901

Identified with Elagabalos 901₁ Theos Hypsistos 1163

Assimilated to Gorgon 856₀ 857₀ 863

Associated with Men 1093 Zeus 1184 Zeus and Ge 1184

In relation to Dionysos 718₁ Nemesis 1073

— *baityloi* dedicated to 889

Helioseiros

Cult: Chalkis ad Belum (?) 1074

Hellas 1092

Hellas personified 956

Helle 1092

Hellenes 1092

Hellespontos 1092

Helloi 1092

Hellos 1092

Hellotis

Cults: Argos 1092 Crete 1092

Hemera

Type: carrying Kephalos 1186

Hemithea 458₂ (?)

Heos (Eos)

Myths: sheds tears of dew for death of Memnon 260 tends Tithonos in old age 247 transforms Tithonos into cicala 247

Genealogy: m. of Memnon by Tithonos 260

Types: pursuing Kephalos 187₁ bearing off Kephalos 187 pouring ambrosia (?) over old Tithonos 247 — as *Aurora* imported into myth of Prokris 73

Heosphoros

Cult: Saracens 915₂ 917₇

Hephaisteion at Athens 213 ff. 223

Hephaistia in Lemnos

Cults: Athena 216₁ Hephaistos 216₁ — *Agyieús*-pillar (?) at 1120 coins of 233₂

Hephaistia in Lykia 228

Hephaistia, the festival at Athens 213

Hephaistias in Lemnos 229

Hephaistion See Hephaisteion at Athens

Hephaistion in Lykia 228

Hephaistos, Mts of, in Lykia 228

Hephaistos

Cults: Mt Aitne 177₀ Athens 211 ff. 226 f. 758 Lemnos 226 ff. Pelasgians 191₀ 226 ff.

Hephaistos (*cont.*)

Epithets: κλυτόμητις 201₃ πολυτέχνης 201₄ πυρρῆς 235₂ χαλκεύς 866₉

Festivals: Athenaia 212 f. Chalkeia 211 ff. Hephaistia 213

Rite: marriage with Lemnos 233 f. (?)

Priest: ἱερεὺς 213₃

Myths: cleaves head of Zeus 125₃ 222 477 660 f. falls from heaven 228 hidden for nine years by Eurynome and Thetis 228 fashions woman 201 gives *aigís* to Zeus 866 gives club and breastplate to Herakles 1186 makes magical throne for Hera 222 makes shield of Achilles 596 f. makes sword for Peleus 209₁ makes thunderbolt for Zeus 222 sleeps with Aphrodite 175₂ woos Athena 218 ff. 236 274 734

Genealogy: s. of Hera 235₂ f. of Erichthonios by Athena 236 f. f. of Erichthonios by Ge 236

Functions: arts and crafts 201 fire 227 f. fire on earth 234 fire springing from ground 228 lightning-flash 235 originally husband of Athena 200 223 736 758 867 originally Pelasgian sky-father in Asia Minor 236 736

Etymology: 190₇ 200₁

Attributes: axe (?) 1106 double axe 125₃ 200 235 477 867 1060 *pilos* 234₀ pincers 1057

Types: flying from scene of Athena's birth 711 forging thunderbolt for Athena 210 f. presenting helmet to Athena 207 pursuing Athena 220 f. seated beside Athena in Parthenon frieze 205 grouped with Athena in the Hephaisteion 213 ff. Alkamenes 215 in archaic reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff.

Identified with Hadran 177₀

Associated with Athena 200 ff. 736 Charis 958

In relation to Kadmilos 190₇ Philoktetes 190₇

Supersedes Zeus 188

— list of objects made by 209₁

Hepit

Cult: Hittites 1131

— reliefs from 209 f.

Hera

Cults: Argos 65 66 566₂ 725₄ 1043 ff. 1085 Athens 66₃ 725 Boiotia 61₁ Carthage 1045 Hermione 1043 Mt Kithairon 1042 Korkyra 1120 Kos 66₂ Kypros 66₂ Lebadeia 61₁ Lindos 61₁ Mykenai 1045 Naukratis 1187 Orchomenos in Boiotia 949₀ Phokis 61₁ Pisidia 61₁ Plataiai 932 1042₆ Mt Pron 65 Samos 645₀ 969 1027 ff. 1045 Sikinos (?) 61₁ Stymphalos 1070 Tarentum 636₀ Thorikos 725₄ Tiryns 1085

Hera (cont.)

Epithets: 'Ακρία 1120 'Αργεία 66₂ 1045
1085 Βασίλεια 66₂ Γαμήλιος 1042
Ειλείθυια 725₁ 'Ελεία 66₂ Εὐρωπία
216₁ Ζυγία 949₀ 1060₇ Ἀητὼ Νυχία
1042 Νυμφενομένη 1042₆ παμβασίλεια
61₁ Παρθενία 1027₁ Παρθένος 1043
1044₄ πολυώνυμος 61₁ πότνια 736₃
sidere regina poli 1046 Τελέα 65932
948₁₆ 949₀ 1042 1042₆ 1044₄ 1060₇
Χήρα 1070

Festivals: πενταετηρίς 356₅ the Shield
from Argos 356₅ Tonia 1028 ff.

Rites: annual bathing in Kanathos
224₃ 1032₃ 1044₄ bathing in Par-
thenios 1027₁ (?) 1031 (?) 1032₃ (?)
bathing in Theren 1032₃ (?) leg of
victim reserved for Hera 566₂
στιβάδες or στιβάδα 61₁ veil pre-
sented by Argive women 1046

Priests: κλειδοῦχος 66₂ Milon holding
pomegranate as priest of Hera (?)
816₀ 817₀

Priestesses: ἱέρειαι 1085 Kallithyia
1085 (Kydipte or Theano) drawn by
white oxen 1044

Personated by Aspasia 32₅ 66₄

Myths: courted by Zeus for three
hundred years 1025 wooed by Zeus
clandestinely 1025 f. grows up and
marries Zeus in Samos 1027 bathes
in Aborras after marriage with Zeus
1027₁ consorts with Zeus 35 58 65
111 111₁ 180 744₁₍₇₎ 1025 ff. carried
off by Zeus from Euboia to Boiotia
1042 Διὸς ἀπάτη 35 180 924 1065
hung up by Zeus with *akmones*
fastened to her feet 924 threatened
by Zeus with flogging 924 contest
with Poseidon 751₁ Endymion 74
Hesperides 1064 Ixion 74 f. judg-
ment of Paris 67 receives bough of
golden apples as wedding-gift from
Ge 1064 sends Argonauts past
Planktai 975 simulated birth of
Herakles 89₁ suckles Herakles 89₁
92₀ 94₀

Genealogy: m. of Eileithyia 711 725
1032₃ m. of Hephaistos 235₂ m. of
Hebe, Ares, Eileithyia by Zeus
744₁₍₇₎ m. of Herakles by Zeus
92₀ (?)

Functions: not *ab initio* the wife of
Zeus 744₁ 1025 1065 marriage-
goddess 948₆ 1042 1060₇ *aér* 726₆
1046₅ cloud (?) 75₁ rain (?) 75₁

Attributes: Charites 65 Horai 65 sceptre
65 816₀ 1039 f. 1048₄ cuckoo-sceptre
65 67 1044 lily-sceptre 92₀ *stephane*
67 1039 f. floral *stephane* 92₀ rayed
stephane 1041 veil 636₀ 1033 1039 f.
1057 1060 star-spangled veil 1040
wedding-ring 1033 willow-wreath
1053 (?) lily 92₀ pomegranate 65
816₀ 1043 lion 67₅ panther 67

Hera (cont.)

Types: pillar 1085 on pillar 638₀
Athenis and Boupalos 969 Smilis
1027 Polykleitos 65 816₀ 1043 f.
Praxiteles (?) 932 f. Ludovisi 1117
obscene (?) 1027₅ enthroned 67 f.
seated on rock 701 seated beside
Zeus as bride and bridegroom 1027 f.
seated with Zeus seated before her
1048 seated with Zeus seated beside
her 1048 f. seated with Zeus seated
en échelon 1053 seated with Zeus
seated facing her 1049 ff. seated
with Zeus standing before her 687
in archaistic reliefs of the Twelve
Gods 1055 ff. veiled 1045 virgin
seated on lion (Iuno *Caelestis*) 1045
Associated with Hebe 704 1048₄ Leto
1042 Zeus 745 958 1025 ff.
In relation to Herakles 1045₃ Zeus 633₀
1025 ff.

Supersedes Eileithyia 685₂ Leto 1042
— couch of 1044 1044₄ garden of
1064

Herakleia in Lucania, coins of 714₈ 794 820₂
Herakleides Pontikos, pretends on his
death-bed to become a snake 773₁

Herakleitos 234 1046₅

Herakles

Cults: Diomeia 594 724 Gadeira 983
Kynosarges 724 Mt Kynthos 1172
Sebastopolis (Herakleopolis) 408₀
Tyre 892 f. 978

Epithets: Ἀλεξίκακε 508₃ ἀναξ πυρός,
δρχαμε κόσμου, | 'Hέλειε, κ.τ.λ. 893₁
'Ἀστροχίτων 892 f. 978 "Hραϊος 216₁
1047₁₁ τριέσπερος 508₃ 509₀ τριέλληνος
508₃ 509₀ Σάρον 1165

Myths: simulated birth from Hera 89₁
suckled by Hera 89₁ 92₀ 94₀ as infant
strangles snakes 767₂ Atlas 956
Auge 823 Delphic tripod 409₀ 799₁
Hesperides 1019 Hydra 795 ff.
Kerberos 408₀ Nemean lion 956
Periklymenos 744₁ Prometheus 956
Virtue (Athena) and Vice (Aphro-
dite) 839 pyre on Mt Oite 512 ff.

Genealogy: s. of Zeus by Alkmene
w. of Amphitryon 506 s. of Zeus by
Hera 92₀ (?) s. of Uni (Iuno) 92₀ f. of
Tyrsenos by the Lydian woman
(Omphale) 729₃ ancestor of
Ptolemies 1172

Attribute: lion-skin 841₁

Types: double bust (with Hermes)
1132 dragging off two-headed
Kerberos 399 dragging off three-
headed Kerberos 402 f. feasting in
Olympos 724₀ fighting Amazons 955
fighting Centaur (?) 1142 'Lans-
downe' 704₅ recumbent 714 robbed
of weapons by Eros 1019 with Eros
on his shoulder 1019 f.

Identified with Engonasin or Ingeni-
culus 489 ff. Melqarth 893

Herakles (cont.)

Associated with Athena 958 Hebe 704
707 724 f.

In relation to Hera 1045₃ Iphikles 506
sea-gull 52₃

— emerald *stèle* of 892 initiation of
724₀ 724₁ pillars of 978 983
provenance of 1136

Hercle 92₀ 839 1090

Herculeanum, silver buckle from 755

Hercules

Cults: Nikaia in Liguria 492₁ Numidia
1078

Epithets: *Lapidarius* 492₁ *Saxanus* 492₁

Personated by Commodus 1100

Myth: birth delayed by Lucina 663₂

Function: quarries 492₁

Types: in Pompeian painting of Twelve

Gods 1062₂₍₂₎ in silver shrine 1155
— table of 1044₄

Hercules, the constellation 491

Herkyna

Cult: Lebadeia 1182

Hermaistai 155

Hermes

Cults: Ainos in Thrace 1137 Athens
725 Heliopolis in Syria 1093 Kyllene
725₅ Lydo-Phrygians 283₄ Peiraiens
1083 Pelasgians 191₀ Sedasa 1071

Epithets: 'Αέριος 325₂ 332 αἰθέριον
δρόμον εἰλίσσων ὑπὸ τάρταρα γαίης
332₃ 'Αργεῖφόντης 1132 διάκτορος 498₀
ἐνκάρδιε 332₃ ἐριούσιος 181₁ 'Εριφύλλ-
ιος (? 'Εριφύλλος) 321₀ ἐρυχθύνιος
181₁ Κανθαύλας 283₄ 416₀ κοσμοκράτ-
ωρ 332₃ κύκλε σελήνης 332₃ Κυλλήνιος
671₃ 675 Κυνάγκης 283₄ 416₀ λόγων
ἀρχηγέτα γλώσσης 332₃ Μαιαδεύς
1131 Μέγιστος 1071 μηχανιώτης 94₂
567₀ παντοκράτωρ 332₃ πειθοδικαῖο-
συνε 332₃ Περφεραῖος 1137 πνεύματος
ἡνίοχε 332₃ πηνοπέδιλε 332₃ σπαρ-
γανιώτης 94₂ στρονγύλε καὶ τετράγωνε
332₃ Τρισμέγιστος 332₃ Φαλάνθης
(? Φαλανθεύς) 321₀ Χθόνιος 181₁ 604₂
χλαμυδηφόρε 332₃ ψυχοπομπός 332₃

Rite: at Chytroi 604₂

Personated by high-priest at Olba 654₀

Myths: born on Mt Kerykion 417₀
cleaves head of Zeus 661 attends
birth of Dionysos 80₂₍₃₎ 83₄₍₁₎ 85₀₍₂₎

Genealogy: s. of Maia 1131 f. of
Kephalos by Herse 246 f. of Keryx
by Aglauros or Pandrose (Pandrosos)
602 f. of Tat 332₃

Etymology: 411₀ (?)

Attributes: caduceus 675 eagle 1071
goat 1060 winged *pétasos* 39 purse
1082

Types: *phallós* 725₅ *πόανον* 725₅
bearded 1060₁ double bust (with
Herakles) 1132 Lysippos 706 f.
Damophon 567₀ in archaistic reliefs
of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff. sandal-
binding 706₆ 707₀ standing axe in

Hermes (cont.)

hand 661 standing with purse,
caduceus, and ram 1160 with *cadu-
ceus* and eagle 1071 with *phallós*
ending in ram's head 1082 with
supported foot 638₀ 640₀ with winged
head 706

Identified with Thoth 332₃

Assimilated to Gennaïos 1093

Associated with Hestia 958 Zeus 1071

— Epeios' statue of, caught by
fishermen in net 1137

Hermione

Cult: Hera Παρθένος 1043

Myths: Zeus and Hera come to
'anchorage' 1043 Zeus transforms
himself into cuckoo 1043

Hermionthis

Cult: Bakha 953₃

— excavations at 1082

Herodias 163₃

Heros κατά πρόμναν 158₄

Heros ὁ ἐπὶ βλαύτη 177₁

Herse

Myth: Erichthonios 186 248₆ 764 f.

Genealogy: d. of Kekrops 166 d. of
Zeus 261 d. of Zeus by Selene 179 f.
m. of Kephalos by Hermes 246

Function: personification of dew 237
245 944

Hesperides

Myths: Hera 1064 Herakles 1019

Type: Panainos 956

— garden of 404₀ 1064

Hestia

Cults: Dura-Europos (?) 1163 Kos 565 f.
Thasos 1125

Epithet: Βουλαία 1125

Rite: Coan sacrifice of ox that bowed
its neck 565

Attributes: sceptre 1057 veil 1057

Types: in archaistic reliefs of the Twelve
Gods 1055 ff. seated with Zeus seated
facing her 1050₀ virginal, but with
prominent breasts 1107

Associated with Hermes 958 Zeus 1050₀
1052₁ 1125

Heudanemioi 103 f.

Heudanemos 103 f.

Hierapolis in Syria

Priest: 'cock' 1097

Hierapytna

Cult: Zeus Σκύλλιος 413₀

Hierax Theos See Horos *Epithets*

Hieron, on Thracian Bosphoros 142 f. 145
147 f.

Hieros Gamos 1047 See also Index II

Hilarion, St 915₂ 1182

Himalia 477 518

Himera, coins of 853₅ 929

Himeros

Type: prompting 1018

Hindus, ceremonial rebirth of 1092

Hippodameia, d. of Oinomaos 956

Hippokentauroi 75₀

- Hippolytos
Type: with Eros at his shoulder 1022 (?)
- Hippolytus, St 338₁
- Hippotes 107₃
- Hipta 1078 1131
- Hestia See Hestia
- Histie See Hestia
- Hittite forms of early Greek names in the cuneiform texts from Boghaz-Keui 112₀
- Hittites
Cults: bronze cattle (?) 1102 dagger-god 1140 (bibliography) Hepit 1131 Iskallis 1174 lion-god 837 mother-goddess standing on lion 834 Mother of the gods 916, Tarku (?) 651₀ 652₀ Illujankas 1135
In relation to Kabeiroi 1128
- Hobal 334₁
- Holda
Functions: chthonic 447₆ fertility of soil 447₆ sky-power 446 snow 447 souls of the dead 447₀
Etymology: 447₀
Types: black woman 448 white lady 448
Identified with Minerva 210 (?)
Superseded by St Lucy 447₆
- Holl 446
- Holle 446 447₆
- Horai
Genealogy: daughters of Zeus 955 daughters of Zeus by Themis 744₁ (2)
Function: doorkeepers of Zeus 34
Types: four Seasons as children 1127 f. holding flower, grapes, corn 1057 holding pomegranate in right hand and bird, flower, or doubtful object in left 818₀ (?) neo-Attic 659₀ 660₀ Sosias-*kylīx* 818₀
In relation to Zeus 1057
- Horites of Mt Seir
Cult: Hurun 1076
- Horos
Epithets: Ἀρβάκρης 1073 Ἰέραξ Θεός 1073
Types: head on feeding-bottle 193 (b) sparrow-hawk 1073
Identified with Apollon 984
 — children of 345₁
- Hulda 446
- Hulle 446
- Hungary, gold cicalas from 253₀ f.
- Hurun
Cults: Horites of Mt Seir 1076 Pi-Ramses 1076
Type: falcon 1076
- Hyades 512 518 660₀ (?) 1082
- Hyakinthos 460
- Hybla
Cult: Apollon 1029
- Hybris, the Silenos 513
- Hybristas 1150
- Hydra
Myths: Herakles 795 ff. Iolaos 797 — as attribute of Aion 1180
- Hydrophoria 603 f. 603₁₂
- Hygieia, name of, on amulets 343 (?) on *lēkythos* from Gela 775 (?)
- Hymettos, Mt
Cults: Gaia 526₈ (?) Zeus "Ομβριος 526
- Hynnaron, Mt
Cult: Zeus Ὑνναρεός 1177
- Hypaipa, coin of 899₅ (3)
- Hypanis 653 cp. 655₀ (?)
- Hypatios, St 992 f.
- Hyperboreoi
Myth: Apollon takes Kroisos to their land 520
Rite: sacrifice of asses to Apollon 106₁
 — further bibliography of 1136 f.
- Hyperia, fountain-nymph at Pherai 272₅
- Hypermetra
Myth: saves Lynkeus and is imprisoned by Danaos 356 369₇ ultimately weds Lynkeus 356
- Hypermetra See Hypermetra
- Hyperoche 1172
- Hyperochos, slain by Phemios 1105
- Hynos
Type: with winged head 706₂
- Hypsipyle 360₁
- Hypsouranios 983
- Hystaspes, the Mage 1147
- Hysteria, the festival 320₄
- Ialysos, gs. of Helios 986
- Ianiculum, statuette of gilded bronze from Syrian sanctuary on 1114
- Ianus
Epithets: *divom deus* 1130 *Quadrifrons* 1132
Attribute: *pétasos* 1131
 — 'polarity' of (?) 1130
- Iapetos 3₀
- Iapyges 925₅
- Iapyx 364₇
- Iaribol
Cult: Palmyra 1158 f.
Type: in military dress with rayed nimbus and sceptre 1159
Associated with Bel and Aglibol 1158 f.
- Iasion
Myths: lies with Demeter 75 ff. or with phantom of Demeter 77 or with statue of Demeter 77 is thunder-struck by Zeus 76
Genealogy: s. of Katreus by Phronia 774 s. of Zeus by Elektra 774 f. of Ploutos 75 f.
Identified with Eëtion 774
- Iasios 76₁ See Iasion
- Iaso 1083
- Iason
Myths: first sacrifices to Twelve Gods 147 f. founds temple of Zeus on Bosphoros 148
Genealogy: s. of Aison s. of Kretheus s. of Aiolos 148
- Iason 76₁ See Iasion

Iasos in Karia 76₁

Cult: Zeus Ἰψίσιος 1162

Iasos 76₁ See Iasion

Iassos 76₁ See Iasion

Iberians

Cults: bull 1090 horse-headed god with human hands and feet 1179

Rites: dance of men wearing bulls' horns and hoofs (?) 1090 mumming play (?) 1178

— column of, decorated with double axes 1138

Idaeon Daktyloi See Daktyloi

Idas

Compared with Dryas 1072

Ide, a Cretan Nymph 931₃ 982 (?)

Ide, a Phrygian Nymph 982 (?)

Ide, Mt, in Crete

Cults: Daktyloi 1033₁ Rhea 1033₁

Ide, Mt, in Phrygia (Mysia)

Cults: Daktyloi 1033₁ Mother of the gods 893 Rhea 1033₁

Myths: Daktyloi (Kelmis, Damnameneus, Akmon) discover iron 922 Zeus consorts with Hera 35 180 1032 ff. Zeus visited by Apollon and Iris 35

Idoumaioi

Cult: Koze 334₁

Iduna 65₀

Idyia 743₃

Ikaria 594

Ikaros

Attributes: double axe 1111 square 1111

Compared with Daidalos and Talos 1111

Ikoniön

Myths: Annakos 527 f. Prometheus and Athena make images of clay 528

— Paul and Thekla at 523 f.

Ilion

Cult: Athena 283₄

Rite: bull-hanging for Athena 283₄

Illujankas 1135

Illyrioi

Cult: Arantides (?) 1184

Myths: Akrisios (?) 1187 Daunus 364 Teutamidas (?) 1187

Imbrasos 1029

Imbros, Epiphany song from 295 f.

Im-dugud 1155

Inachos

Myth: punished by Poseidon with drought 355 f.

Inachos, the river 224₃ 361

Inarime 3₀

India

Cults: Ganges 531 Indra 531 Vishnu 546₁ Zeus Ὀμβριος 531

Rites: jar of rains 107 f. jar of winds 104₇ 107 f.

— early coinage of 532 f. 540 ff. 871 f.

Indra

Cult: India 531

Myths: combat with demons 362₃ slays

Indra (*cont.*)

Namuki with foam 273 fights Vṛtra

531 slays Vṛtra with thunderbolt

273₃ 362₃

Genealogy: s. of Dyauš 531

Function: storm 544

Etymology: 1078 (?)

Attribute: vajra 926

Identified with Zeus 540 545

— elephant of 546 f.

Ingeniculus See Engonasin

Ino 133 135 1104

Inönü in Phrygia

Cults: Asklepios 1146 draped goddess

holding grape-bunch and cornu

copiae 1146 Nemesis 1146 rider-god

1146 Theoi Hosioi kai Dikaioi 1146

Zeus Βροντῶν 1160 Zeus Μέγιστος

1160

— altars from 1146 1160

Io

Epithet: Καλλιθύεσσα 1082 1085

Myths: travels 360₄ Zeus 615₃ 631 ff.

Types: heifer 631₄ heifer with human

face 634₁ maiden with heifer's ears

and horns 634₂ maiden with heifer's

horns 634 637₃ ff. maiden with heifer

at her side 634 641₄ antefixes 635₀

in arabesque 640₀ in bridal array

636₀

— bibliography of 1082

Iolaos

Myths: Delphic tripod 799₁ Herakles

suckled by Hera 89₁ Hydra 797

Type: duplicated 89₁ (?)

Ioulis

Cults: Aphrodite Κτήσυλλα 269₁ Artemis

269

— coins of 269 271

Iovis Opulentia 156

Iovos 1115 See Iupiter

Iphigeneia

Epithet: Ὀρσιλοχία 99₀

Myth: sacrifice of, commuted to sacrifice of deer or bear or bull 233₁

Iphikles

Genealogy: s. of Amphitryon by Alkmene 506

In relation to Herakles 506

Irekepaigos 1179 See Erikepaiois

Irene, St 472₃

Iris

Functions: bridesmaid of Hera 1033 f. messenger of Zeus 54

Attribute: knotted or studded staff 94₀

Types: standing before seated Hera

1051₀ standing beside seated Hera

1053

Irminsûl, as support of sky 1116 f.

Ishum

Cult: Babylonia 889

Function: fire 889

Isis

Cults: Athens 588₁ Delos 154 f. Egypt

302₀₍₆₎ Pompeii 641₄ Rhodes 986

Isis (cont.)

- Genealogy*: m. by Dionysos of Apollon and Artemis 884
Functions: earth 302₀₍₆₎ 344₁ 351
 'Queen of Heaven' 350
Attribute: starry robe 350
Types: 'Canopus' 346 double bust (with Apis) 1132
Identified with Eumenouthis (?) 349
 Theonoe (?) 349
Associated with Nephthys, Neith, and Selket or Serget 345₁
 — earth 'the body of Isis' 351 the star of 180

Iskallis, Hittite form of Attis 1174

Istar

- Functions*: morning- and evening-star 834 ravisher of men 834
Type: nude goddess 834
 Istros, the river, names of 368₆ source of 1117

See also Danuvius

Istros, the town, coins of 1137

Italy, coins of central 342₀₍₄₎

Itanos

Cults: Athena 126₄ 127 'Triton' 126₄ 127

— coins of 126₄ 127

Itanos, eponym 126₄

Iulianus, the Chaldaean 332

Iuno

Cults: Campania 1155 Falerii 802₅ Lanuvium 837₄ Rome 23

Epithets: *Caelestis* 1045₅ *Feronia* 1155

Lucina 1044₄ 1117 *Moneta* 23₅

Sispita Mater Regina 837₄ *Sospita*

837

Rites: annual sacrifice of virgin at Falerii 802₅ (?) sacrifice of pregnant sow 23

Functions: *aer* 235₀ childbirth 1117

Attributes: peacock 41 *stephane* with nine crescents 1117

Types: in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062_{2(1 f.)} virgin seated on lion 1045

Identified with earth 452

— couch of 1044₄ star of 180

Iupiter

Cults: Alban Mt 492 Amathous in Kypros 653₀ Apulum 1140 Bononia in Bulgaria 1098 Campania 1155 Capua 656₃ Delos 155 Heddernheim 656₄ Heliopolis in Syria 1093 ff. Maiden Castle (?) 1098 f. Makedonia 148₇ Nescania 1129 Numidia 1078 Pompeii 29₄ Rome 433₀ 544₃ 1097 f. Salamis in Kypros 646₀ Syracuse 148 Volsci 1155

Epithets: *Aeternus* 947 *Anxur* 1155

Anxurus 1155 Bronton 544₃ *Bus-*

sumarius 1140 *Bussumarus* 1140

Capitolinus 246₀ 562₃ 707₂ 1066

Conservator 946 *Conservator Totius*

Poli 947 *deus deorum* 1130

Iupiter (cont.)

Dolichenus 37₆ 831 945 946 f. 1097 f. (bibliography) *Elicius* 433₀ *Exhibitor Invictus* 947 *Heliopolitanus* 945 1093 1095 *Hospes* 653₀ *Ilicius* 433₀ (?) *Imperator* 148 *Maius* 321₀ *Nasamonius Tonans* 325₃ *nubilis* 36₁ *Numen Praestantissimum* 947 *Olbius* 656₃ 656₄ *Optimus Maximus* 947 1093 1098 1140 *Pantheus* 1129 *Pluvialis* 324 *Pluvius* 324 333 *Purpurio* 55₅ *Sabaens* 656₃ *Salaminius* 646₀ *Secundanus* 156 f. *Secundus* 156 157 *Secundanus* 155 ff. *Syrius* 902₃ *Terminalis* 1183 *Terminus* 1183
 * *verveceus* 1078

Festivals: *Latiar* 432₁ *Latinae* 432₁

Rites: *aquaclicum* 432₂ human sacrifice to Jupiter *Elicius* commuted 433₀

Priest: *flamen* *Dialis* must neither touch nor mention dog or goat 243₅

Personated by Commodus 1100
 magistrate presiding at games 562₃

Myths: consorts with Ceres 452 in Gigantomachy gets thunderbolts from eagle 792₂ rains blood before death of M. Marcellus 479 rescues Alcumena 517 transforms ants into men (Myrmidones) 608₂

Genealogy: f. of Aeacus by Aegina 608₂

Functions: *aether* 235₀ *ignis* 235₀ lightning 433₀ rain 432₂ wind 107 157 protector of boundaries 1183 ruler of starry sky 948

Etymology: 452₁

Attribute: eagle 41

Types: beardless 1062₂₍₁₎? with white hair 734₀ silver bust 1155 1160 half-length figure fulminant 333 enthroned above clouds 40 surrounded by zodiac etc. 1159 seated between Minerva and Iuno 40 f. 41 standing on bull 831 holding whip and corn-ears with *pólos* on head and bulls beside him 1093 in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062_{2(1 f.)}

Identified with air 452 rain 452 452₃ sky 452 Elagabalos 902 904 Marnas 555 f.

Iupiter, the planet 71₁

Iustitia 823₇

Iuturna (Diuturna)

Etymology: 1112 f.

Ixion

Personates Zeus 141

Myths: Hera 74 f. Zeus 74 f. 974

Genealogy: f. of Kentauros 75

Types: Greek 1072 Etruscan 1072

Roman 1072 Byzantine 1072

Identified with Engonasin or Ingeniculus 483

Jack of the Hammer 1142

Jacob, ladder of 1118 f.

Jains 1120

Jehovah

Cult: Thessalonike 1162

Epithet: σεισχωρ 21

Functions: earthquake 5₀ 10₁ 21 storm 32₄ 884₀

Attributes: hawk (?) 558 high crown 1072 thunderbolt 1072

Types: as a solar Zeus 558 bearded head wearing wreath 558 (?) drawn by Cherubim 324₁ seated on throne, with thunderbolt in right hand, between two stands supporting seven-branched palmettes—the whole on a boat with stem and stern ending in a bird's head 1072 seated on winged wheel 558

Identified with Marnas 558 (?) Theos Hypsistos 1162 Zeus 945

Compared with Amen 884₀

In relation to Zeus Κάσιος in Egypt 1177

Jerash See Gerasa

Jews

Rites: alleged sacrifice of children to Moloch by fire 611₅ Μολοχοδραπία 1081

John the Baptist

Cult: Malta 1031₇ (?)

Supersedes Adonis 1031₇ (?)

John the Evangelist, St, in Patmos 986

Jordan 295 f.

Juktas, Mt, profile of Zeus on 1173

Ka'bah

Festival: annual covering in black with inscribed gold band 918 f.

Myths: brought from heaven by Gabriel 917₅ first white, then black 917₅ escapes deluge 917₆ Abraham consorts with Hagar upon it 917, 918 Abraham fastens his camel to it, when about to sacrifice Isaac 917₇

Functions: 'in pre-Islamic times the meteoric form of an Arab deity, either Dousares himself (Münter) or the Moon (V. Dalberg)' (?) 917 'originally a goddess embodied as an aerolite and annually draped in accordance with an ancient marriage-rite' (?) 916₁

— Arab beliefs concerning 917 f. described by J. L. Burckhardt 919 f. described by Sir R. F. Burton 918 f. described by Sir W. Muir 919₄

Kabeirion at Thebes in Boiotia, vase from 160 votive table from 580₀

Kabeiroi

Cults: Delos 1172 Mt Kynthos 1172 Phoinike 1001

Priest: κοῖης or κόης 1083

Etymology: 1128

In relation to Genius Cucullatus 1183 Hittites 1128 St Thomas 1128

— bibliography of 1128

Kabeiros

Cult: Thessalonike 902₇

Kadmilos 190₇

Kadmos

Genealogy: h. of Harmonia 77₄

— tomb of 978

Kaikias 130

Kaineus 3₀

Kairos

Type: Lysippos 970

— bibliography of 1161

Kaisareia in Kappadokia

Cults: Tyche (Tranquillina) 1177 Zeus 1177

— coins of 1177

Kaisareia Paneas, bronze group at 971₁

1086 statue of Julian at 972₀ 1086

Kalamaia 179₀

Kalamis 1152 (?)

Kalchedon

Cult: Eileithyiai 667 f.

Kallimachos the sculptor 1008 f.

Kalliope 100₂ (?) 100₆ (?)

Kallithyia 1085

Kallynteria 240 f.

Kamarina, coins of 853₅ 1146

Kameiros, gs. of Helios 986

Kanatha

Cult: Zeus Μάκρας ó Κόπιος 555

Kanathos 224₃

Kanobos (Kanopos)

Cult: Kanopos 340

Myths: helmsman of Menelaos 339₃ 340 priest of Kanopos outwits Chaldaeans 339 f.

Kanobos, the helmsman of Menelaos

Myth: loved by Theonoe, d. of Proteus 349₈ 1193

Genealogy: h. of Eumenouthis 349

Identified with Osiris 349

Kanobos, the star 349

Kanopos

Cult: Kanobos (Kanopos) 340

Function: the Osiris-Neilos of fresh water, opposed by Set-Typhon the salt water of the sea 344₆ (?)

Type: terra-cotta strainer caulked with wax and filled with Nile-water 339₃ 340 344 1193

Kapisa

Cult: Zeus 545

Kappadokia, idols with one, two, and three heads from 1135

Kar, s. of Phoroneus 569₅

Kara Adili

Cults: Helios 1071 Zeus 1071

Karia, akropolis of Megara 569₅

Karissai

Cult: Mytilene 167

Karkinos 1128

Karneia 1076

Karnos

Function: vine-god 1076

Type: ram 1076

Karousa

Cult: Zeus Δικαίωνος Μέγας 951

- Karpathos
Cult: Poseidon Ἰδερθμιος 18₀
 Kartennides See Gortyna
 Karthaia
Cult: Apollon 269₁
 — coins of 271
 Karystos
Cults: Glaukos 126₄ (?) 127 (?) Zeus
 126₄ 127
 — coins of 1041
 Kasion, Mt, in Egypt
Cult: Zeus Κάσιος 1177
 Kasion, Mt, in Syria
Cult: Zeus Κάσιος 1177
 Kasilos 1128
 Kassandra
Myth: Aias, s. of Oileus 867 956
 Kassandreia
Cults: meteorite 884₀ 886 Zeus Ἀμμων
 882₂
 — coins of 882₂ 884₀
 Kastor and Polydeukes, bibliography of
 1134
 Kataibasia 1115
 Kato Zakro, clay seal-impressions from
 840₀ 845 1106
 Katreus 77₄
 Kaulonia
Cult: Apollon 830
 Kavak
Cults: Theos Olbios 630₀ Zeus Ὀλβιος
 628 ff.
 Kekrops
Cult: Athens 771
Priest: ἱερεὺς 771₄ 1194
Myths: brought by Athena to Megara
 783 809 f. (?) buried in Kekropion
 at Athens 770 f.
Genealogy: f. of Aglauros, Pandrosos,
 Herse 237 ff.
Etymology: 251₀
Type: with snaky tail 181 186 187
 770 773 810₁
 Keles 1083
 Kelmis 922
 Kenaion, Mt
Cults: St Constantine 1166 Zeus
 Κήναιος (Κηναῖος) 1166
 Kentauros
Genealogy: s. of Ixion 75
Etymology: 1072 (?)
 Kentriadaí, family of clan Kerykes 585
 597 603
 Keos
Cults: Aristaios 267 f. St Artemidos
 269 Artemis 269 Ktesylla Ἐκαέργη
 269₁ Seirios 266 Zeus Ἰκμαῖος
 266 f. Aristaios 265 ff. Ktesylla
 269₁
 — coins of 270
 Kephallenia
Cult: Zeus Αἰνῆσιος 1171
 Kephalos
Myths: borne off to Syria by Heos
 (Eos) 246 Prokris 72
 Kephalos (*cont.*)
Genealogy: s. of Deioneus 72 s. of
 Hermes by Herse 246 s. of Hermes
 by Kreousa d. of Erechtheus 246₁₂
 b. of Ainetos, Aktor, Phylakos 187₁
 f. of Tithonos and gf. of Phaethon
 246 f.
Types: borne off by Hemera 1186 borne
 off by Heos 187 pursued by Heos
 187₁ standing on coins of Kranioi (?)
 1171
 Kephisodotos the younger 659₀
 Keraunos
Cult: Emesa 888₆
Etymology: 1114
 Kerberos
Epithets: latratu...trifauci 403₁ terge-
 minus 403₁ triceps 403₁ triformis 403₁
 Τρικάρηνος 403₁ Τρικέρεπος 403₁
 τρικράνος 403₁ trilingui ore or ore
 trilingui 403₁ τρισώματος 403₁
Etymology: 411₀ 412₀
Types: on coins 408₀ on gems 408₀ ff.
 on vases 408₀ one-headed 403₁ two-
 headed 399 three-headed 402 f. 403₁
 fifty-headed 403₁ hundred-headed
 403₁
Compared with Kleon 403₁
 — as attribute of Aion 1180 in
 modern Greek folk-songs and folk-
 tales 412₀ f. oath by (?) 48₀ snaky
 adjuncts of 410₀
 Keres, as hounds 413₀
 Kerkyon 177₀
 Kerne
Cult: Gorgon 189₁
Myth: Eos and Tithonos 248
 Kerykes, priestly clan of Eleusis 104 585
 589 597 f. 602 737
 Kerykion, Mt 417₀
 Keryx, eponym of Kerykes
Genealogy: s. of Hermes by Aglauros
 602 f. s. of Hermes by Pandrose
 (Pandrosos) 603
 Keteus, s. of Lykaon and f. of Megisto
 (= Kallisto) 484
 Keyx 141
 Khonds 446
 Kibotoi 530 (?)
 Kibotos See Apameia in Phrygia
 Kinyras 817₀
 Kios or Prousiās
Rite: κάλαθος taken in procession 993
 Kirke
Myth: Odysseus 1073
 — gloriole of 1072
 Kithairon, Mt
Cults: Hera 1042 Hera Ἀηρῶ Νυχία 1042
 Leto Μυχία or Νυχία 1042 1065 Zeus
 1042 1065
Epithet: Ἐραννῶν μυχός 1042₄
Myths: Zeus consorts with Hera 1042
 Zeus consorts with Leto 1042
 1065
 Kithairon, the mountain-god 1042

- Klaros
Cult: Apollon 100
- Klazomenai
Cult: Zeus Τροπαιοφόρος 1117
 — white-figured *sarcophagus* from 807
- Kleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* 1161 (further bibliography)
- Kleanthes of Corinth 671₀
- Kledona 290 See also Klidhona
- Kleidemos 120
- Kleitodemos See Kleidemos
- Kleobis and Biton 1044 1083
- Kleonai
Rite: sacrifice to hail-clouds 879
 — official 'hail-guards' at 878 f.
- Klidhona 290 f. See also Kledona
- Klotho 80₂ (1) (?) 717
- Klymene (= Persephone?) 593₆
- Klymenos (= Hades) 593₆
- Klytaimestra
Myth: killed by Orestes 426₄
 — dream of 239₁ phantom of 102
- Knossos
Cult: natural stones 937₄
Rite: *ιερός γάμος* 1032 1065
 — coins of 1087
- Kokkygion, Mt
Cult: Zeus 65
Myth: Zeus the cuckoo 63
- Kokkyx, Mt 65
- Kolias, Cape
Cults: Aphrodite 172 Genetyllides 172
- Koloë Limne See Gygaia Limne
- Kolonos
Cult: Demeter Εὔχλοος 179₀
- Kolotes 47₀
- Komatas 246
- Kombe 135
- Konisalos 1083
- Kopais, Lake, floating islands on 987 f.
- Koptos
Cult: Min 882₂
- Kore
Cults: Alexandria 913 Gaza 553
 Mytilene 167 Phlyeis 202₀
Epithets: Ἐνοδία 279₄ Θεσμοφόρος 168
 Πρωτογέννη 202₀
Rite: birth of Aion 913
Priest: δᾶδοῦχος (?) 66₂
Genealogy: d. of Demeter 562₂
Types: bunch of wheat-ears 301₀(3) (?)
 between corn-stalk and poppy 899₅ (4 ff.)
Associated with Demeter 178₀ Demeter and Zeus Βουλεύς or Εὐβουλεύς 1124
- Koresia, coins of 271
- Koressos, Mt
Cult: Zeus 323
- Korkyra
Cults: Agreus 271₃ Apollon Ἀγνιεύς 1120 Apollon Πυθαῖος (?) 1120 Hera Ἀκρία 1120 Zeus Κάσιος 271₃ Zeus Μελίχιος 1184
- Korone
Cult: Athena 782
- Koronis
Myth: Poseidon 782₄
Metamorphosed into crow 782₄
- Korybantes
Myth: sprung from tears of Zeus 323₂
Functions: τῆς Πέας ὁπαδοί 323₂ τροφεῖς καὶ φύλακες καὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῦ Διὸς 323₂
Identified with Kouretes 323₂ cp. 1070
 — sword dance of 1070
- Korystioi See Gortyna
- Kos
Cults: Athena Μαχάρις 566₂ Dionysos Σκυλλίρας 413₀ Hera Ἀργεῖα Ἐλεῖα Βασίλεια 66₂ Hestia (Histia) 565 f.
 Twelve Gods 566₂ Zeus Μαχαιεύς 566 f. Zeus Ποιεύς 565
Myth: Nisyros 18₀
 — Fountain of Bourina in 363 f.
- Kottos 120
- Kouretes
Rite: sacrifice children to Kronos 937
Myths: sprung from rain 323 478
 sprung from tears of Zeus 323
 deceive Kronos 937 953 receive infant Zeus from Rhea 931₃
Types: three male dancers clashing weapons 1127 f. three small male figures wreathed with flowers 1034₁ (?)
Identified with Korybantes 323₂ cp. 1070
Associated with Kybele and Attis 1127 f.
 — sword-dance of 1070 1127
- Koze 334₁
- Kranioi
Cult: Zeus Αἰνήσιος (?) 1171
 — coins of 1171
- Krannon
Rite: rain-charm 296 f. 316
 — coins of 297
- Krastonia
Cult: Dionysos 1118
- Kritios 849₂
- Kroisos sends gifts to Branchidai 520₄
 sends gifts to Pytho 520 on the pyre 518 ff. taken by Apollon to the Hyperboreoi 520 has ominous dream 522
- Kronos
Cults: Athens 169₀ Mt Kynthos (?) 1172
Epithets: ἀγκυλομήτης 928₇ μέγας 928
Rite: sacrifice of children by Kouretes 937
Myths: mutilates Ouranos 481 928₅ consorts with Rhea 111₁ swallows his children by Rhea 744 928 1139 swallows horse in place of Poseidon 929₃ swallows stone in place of Zeus 927 929 ff. deceived by Kouretes 937 953 expulsion of infant Zeus 1187 deposed by Zeus 966

Kronos (cont.)

Genealogy: f. by Rhea of Hestia, Demeter, Hera, Hades, Ennosigaios, Zeus 928 f. of Zeus 34

Functions: 'Minoan' sky-god 200 953 'Minoan' storm-god 34 Saturday 938

Etymology: 1139 f.

Attributes: double axe 200 *drépanon* 481

Types: three-eyed (?) 933, white-haired king standing sceptre in hand 931 bearded head of fifth-century style 929, veiled 933, 935 1140 crowned 1140 *ara Capitolina* 933 f.

Identified with Akmon 927, Akrisios (?) 1187

Associated with Rhea 169, 745

Compared with Balor 933, (?) Saturnus 933, (?)

Confused with Chronos 746

— *baityloi* dedicated to 889 sickle of 1135 stone of 889, 927 ff. *tekno-phagia* of, as dance-theme 935, tower of 51, 1115

Kroton, coins of 714,

Ktesilochoi 82, 86, 90

Ktesylla

Cult: Keos 269, 1

Epithet: 'Εκαέργη 269, 1

Myth: 269, 1

Kuzah 334, 1

Kyaneai 975 f.

Kybdasos 1083

Kybele

Cult: Ephesos 1174

Epithet: 'Ορεία 1174

Function: mountain-mother of Asia Minor 834

Etymology: 916, 1 (?)

Attribute: lions 834 1174

Type: black stone of Pessinus 893 f. 896 f.

Associated with Attis 1174 Attis and Zeus 1174

In relation to Attis 952 meteorites 893 ff. Papas 952

— See also Mother of the gods

Kydon, s. of Apollon 414, 0

Kydonia, coins of 413, 0 f.

Kyklopes

Function: builders 1074

Kyklops

Function: death-god (?) 1075

Kyknos 177, 0 441, 0

Kyllene

Cult: Hermes 725, 5

Kylon and his men attached by thread to statue of Athena 896, 2

Kynegetai 1083

Kynes 1083 1156

Kynosarges

Cults: Hebe 724 f. Herakles 724

Myth: Diomos 594

Kynthos, Mt

Cults: Athena *Κυνθία* 1172 Herakles

Kynthos, Mt (cont.)

1172 Kabeiroi 1172 Kronos (?) 1172

Rhea (?) 1172 Zeus *Κύνθιος* 1172

Zeus *Μέγιστος* 1172

— cave-temple on, a pseudo-antiquity 1172 prehistoric settlement on 1172

Kypros

Cults: Hera 'Ελεια 66, 2 Zeus *Ελλαπιναστής* 652, 0 762, 3 Zeus *Ειλήτι* (?) 762, 3 Zeus 'Ελαίου (?) 762, 3 Zeus *Ευελίδης* 762, 3 Zeus *Κεράστης* (?) 652, 0 Zeus *Σπλαγχνοτόμος* 652, 0

Myths: Aphrodite plants pomegranate 817, 0 Kinyras makes Melos the Delian companion to Adonis and gives him Pelia to wife 817, 0 Melos the Delian and his wife Pelia hang themselves in grief for death of Adonis 817, 0 Melos the Delian transformed into *μηλέα* by Aphrodite and Pelia into *πέλεια* 817, 0

— coins of 899, 5 face-urns from 193, 0 193 (b) terra-cotta statuette of priest wearing bull-mask from 1090

Kypselos, chest of 507

Kyrene

Cults: Akamantes 115 Athena 535, 1 Eumenides 1188 Hera 535, 1 (?) Tritopateres 115 Zeus 535, 1 Zeus *Μελίχιος* 1188

— fountain of Apollon at 353 rainfall at 353 *silphion* produced from shower of pitch at 353 f. statue of Zeus from 534 f.

Kyrros

Cult: Zeus 794

— coins of 794

Kyzikos

Cult: Zeus 'Αγνός 1071

— coins of 408, 0 1128 fate of, depends on preservation of meteorite 886, 5

Labyadai, oaths of 585, 4

Labyrinth, on Babylonian tablets 1086 in Crete 1086 in Egypt 1087 in south India 1087 in Malekula 1087 at Taormina 1087 at Tyrins (?) 1086 as dance-theme 1087 as game of Troy 1087 as internal organs of man's body (?) 1086 as map of soul's journey 1087 as mosaic 1087 as royal tomb or palace 1087 bibliography of 1086 f. 1141 etymology of 1141

Lachesis 717

La Crau 482

Lactantius, on the possibility of Zeus being superseded 739, 2

Lado 289, 2

Ladon 404, 0

Laertes in Kilikia, coin of 843, 3

Lailaps 735

Laos, unavenged death of 426

Lakedaimon, f. of Eurydike 455

Lakonike

Cults: Athena Παρεια 776 Dionysos

"Εριφος 94₂

Lakrateides, votive relief of 309₄₍₃₎

Lalan 679₍₃₎ See Laran

Lampadedromia 1012

Lampsakos

Cult: Theos Olbios 1196

Lanuvium

Cult: Iuno Sospita 837₄

Laodike 1172

Laodikeia ad Libanum, sacred stone of quasi-human shape from 910₅ 911₀

Laodikeia on the Lykos, coin of 515₃

Laphystion, Mt, in Boiotia

Cult: Zeus Λαφύστιος 525

Lapithai

Type: fighting Centaur (?) 1142

Laran 679₍₃₎ 680₍₄₎

Lares

Epithet: Compitales 119

Function: ancestral spirits 119 cp. 1189

Larissa in Thessaly

Cults: Ennodia 279 Leukathea 1080

Zeus (Μελίχιος) 279

Latiar 432₁

Latinae 432₁

Latona 162₅

La Turbie, further bibliography of 1117 f.

Laussel, horn-bearing woman of 1091

Lebadeia

Cults: Daimon Milichios 1187 Hera

Βασίλις 61₁ Herkyna 1182 Zeus

Βασίλειος 61₁ Zeus Τροφώνιος 1182

Zeus Τέτιος 562 f.

— water of Lethe and water of Mnemosyne at 422₀

Leda

Myth: consorts with Zeus 462₁ 467 469

Genealogy: d. of Thestios s. of Agenor s. of Pleuron 161₁

— as pendant to Danaë 465

Leimones 1034₁ (?)

Leleges

Cult: Tarku (?) 651₀

Myth: with Nymphs build temple of Hera at Samos 1029

Lemnos

Cult: Hephaistos 226 ff.

Myths: Hephaistos' fall from heaven 228 f. Hypsipyle 360₁ Lemnian women murder their husbands 360₁

— Galen's visits to 229 231 Lemnian earth obtained thence 229 231 f.

Lemnos, eponym

Rites: marriage with Hephaistos 233 f. (?) sacrifice of virgins 191₀ 233₁

Functions: earth-goddess 233 probably a form of Artemis 233₁

Leochares 570 573 868₅

Lerna, springs at 356 361 369 Danaides bury heads of Aigyptiadia at 356 369

Lesbos

Cults: Poseidon 'Ελύμιος 1042₁

Poseidon 'Ελύτιος 1042₁

Priestess: 'Ερσόφορος 167₁₀ 168 261

— coins of 856₀ oracle of Orpheus' head at 99 ff.

Lethe, in mystic play at Ephesos 422₀ identified with river Lethon in Kyrenaïke 422₀ identified with river Limia in Lusitania 422₀ water of, as Orphic conception 420₀ 421₀ water of, at Lebadeia 422₀

Leto

Cults: Bouto (Boutos, Boutoi) 983 Mt

Kithairon 1042 1065 Phaistos 1042₉

Epithets: Μυρία or Νυχία 1042 1042₉

1065 Φυρία 1042₉

Myths: consorts with Zeus 744₁₍₆₎ birth of Apollon 984 f. hides Apollon in Chembis 983 f.

Genealogy: m. of Apollon and Artemis by Zeus 744₁₍₆₎

Etymology: 1042₅

Attribute: cock 1042₉

Types: birth of Athena 681 Praxiteles (?) 933

Identified with Bouto (earlier Udó) 984

Associated with Hera 1042

Superseded by Hera 1042

Letopolis 884₀

Leukas

Cult: Apollon Λευκάτης 137₄

Rite: the Leucadian leap 136₃ 137₀ 1076

Myth: Zeus 941₁

Leukathea 1080 See Leukothea

Leuke, island in Euxine sea 135 140

Leukippos, s. of Xanthios 590₅

Leukothea (Leukathea)

Cult: Larissa in Thessaly 1080

Rite: caldron of apotheosis 1104

Metamorphosed into gull 783₁

Libanos, Mt

Cults: baityloi or baitília 888 f.

Priests: λιθοφόροι 888₄

— skins spread to catch honey-dew on 500₁

Liber

Cult: Thrace 1118

Epithet: Pater 1118

— assigned by Etruscans to seventh region of sky 156₄

Libyans, believe the sky to be holed 353 call he-goat *tityrus* 1080 fringed goat-skins worn by women of 838 f.

Libye, the country

Cult: Athena 128₁ 839

Myth: Gorgones 847₁ 866

Liguria

Myth: Herakles and rain of stones 483

Ligurians 483₃

Lilith (?)

Cult: Sumerians 832 ff. 1196

- Lilith (?) (*cont.*)
Epithet: *Ardat Lili* ('the slave-girl of the Night') 835
Functions: ancestress of Athena, half-bird half-goddess 834 ravisher of men by night 834
Attributes: coiled piece of rope (?) 1196 head-dress of bovine horns 832 1196 measuring rod and looped cord (?) 832 1196
Types: nude female figure with wings, claws, and spurs of a bird, standing *en face* on two goats 833 f. nude female figure with wings, claws, and spurs of a bird, standing *en face* on two lions and flanked by two owls 832 f.
- Lindos
Cults: Damateres and Zeus Δαμάτριος 1124 Hera Βασίλεια 61₁
 Lindos, gs. of Helios 986
 Linos 243₅
 Lipara 110
 Lips 130
 Lithobolia 612₀
 Lithuanian gods 108 (Perdoytus) 109₁ (Vēlēs) 158 (Wejopatis)
- Livia
Personates Venus 1021
Associated with Zeus Ammon 1078 (?)
- Lokroi Epizephyrioi
Cults: Zeus 1097 Zeus' Ελευθέριος 1097
- London
Cult: 'three Mother Goddesses' 1126
- Lordon 1083
- Lucian, satirises Zeus Ολύμπιος 966
- Lucifer
Cult: Elousa 915₂
Myth: fallen from heaven 917
- Lucina, delays birth of Hercules 663₂
- Lucretius 50₁
- Lucy, St 447₆
- Ludi Capitolini 1141
- Luna
Cult: Aquae Sulis 863₁₁
Attribute: crescent 41
- Lupercal 1104
- Lupercalia, bibliography of 1104
- Luperci 1104
- Lussoius 1117
- Luxovium in Germania Superior
Cults: Bricia 1117 Lussoius 1117
- Lydia
Cult: Baki(s) 1082
Rite: prenuptial free love 1026₄
- Lydo-Phrygians
Cult: Ερμῇ Κυνάργχα, Μηνοιστῖ Καν-δαύλα 283₄
- Lykabettos 238
- Lykaion, Mt
Cult: Zeus Λύκαιος 267 1068
Priest: makes rain with oak-branch 267
 — summit of 1164
- Lykaon 484 526
- Lykia, solar symbol of 1074
- Lykoreia
Myth: Deukalion 526₇ 966
- Lykosoura
Cults: Demeter 712 Despoina 712 f.
- Lykourgos, king of Arabia
Myth: attacks Ambrosia 1111 f.
Attribute: double axe 1111
- Lykourgos, king of Edonoï
Myths: attacks Dionysos and is blinded by Zeus 228₈ slays his s. Dryas 426₄
- Lyktos, cave of Arkalochori near 1143
 Rhea brings infant Zeus first to 928
- Lynkeus
Myths: presents Abas with shield dedicated by Danaos to Hera 356₅ saved by Hypermetra 356 369₇
- Lyra 484 488 877
- Lysimachides, votive relief of 309₄₍₂₎
- Lysippos 187₃ 638₀ 704₉ (?) 706 957₀ 970 1019 f.
- Lystra, altar 'to the Epēkoos and to... and to Hermes' 1071 bronze statuette of Hermes with *caduceus* and eagle 1071
- Lytto
Cult: Zeus 525
 — later form of Lyktos 928₉
- Ma 1134 as equivalent of Μητηρ 1131
- Madagascar
Myth: origin of woman 98₀₍₆₎
- Maenads
Attribute: ivy-wreath 1133
Types: double bust 1133 grouped with *kalathiskos*-dancers 1006 Skopas 471
 — artificial skins worn by 95₀
- Mageiroi 585 See Daitroi
- Magna Mater
Cults: Heliopolis in Syria (?) 1093 Rome 896 f. 896₁
- Magnesia ad Maeandrum
Cult: Zeus Σωσιπλος 239₁ 599₍₃₎ 604₇
 — coins of 211
- Maia
Rite: sacrifice of a pregnant sow 23
Genealogy: m. of Hermes 1131
- Maiden Castle
Cults: Jupiter *Dolichenus* (?) 1098 f. Minerva 1098
- Maionia, coins of 899₅₍₆₎
- Makedon 110
- Makedonia
Cults: Ares Θαύλλος (?) or Θαῦλος 282₆
 Jupiter *Imperator* (Zeus Οὔριος) 148₇
Rite: *klidhona* 290 f.
 — coins of 853₂ 868 f. 957₀
- Makris 1042
- Malachbelos
Cults: Palmyra 1159 Rome 1159
Function: solar 1159
- Maleates 1083

Mallia, bronze double axe with incised lions from neighbourhood of 1143 f. steatite seal-stone from 1196 stone axe ending in forepart of panther (not lioness) from 1192

Mallos in Kilikia, coins of 843₀

Malta

Cults: Adonis 1031₇ (?) John the Baptist 1031₇ (?)

Rite: golden idol annually thrown by monk into field of bean-flowers 1031₇

Manāf 1163

Manaphus

Cult: Carnuntum (?) 1163

Manāt 914₁

Mandaeans 1179

Mādhātr 960₍₃₎

Manes, as divinised ancestors 440₈ lower part of *mundus* consecrated to 431 offerings to 441 stream up to join the living through *manalis lapis* 432

Mania, m. of the Lares

Rite: human sacrifice commuted 433₀

Manichaeans 50₁

Manliana

Cult: Abaddir *Sanctus* 937₀

Manzan Görmö 1098

Mara, fight of Buddha with 1087

Marathon

Cults: Akamantes 115 Athena Ἐλλωρίς 1092 Tritopatreis 115

Myth: hiding-place of Athena pursued by Hephaistos 220₈ (?)

— commemorated by leaves on Athena's helmet 812 f.

Marduk 1135

Margaret, St. of Scotland 335₀

Maristiusta (?) 680₍₄₎

Marna See Marnas

Marnas

Cults: Gaza 549 ff. Ostia (?) 556

Rites: human sacrifice 554 f. initiation 554

Function: rain 549 551 f.

Etymology: 550

Types: youthful hunter 550 556 f. youthful Zeus 557 mature Zeus 557 f.

Identified with Iupiter 555 f. Jehovah 558 (?) Zeus *Kretagenēs* 551 553₁ 555

Associated with Britomartis 550

— bronze seal of 549₃ (?)

Marneion at Gaza, description of 552 ff. comparison of, with Cretan Labyrinth 555

Mars

Cult: Rome 432 1021

Epithet: Ultor 1021

Attribute: Oscan helmet 1062₂₍₂₎

Type: in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062_{2(1 f.)}

Associated with Venus 442 f.

Marsyas

Attributes: cornu copiae 530 flutes 530

Types: contest with Apollon 659₀ 710 seated in grotto 530

Marsyas, river in Phrygia 531₀

Mary Magdalen, St 335₀

Mater

Epithet: Idaea 896₀ 896₄

Mater deum

Attributes: *pedum* and cymbals 895₂

Phrygian cap 895₂ pipes 895₂

Type: black stone of Pessinous 894₂

Associated with Navis Salvia 895₂ 896₀

— altar of 895 f.

See also Meter Theon, Mother of the gods

Mayence, column of 1191

Mean 88₀ 92₀

Médard, St 334₂

Medousa 851₀ See Gorgon

Megalopolis

Cults: Aphrodite Μαχαῖτις 567₀ Athena

Μαχαῖτις 567₀ Demeter ἐν Ἑλει 66₂

— coins of 712₆ Δακτύλον μνημα near 1183

Megara

Cults: Athena Αἰθῖνα 782 f. 795 Demeter

569₅ Demeter Μαλοφόρος 1136

Eileithyiai 668 Pandion ii 783₁ Zeus

Ἀφείσιος 1165 Zeus Κόνιος (not

Κρόνιος, nor Κώνιος, nor Σκορίτης,

nor Χθόνιος) 569₅ 1165 Zeus Ὀλύμ-

πιος 1165 Zeus with the Muses

1165

Myth: Athena as gull brings Kekrops 783

In relation to Athens 783₁

— tomb of Pandion ii at 783₁ wild-olive as life-tree of 762

Megara, w. of Herakles 422

Megaros (Megareus), s. of Zeus 1165

Megisto (= Kallisto), d. of Keteus 484

Meidias, the potter 704₁ 1018 f.

Meilichos 1111

Melampous

Myth: taught by Cheiron 793

Genealogy: s. of Amythaon 793

Etymology: 1187

Melanippe 109₄

Melanthos slays Xanthos 1105

Meliai

Genealogy: daughters of Gaia 481

Meligounis 110

Melite, the Attic deme

Cult: Demeter Ἀνησιδώρα 202₀ (?)

— rock-cut cisterns at 363

Melite in Phthia

Cults: Artemis 283₄ Aspalis Ἀμειλήτη

Ἑκαέργη 283₄

Meliteus 246

Melos, coins of 342₀₍₁₎ 'Gigantomachy'-

amphora from 535₀ incised gem from

843₀ 1111 1138

Melos the Delian 817₀

- Melqarth
Cult: Tyre 893
Identified with Herakles 893
- Memnon 259₀
- Memphis 78
- Men
Cults: Athens 308 f. Theira 992
Functions: dew 309 moon 309
Assimilated to Hermes 309
Associated with Helios 1093 Pan 308 f.
- Menedemos of Eretria 595
- Menelaos
Myth: Helene 78 f. 1179
 — helmsman of 339₃ 340
- Menerva
Type: winged 679₀
 See also Menrfa, Menrva
- Menoikeus, tomb of 815₀
- Menrfa 679₍₃₎ 680₍₄₎ 839 See also Menerva, Menrva
- Menrva 92₀ 1090 See also Menerva, Menrfa
- Mercurius
Cult: Numidia 1078
Attribute: purse 1062_{2(1 f.)}
Types: in pediment of Domitian's Capitoline temple 707 in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062_{2(1 f.)}
Identified with Wodan 210 (?)
Associated with Volcanus and Minerva 209 f.
- Messene
Cults: Artemis' Ἐλεία 66₂ Zeus' Ἐπιδώρας 1130 Zeus' Ἰθωμάρας 525
- Mesthā or Āmset 345₁
- Metapontum
Cult: Zeus' Ἐλευθέριος 1097
Rite: θέρος χρυσοῦν dedicated at Delphoi 307₀
 — coins of 307₀ 820₂
- Meter
Cult: Athens 67₀
- Meteres, nurses of Zeus in Crete 225₁
- Meter Theon
Cult: Phaistos 422₀
 See also Materdeum, Mother of the gods
- Metis
Epithet: πρώτη γενέτις 745₆
Myth: swallowed by Zeus 125₃ 567₀ 727₃ 728 743 f. 744₁₍₁₎
Metamorphosed into fly 744₁ (?) many shapes 744
Genealogy: d. of Okeanos 125₃ d. of Okeanos by Tethys 743 m. of Athena by Zeus 744₁₍₁₎ m. of Poros 746 f.
Compared with Thetis 745
- Metis (masc.)
Epithet: πρώτος γενέτωρ 745₄
Myth: birth from cosmic egg ('the cloud') 727
Identified with Phanes 745
- Michael, St
Cult: 1070
Supersedes Zeus 277₂ (?)
- Midas, captures Silenos by ruse 433₀
- Miletos
Cults: Apollon Φίλιος (= Φιλήσιος) 474₀
 Zeus Δουδάρης Σωτήρ (?) 912 Zeus Νόσιος 7₂ 1111 Zeus Τελεσιουργός 1192
Festival: Δῶς βοῦς 564
- Miletos, s. of Apollon 414₀
- Milichie
Cult: Thespiiai 1187
- Milky Way
Myths: Hera 1098 Manzan Görmö 1098
 — conceived as celestial road 946
 1115 conceived as celestial tree 1192
- Mimas 3₀
- Min
Cults: Chemmis 884₀ Koptos 882₂
Functions: fertility 885₀ thunderbolt 882₂
Attribute: thunderbolt 884₀
In relation to Āmen-Rā 885₀ the other bull-gods of Egypt 885₀
- Mine 1090
- Minerva
Cults: Maiden Castle 1098 Rome 856₀ 859
Epithets: Medica 859 Tritonia 126₀
 Tritonis 126₀ Victrix 823 825₀ 825₁ (?)
Myth: Myrmix 608₂
Attributes: cornu copiae 825₅ mural crown 825₅ owl 41
Types: holding sprig of olive 695₅ in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062_{2(1 f.)} winged 823 ff.
Identified with Holda (?) 210
Associated with Volcanus and Mercurius 209 f.
Compared with Sulis 859
 — five Minervas 842₄ 843₀ in Etruscan lightning-lore 156 specially honoured by Domitian 872
- Minos
Epithets: Ζηνός ἔχων σκήπτρον 1184 δλοόφρων 1103
Myths: Poseidon 628₁ done to death in hot bath by Kokalos or his daughters 1104
Genealogy: s. of Zeus by Europe 627₁ 628₀ f. of Akakallis 414₀
Etymology: 411₀ (?)
- Minotaur
Epithet: Ταῦρος Μινώιος 1090
Type: leading two captive women (?) 1090
Compared with Aix 840₀
 — bibliography of 1087 ff.
- Mithras
Epithet: βουκόλος θεός 1194
Myth: birth from rock 236₃
Identified with Zeus 945
Superseded by St George (?) 1194
- Mitra 1134 See Mithras
- Mneia, in mystic play at Ephesos 422₀
- Mnemosyne
Cult: Thespiiai 1070
Myth: consorts with Zeus 744₁₍₅₎

Mnemosyne (*cont.*)

Genealogy: m. of Muses by Zeus 744₁₍₅₎ 1189

— water of, as Orphic conception 420₀ 421₀ water of, at Lebadeia 422₀

Mnevis

Type: bull-beaded man with solar disk and plumes 1082

Mochlos, vase from 193 (*b*)

Mochos 1179

Moirai

Cults: Athens 721 Sparta 722₃

Epithet: Λαχέριες 722₃

Genealogy: daughters of Nyx 718₁ daughters of Zeus by Themis 744₁₍₂₎

Types: holding sceptres 1057 one seated and two standing figures 659 717 three standing figures 715 f. 717₂

Assimilated to Aphrodite 722

Associated with Zeus Μοιραγέτης 721₄

In relation to Aphrodite 722 Zeus 1057

— eldest of, identified with Aphrodite Οὐρανία 171₀

Moliones

Type: with two heads, four arms, four legs, one body 1177

Molpis, sacrificed to Zeus Όμβριος 525 f.

Momos 742₄

Moneta

Etymology: 23₅

Montezuma 475 f. 1194

Morning Star See Heosphoros, Lucifer

Moses, rock of 1118

Mosychlos 232₃ 234

Mother of the gods

Cults: Hittites 916₁ Mt Ide in Phrygia (Mysia) 893 Pessinous 893 ff. Thebes in Boiotia 893

Type: meteorite 893 ff.

Associated with Pan 893

— *kteis* of (?) 918₃ star of 180 stone image of, falls from heaven 893

See also Mater deum, Meter Theon

Mundilfori 1075

Munthuch 430₀ 439₂

Muses

Cult: Megara 1165

Myths: bury Orpheus 1115 feed Komatas, in chest, on honey 246 Thamyris 488

Genealogy: daughters of Zeus by Mnemosyne 471₁₍₅₎ 1189

Associated with Zeus 1165

Mutina, floating island in territory of 1014

Mykenai

Cult: Hera 1045

Myth: founded by Perseus 363 478₂

Etymology: 478₂

Mykenai, rectangular wells at 363 shaft-graves at 363 thólos-tombs at 363 'Treasury of Atreus' at 367₅

Mykene, early name of Mykenai 224

Mykonos

Cults: Poseidon Τεμενίτης 179₀ Poseidon Φόκιος 179₀

Mylasa

Cults: Zeus Κτήσιος 1181 Zeus Όσογῶα 1140 Zeus Όψιστος 1162

Festival: Taurophonia 570 1110

Myra, coin of 899₅₍₂₎

Myrike 1111

Myrmidones 608₂

Myrmix

Metamorphosed into ant 608₂

Myron 696 f. 850

Myrtilos

Myth: Olympia 522₁₁

Mytilene

Cults: Etephilai 167 Helios 1184

Karissai 167 Theoi Akraioi 6 Zeus 1184

Priestess: Έρσόφορος 167 f.

— mysteries at 167

Naassene hymn 300₀₍₁₎

Nabataioi

Cults: Adad 1097 Atargatis 1097 Dousares 907 ff. sun 912₄ Tyche 1097 Zeus 1097

Rites: daily libations and incense offered to sun on roof 912₄

Nagidos, coin of 763₂ (?)

Nakoleia

Cults: Theoi Katachthonioi 1160 Zeus Βροντών 1160 f. Zeus Βροντών και Πατήρ Θεός 1161 (?) Zeus Βροντών Νεκήτωρ Πατήρ 1161 (?)

— monuments of 1160 f.

Namuki 273

Nana 815₀

Nandi 1086

Nannakos 527 f.

Napata

Cult: Άmen 882₂

— *omphalos* from 882₂ 1077

Narkissos

Type: with Eros at his shoulder 1022

Natalia, St 523₄

Naukratis

Cults: Hera 1187 Zeus Άποτρόπαιος 1187

Nauplios 868

Navis Salvia

Associated with Mater deum 895₂ 896₀

Naxos

Rite: baby boy placed in bride's bed on eve of wedding 1026₄

— folk-tale from 257₁

Neades or Neides 3₀Neapolis in Makedonia, coins of 856₀Neike 811₁Neiloia 344₄

Neilos

Cult: Silsilis 349

Identified with Eridanos 349 Okeanos 349 Osiris 344₁ Zeus 348 f. 524 1077

— called Aigyptos by Homer 358₃ extinguishes pyre of Habrokomes 524 rays of 1077

Neith 345₁ 839₂

Nemea

Cult: Zeus 1033 ff.
— bronze bull from 1085 Epimenides
and the lion of 1085 excavations at
1083 ff.

Nemeseis

Type: in chariot drawn by two griffins
842₂

Nemesis

Cults: Inönü in Phrygia 1146 Rham-
nous 955₇

Types: Aphroditessque 955₇ standing
on man 1073

In relation to Helios 1073 Nemetona
1073 f.

Nemetona 1073 f.

Nemi, double herms at 1132 f.

Neophytus, St 1112

Neo-Platonists 745 887 f. 913₁ 914₀

Neoptolemos, tomb of, at Delphoi 938

Nephele

Cults: Orphists 70 296 Sokrates (?) 70
Epithets: μεγάλοι θεοὶ ἀνδράσιν ἀργοῖς
69₆ οὐράνιοι 69₆ παμβασιλειαὶ 70₁

Rite: burnt-offering of myrrh 70

Genealogy: daughters of Aither 70 879
— costume of 69₃ Orphic hymn to
70

See also Nephele

Nephele

Myths: Athamas 73 f. Prokris 72

See also Nephele

Nephelokokkygia 44 ff. 63

Nephtys 345₁

Neptunus

Type: in Pompeian painting of Twelve
Gods 1062₂₍₁₎

Nereids 129 132 ff. 163 237₂

Nereus

Genealogy: s. of Pontos 743₈

Function: earthquakes 4₀

Nero

Personates Zeus 1117

Nescania

Cult: Iupiter *Pantheus* 1129

New Grange 367₅

New Year's Day 1067

Nikai

Type: dancing 955

See also Nike, Victoria

Nikaia in Bithynia

Cults: Asklepios 1182 Zeus Αἰταῖος
1184

— coins of 948 1182 1184

Nikaia in Liguria

Cult: Hercules *Lapidarius* 492₁

Nike

Cult: Athens 811 ff.

Epithets: Ἀπτερος 811 καλλίσφυρος 811₁

Genealogy: d. of Pallas s. of Lykaon
and foster-st. of Athena 811₁ d. of
Pallas the Titan by Styx 811₁ st. of
Zelos, Kratos, Bia 811₁

Functions: abstraction from Athena
Nike 811 abstraction from Zeus (?)

Nike (cont.)

811₁ charioteer 76₁ Eileithyia 85₀₍₂₎
handmaid to Athena *Nike* (?) 819₁

Etymology: 321₀ (?)

Attribute: palm-branch 67 f. 1181

Types: drawing votes from urn 758
flanking Aphrodite 1016 ff. (?) half-
draped 1180 hovering 659 691₃ (?)
692 753 755 1040 sandal-binding
706₆ seated with pomegranate in
right hand and helmet in left 811
standing before seated Zeus 1051₍₅₎
standing with *oinochōe* in righthand
and pomegranate in left 819₁ wing-
less 811

In relation to Athena 811

See also Nikai, Victoria

Nikephoria 794₁Niketeria 754₁Nikias, the painter 460 462 637₃ ff.

Nikias, the potter 1012

Nikomedeia, earthquake at 25 f. Elaga-
balus at 902 martyrs at 523₄

Nikopolis in Moesia

Cult: Zeus Κεράνιος 1157

Nile See Neilos

Nin-khursag 1155

Ninnion, tablet of 722 723₀ 724₀

Niobe 54₂

Niobids 955

Nisyros

Cult: Zeus Μελίχιος 1187

Myth: flung by Poseidon at Polybotes
14₀ 18₀

Noah 293 528 f.

Nomos

Epithets: ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς 951₂ ὁ τοῦ
Διὸς ἐτεῶς υἱὸς 951₂

Function: *páredros* of Zeus 950

Identified with Zeus 951

Nonae Caprotinae 612₀

Nonnos, on the Ambrosiai Petrai 978 f.

Notos, on 'Tower of the Winds' at Athens
130 sieves of 335 f. skin-bottles of
335 f.

See also Notus

Notus

Type: winged figure streaming with
water 327₂ 329₀ 333

— sent by Iupiter to cause deluge 107

See also Notos

Nucerina, coins of 342₀₍₃₎

Numa Pompilius, forbids the quenching of
ashes with wine 515₆ founds altar
of Iupiter *Elicius* 433₀ instructed in
lightning-lore by Iupiter *Elicius* 433₀
cp. 738₀ law of, about man struck
by lightning 1115 secures Faunus
and Martius Picus by ruse 433₀

Numantia 1090 1179

Numidia

Cults: Hercules 1078 Iupiter 1078
Mercurius 1078 Nutrix 1078
Saturnus 1078 Tellus 1078 Testi-
monius 1078 Venus 1078

Nutrix

Cult: Numidia 1078

Nymphogenes 129

Nymphs

Cults: Athens 308 f. Gygaia Limne 988 f. Vari 261₇ 262₀ 263₀

Myth: teach Aristaioi 266

Function: whirlwinds 164

Associated with Pan 308 f.

— Danaïdes 357 Hyades 512 518

Okeaninai 743₃ Oreiades 164₁

Archedamos of Thera *ὁ νυμφόληπτος* 262₀ as nurses of Dionysos 85₀ (2) (?)

Nysa in Lydia, coins of 1114

Nysa Skythopolis, coin of 88₀

Nyx

Genealogy: m. of Moirai 718₁

— advice of 950₅ in Orphic theogony 1177 ff.

Oasis of Siwah

Cult: Zeus "Αμμων 882₂

— additions to bibliography of 1078 coin found in 1078 earliest reference to Ammoneion in 1076 omphaloid fetish of Ammoneion in 882₂

Oceanus

Type: recumbent with water flowing from urn 41

Oche, Mt

Myth: union of Zeus with Hera 1041

— early corbelled building on 1041₄

Odessos in Thrace

Cult: Theos Megas 1129

— coins of 1129 *stēlai* of νέος ἥρωσ and κοῖπος ἥρωσ from 1160

Odhin

Attribute: broad hat 1132

See also Wodan

Odомantoi 222

Odysseus

Myths: Aiolos Hippotades 106 Kirke 1073

Function: sun-god (?) 1075

Oiagros 99₃

Oichalia 509₂

Oidipous

Etymology: 1187

Oinanthe 183

Okeaninai See Nymphs

Okeanos

Genealogy: f. of Metis by Tethys 743

Types: large head 129 recumbent with oar in hand and crab's claws on head 980 cp. 1127 f.

Identified with Neilos 349

— garden of 1064₄ in Orphic theogony 1177 ff.

Oknos

Rite: myth of rope represented at Akanthos in Egypt 338₃

Myths: ass and bundle of sticks 401₁ ass and rope 338₃

Function: 'Behinderungstraum' 401₁

Oknos (cont.)

Compared with dream of king of Kosala 401₁

Olba

Cults: Tyche 646₀ Zeus "Ολβιος 642₁

Priest: ἀρχιερεὺς μέγας 642₁ 645₀

Myth: cult founded by Aias s. of Teukros 643₀

— coins of 642₁ 645₀ *hierón* of, renamed Diokaisareia 643₀ ruled by priestly dynasts, most of them named Teukros or Aias 643₀ temple and *témenos* of Zeus *Ólbios* at 642₁ Tychaion at 646₀

Olbia

Cults: Achilles Ποντάρχης 654₀ Apollon 1136 Zeus 'Αταβύριος 655₀ Zeus Βασιλεύς 654₀ Zeus 'Ελευθέριος 654₀

Zeus "Ολβιος 653₁ 1194 1196 Zeus Πολιάρχης 654₀ Zeus Σωτήρ 654₀

— coins of 655₀ 656₀ 853₅ 1194 1196 temple of Apollon at 1136

Old Slavonic deities 64₀

Olympia

Cults: Artemis Κορδάκα 1009 Athena 'Εργάνη 967 Zeus 'Ολύμπιος 954 ff. Zeus "Ορκιος 1147

Rite: Φαιδωννῶν sacrifice to Athena 'Εργάνη 967

Myth: Myrtilos 522₁₁

— coins of 958₄ 1156 east pediment of temple of Zeus at 717₂ Philippeion at 442₁ ship-like foundation of stones at 1171

Olympia, the festival at Daphne, near Antiocheia on the Orontes 1191

Olympos

Etymology: 1068

Olympos, Mt, in Lykia, fire springing from ground on 228

Olympos, Mt, in Makedonia

Cults: St Elias 1167 Zeus 236 737₂

Myths: Abbas Ali 1168 ff. Zeus visited by Hera and Athena 34

— ascents of 1167 chapel of St Elias on 1167 palace of Zeus on 515 cp.

680₀ song from 296 summit of 943 'Throne of Zeus' on 1167

Olympos, the Cretan teacher of Zeus 321₀ 1173

Olympos, the Mysian flute-player 321₀ 893

Olynthos, 'Villa of Good Fortune' at 1073

Omphale, as a form of Kybele (?) 916₁

Opiconsivia 437

Opis 1172

Orchomenos in Boiotia

Cults: Hera Τελεία 949₀ Zeus Τέλειος 949₀

Orcus, portal of 432 440 portal of, called *manalis lapis* 432

Oreiades See Nymphs

Orestes

Myths: cured of madness at Gythion 939 founds cult of Scythian Artemis

- Orestes (*cont.*)
 in Patmos 985 f. kills Klytaimestra 426₄
 — connected with holy stones 939 941₁
- Oros, Mt
Cult: Zeus 'Ελλάδιος 1164
 — bronze *hydria* from cistern on 1164 summit of 1164
- Orpheus
Epithet: χρυσολύρης 1115
Myths: Eurydike 99 slain by Thracian women 488 slain by a thunderbolt 1115 dismemberment 1104 buried by Muses 1115 oracular head 99 ff.
Genealogy: s. of Oiagros 99₃
Types: playing *kithára* 419 oracular head 99 ff.
Identified with Engonasin or Ingeniculus 488
In relation to Danaïdes 425₀
 — *adyton* of, in Lesbos 100 ascribes obscenity to the gods 1027₅ lyre of, found by Lesbian women 101 on marriage of Earth and Sky 454
- Orphic Eros See Eros
- Orphic Zeus 745 cp. 746 1177 ff. See Zeus
- Orphists
Cults: Aither 879 Nephelai 70 f. 296
Rites: ἐριφος ἐς γὰλ' ἐπετον 1118 symbolic ladder 946
Priests: Ὀρφεοεἰσάται 1068
 — gold tablets of 395₅ 396 419₃ f. hymn to Zeus 950 pantheistic hymns 947 theogony 727 745 (cp. 746) 942 1177 ff. (the succession of Chaos, Okeanos, Nyx, Ouranos, Zeus) anthropogony 481 (?) Λιδικά 921 περὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας 1027₅ Dike 949₁₀ 950₄ Nomos 950₅ call cosmic egg 'the cloud' 727 call moon 'Gorgónion' 805₄ 845 call rain 'the tears of Zeus' 322 hold that in Hades sinners are sunk in mud 398₅ Orphic conception of Underworld possibly illustrated in sixth-century fresco and thence copied on black-figured vases 399 f. Orphic traits in Underworld as depicted on 'Apulian' vases of s. iv B.C. 402₁ led by Orpheus to the Queen of the Underworld 419 influence of, traceable at Athens in s. vi B.C. 400₁ in Crete 1103
- Orphanes 1083
- Orthros or Orthos
Myth: Geryones 410₀
Genealogy: offspring of Echidna 410₀
Function: doublet of Kerberos 410₀ 412₀
Types: one-headed, two-headed, three-headed 410₀
- Oschophoria 241₀
- Osiris
Cult: Alexandria 346 ff.
Festival: finding of Osiris 345₀
- Osiris (*cont.*)
Rites: dirge called Μανερῶς 305₀ Osiris-beds 305₀
Functions: god of the Nile 344 grains of corn 302₀₍₆₎
Types: 'Canopus' 346 ff. 1193 dead body with corn springing from it 305₀₍₇₎ figure made of Nile-mud and filled with corn-grains 305₀ hollow form filled with Nile-silt, planted with corn, and wrapped up like a mummy 305₀ mummy with corn springing from it 305₀₍₇₎ profile contour filled in with earth, barley-grains, etc. 305₀
Identified with Aion 914₀ dead man 344 395 Kanobos, the helmsman of Menelaos 349 the Nile 344₁
Assimilated to wheat or barley germinating 302₀₍₅₎
 — children of 345₁ king becomes 1131 Nile-water as seed of 344
- Ossa, Mt
Cult: St Elias 1167
 — views of 1167
- Ostanes 1147
- Ostia
Cult: Marnas (?) 556
 — tomb-painting of Kronos and Rhea found near 934 f. winged Minerva from 823 ff.
- Othreis 246
- Oulomos 914₀
- Oupis
Cult: Sparta 189₁
Identified with Artemis 189₁
- Ouranos
Epithet: ἀσπερβεις 928
Myths: birth of Aphrodite 274 276₂ invents *baitylia* 887 mutilated by Kronos 481 928₅
Genealogy: s. of Akmon 927 f. by his st. Ge of four sons—Elos called Kronos, Baitylos, Dagon that is Siton, and Atlas 887
Identified with Akmon 927₄
Associated with Gaia 419₃ 420₀ 422₀ 477₃ 744 745 928
 — blood of, produces Phaeacians 481 blood-drops of, received by Gaia 481 in Orphic theogony 1177 ff.
- Onsoōs 983
- Oxyrhynchite nome
Cult: Athena 190₆
- Oxyrhynchos
Cult: Zeus 'Άμμων 1076
- Pa as equivalent of Πατήρ 1131
- Palaimon 129 135
- Palaiopolis in Korkyra
Cult: Artemis 844₁₀
- Palamaon
Myth: cleaves head of Zeus 661
Function: form of Hephaistos 191₀
Compared with Palamedes 191₀

- Palamedes 191₀
 Pales (masc.)
Epithet: Secundanus 156₄
 Palestine, belief about snakes current in 772₇
 Palladion 573₄ 609 1006
 Pallas
Etymology: 746 ?
 Pallas the Giant
Myths: attempts to violate Athena 842 flayed by Athena, who wears his skin and wings 842
Genealogy: f. of Athena by Titanis d. of Okeanos 842
 Pallas the Titan
Genealogy: f. by Styx of Zelos, Nike (Neike?), Kratos, Bia 811₁
 Pallas, s. of Lykaon
Genealogy: f. of Nike and foster-f. of Athena 811₁
 Pallas, king of Athens 186
 Pallene 239₀
 Pallene, d. of Sithon 522 f.
 Palmyra
Cults: Adad 1093 Aglibol 1158 f. Atargatis 1093 Bel 1158 f. Beltis (?) 1159 Iaribol 1158 f. Malachbelos 1159 Sol 1112 Zeus Bēlos 1112 — excavations at 1158 f.
 Pamphylia, Hittite occupation of 112₀
 Pan
Cults: Athens 308 f. Mt Parnes 253₀ Thebes in Boiotia 893 Vari 261₇ 265₀
Epithets: Ἀγρῶλος 237₂ Ζεὺς ὁ κεράσσης 652₀ Μέγας 1131 ὀρειώτης 94₂
Myths: Olympos the flute-player 893 Syrinx 1012
Etymology: 1131
Attribute: pipes 640₀
Types: assaulting Aphrodite 1020 glorified goat 1131 recumbent 714
Associated with Men 308 f. Mother of the gods 893 Nymphs 253₀ 308 f.
In relation to Aigipan 620₀ (?) Zan 1131 — death of 1131 (bibliography)
 Panagia
Epithets: ἡ Ἀθηναία 189₁ 588₁ ἡ Ἀθηνῶτισσα 588₁ Γοργοεπήκοος 189₁ 588 Μήτηρ Θεοῦ 189₁ 588₁
 Panainos, paintings at Olympia by 956
 Panakeia 1083
 Panamara
Cult: Zeus Πανάμαρος 1066
 Panamareia 568
 Panathenaia 720
 Pandareos
Myth: golden hound 1110
 Pandia 320₄
 Pandion
Etymology: 320₄ (?)
 Pandion ii, s. of Kekrops ii
Cult: Megara 783₁
 Pandora
Function: earth 109
Confused with Pandrosos 240 244₈ 245₁
 Pandosia, coins of 714₀
 Pandrose 603 See Pandrosos
 Pandrosos
Cult: Athens 243 f.
Rite: ἐπίβοιον or sacrifice of sheep for Pandrosos in addition to cow for Athena 244
Priestess: wears ποδώνυχον or ποδώνυχος, the garment of Pandrosos herself 245 wears small himdion called πορτόνιον and passes the same to man slaying the victim 245
Genealogy: m. of Keryx by Hermes 603
Function: dew 237 603 944
Type: birth of Erichthonios 186
Confused with Pandora 240 244₈ 245₁
In relation to Zeus 260 f.
 Paneas See Kaisareia Paneas
 Panopeia 129
 Pantarkes 955₇
 Pantheon See Rome
 Papas
Etymology: 952
In relation to Kybele 952
 Paphos
Cult: Aphrodite 238₁ 1112 Aphrodite Παφία 1134 Venus 646₀
 Papremis
Cult: Ares 344₃
 Parabiago, silver patera from 1128
 Parion, coins of 856₀
 Paris
Myth: judgment 66 67 f. 517₀ 770
Type: with Eros at his shoulder 1022
 Paris, the city, statuette of pantheistic Zeus at 1129
 Parjanya
Genealogy: f. of soma 335₃
Function: rain 335₃
 Parmenides 50₁
 Parnassos, Mt
Cult: baitylos (?) 889₂
 — ascent of 1165 f.
 Parnes, Mt
Cults: Pan and the Nymphs 253₀ Zeus Ἀπήμιος 526 Zeus Ὀμβριος 526 — gold cicla from 253₀
 Paras
Cult: Zeus Ἐνδεδῶδος 1173
 Parthenia, name of Samos 1027
 Parthenia, w. of Samos 1027₁
 Parthenion, Mt 823
 Parthenios, river in Samos 1027₁
 Parthenon, Aphrodite from east pediment of 698 ff. central slab from east frieze of 1184 1186 early apsidal form of 768 f. (?) east pediment of 657 ff. east pediment of, as climax of pre-existing types 688 east pediment of, as reconstructed by successive critics 689 ff. ἐπὶ θεοὶ in the west frieze of 706 f. Ἴλλισος or Ἐφῆσιος from west pediment of 698 on Etruscan mirror 680₀ (?) small copies

- Parthenon (*cont.*)
 of figures from the pediments of
 698 698₄ west pediment of 751 ff.
 Parthenos, personification of Mt Par-
 thenion 823
 Parthenos = Virgo, the constellation 823
 Pasikrateia
Cult: Selinous 1188
Compared with Persephone 1188
 Pasiphae
Myths: wooden cow 1092 Zeus 615₃
 Pataikeia 593₂
 Pataikos
Epithets: Αἰγύπιος Ἡρακλῆς 158₇
 Γαργῶν or Γαγῶν 158₇ ἐπιτραπέζιος
 158₇ Εὐφράδης 158₇
Function: ἀποτρόπαιον on land or sea
 158₇
Etymology: 158₇
Types: negrilla 158₇ single or double
 158₇
 Patmos
Cults: Artemis Παρθένος 986 Artemis
 Παῦλα 986
 — as a floating island 985 f.
 Paul, St and St Thekla 523 f. quotes
 dedication Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ 1162
 quotes from Aratos 954 quotes from
 Epimenides (?) 954
 Pautalia
Cults: Asklepios 1182 Glykon (?) 1182
 — coins of 1182
 Pedachthoë
Rite: sacrifice of fawn 1134
 Pedasa
Cult: Zeus 569
Rite: procession of goat leading priest
 569
 Pegasos
Function: bearer of thunder and light-
 ning for Zeus (?) 1177
 Peion, Mt 323 1174
 Peiraieus
Cults: Agdistis 1192 Akeso 1083
 Apollon 1083 Athena Σώτεια 659₀
 1196 Attis 1192 Hermes 1083 Iaso
 1083 Kynegetai 1083 Kynes 1083
 1156 Maleates 1083 Panakeia 1083
 Zeus Σωτήρ 659₀ 1196
 Peirithoös
Myth: Theseus 956
Type: guarded by Dike 402
 Peitho
Type: crowning Aphrodite 957 f.
 Pelagia, St, of Tarsos 1102
 Pelasgians
Cults: Athena 226 Demeter (?) 191₀
 Eileithyia 679₀ Geraistos (?) 191₀
 Hephaistos 191₀ 226 ff. Hermes 191₀
 phallós (?) 191₀
 — in Lemnos slay their Athenian
 concubines 360₁
 See also Tyrrhenians, Tyrsenians
 Pelasgos, tomb of 566₂
 Peleides 1082
 Peleus
Myth: seizes Thetis 1019
 — spear of 209₂ sword of 209₁
 Peliades 1122
 Pelias
Myth: boiled by his daughters 1104
 Pelion, Mt
Cults: Zeus Ἀκραῖος 1043₂ Zeus Ἀκραῖος
 31 f. 317 1043₂ 1161
Rite: procession of men clad in fleeces
 to sanctuary of Zeus Ἀκραῖος 31 f.
 — cave of Cheiron on 1043 discoveries
 of A. S. Arvanitopoulos on (?) 1161
 Pella
Cult: Athena Ἀλκίδημος 869
 — coins of 869 f.
 Pellana in Achaia
Cult: (Zeus) Μελλίχιος 1187
 — bronze snakes from 1187
 Pellene
Cult: Athena 238₃
 Pelops
Myth: ivory shoulder 1124
Genealogy: s. of Tantalos 417₀
 — perhaps a Hittite vassal 417₀
 Pelousion
Cult: Zeus Κάσιος 817₀
 Penelope, marriage-test of 1147
 Penia
Genealogy: m. of Eros by Poros s. of
 Metis 746 f.
Compared with ἔλν 747₂
 Penteskuphia, votive *pinakes* from 672₀
 Penthesileia
Myth: Achilles 956
 Pentheus
Myth: recalled to life (?) 1124
 Perchta 447₀
 Perdoytus
Function: wind 108
Etymology: 108₂
 Perennius, M. 1006
 Pergamon
Cults: Athena Νικηφόρος 794 Augustus
 1125 1191 Roma 1191 Zeus and
 Athena 872 Zeus Ἀσκληπιός 1182
 Zeus Πατρῶος (= Augustus) 1125
 1191 Zeus Φίλος (= Trajan ?) 1191
Festival: Nikephoria 794₁
 — bronze bull of 1102 coins of 794
 899₅ great altar at 56₀ 534 small
 inner frieze of great altar at 823₃
 Perikles
Personates Zeus 32₅ 66₄
 Periklymenos
Myth: slain as a fly by Herakles 744₄
 Perillos 1102
 Perinthos, coins of 948
 Periphas 236
 Perperiá, in the rain-magic of the Balkans
 285 variations of her name 285 ff.
 etymology of her name 287 f.
 Perpetua, St 1119
 Persephone
Cults: Agra 722 Eleusis 967₁

Persephone (cont.)

Epithets: Κλυμένη (?) 593₆ Χειρογονία 98_{0(s)} 663₂

Priests: δαδούχος 724₀ ιεροφάντης 395₅ μυσταγωγός 395₅ Φαιδωντής 967₁

Priestess: κερνοφόρος 724₀

Myth: eats one or more pomegranate-pips of Hades 815₀

Genealogy: d. of Zeus by Demeter 744₁₍₄₎ m. by Zeus of the first three Dioskouroi (Tritopatreus, Eubouleus, Dionysos) 120

Etymology: 1127

Types: borne off in chariot by Hades 991 holding pomegranate 815₀ 816₀ seated with corn-ears in right hand and sceptre in left 713 seated with Hades 425 standing with cross-topped torch 402

Associated with Demeter 712

Superseded by St Agatha 447₆

— marriage with 395

See also Proserpina

Perseus

Myths: expelled in infancy by Akrisios 1187 Gorgon 843 846₆ founds Mykenai 363 478₂

Genealogy: s. of Zeus by Danaë 455

Attribute: hárpē 843

Types: dangling Gorgon's head 849 f. 996 with winged cap or helmet 706₂

Persia

Cults: Anahita 916₁ rivers 907₆ sky (?) 1114 Zervan 914₀

Pessinous

Cult: Mother of the gods 893 ff.

Petelia, gold tablet from 419₃ f. 422₀

Petra

Cults: Chaaboû (?) 914₁ Chaamoû 914 Dousares 914 ff.

Rite: birth of Chaamoû's s. Dousares 914 ff.

— coin of 909

Petrachos, Mt

Myth: stone swallowed by Kronos 929

Peuketios 364₇Pfol 163₃

Phaethon 247 1136

Phaiakia

Myths: called Δρεπάνη after the δρέπανον of Kronos 481 Phaeacians sprung from blood of Ouranos 481

Phaidros, stage of, at Athens 1107

Phaistos

Cults: Leto Φυτή 1042₉ Meter Theon 422₀ Zeus Φελχάνος 1043₀

Etymology: 200₁ (?)

— coins of 617₁₍₂₎

Phalanthos, Mt 321₀ (?)

Phaleron

Cult: Androgeos 158

Phanes

Myths: sprung from cosmic egg 745 f. swallowed by Zeus 745 942

Genealogy: parent and h. of Nyx 745

Phanes (cont.)

f. by Nyx of Gaia and Ouranos, Rhea and Kronos, Hera and Zeus 745

Type: androgynous 745

Identified with Metis (masc.) 745

Phanuel 97₀₍₅₎Phaon 136₃ 137₄

Pharsalos

Cult: Zeus Θαύλιος 281 f.

Phaselis, coins of 871

Pheidias 47₀ 169₀ 190 216₁ 216₇ 225₁ 238₃

535₀ (?) 646₀ (?) 662 688 698 698₈ 773

773₆ 827 858 (?) 862 933 954 ff. 1153

career of 954 958 959₀ 1155 (?) 1155

(bibliography)

Phemios, slays Hyperochos 1105

Phemonoe 592₃

Pherai

Cults: Enhodia 279 f. Hekate 272₅

Hypereia 272₅ Zeus Ἄφριος 271 ff.

Zeus Θαύλιος 277 ff.

— bronze amulet from 1075 (?) coin of 280

Pherekydes of Athens (or Leros) 72 508 1064

Pherekydes of Syros 974

Phersephoneia 321₀

Phikion, Mt 506

Philadelphieia in Lydia

Cult: Zeus Ταργυννός Ἐπήκοος 652₀

Philetaireia 593₂Philip of Macedon, dreams about birth of Alexander 957₀

Philippi

Cult: Bendis 1134

Phlistines

In relation to Crete 551₀

Philoktetes

Myths: fetched by Greeks from Lemnos at advice of Helenos 921 healed by Lemnian earth 231

In relation to Hephaistos 190₇

Philomela 1147

Philon 728

Phineus, warns Argonauts of Kyaneai 976

Phix 506₅ See also Sphinx

Phlious

Cult: (Hebe) Δία 184₂

Phlyeis

Cults: Demeter Ἀνησιδώρα 202₀ (Ge)

Μεγάλη Θεός 202₀ Kore Πρωτογόνη

2102₀

Phoibos

Etymology: 1137 (?)

Phoinike

Cults: Elioun 762₃ Kabeiroi 1001

Oulomos 914₀ Pataikoi 158

Myth: Aion s. of Baaut and Kolpias 914₀

Phoinix

Genealogy: f. of Europe 627₁

Phokis

Cults: Hera Βασίλεια 61₁ Zeus Βασίλειός 61₁

- Phorbas 177₀
 Phrasios 653₀
 Phrixos
Myths: builds sanctuary on Bosporos
 148 dedicates altar to Twelve Gods
 148 golden ram 1080
Genealogy: s. of Nephele by Athamas
 s. of Aiolos 148
 Phronia 77₄
 Phrygia
Cults: Diounsia 1125 f. Zeus 1125
 Zeus Βέννιος or Βερνεύς 1162 Zeus
 Διος 1125 Zeus Μαφεύς 1112 Zeus
 Φάρνιος 1126
Myths: Agdistis 1174 flood 527 ff.
 Nannakos 527 f. Priasos 531
 Phryne, bathes at Eleusis 297
 Phrynos 669 733
 Phthia 281₇ (?)
 Physadeia 357
 Pidzu Pennu, rain-god of Khonds 446
 Pi-lo-sho-lo, Mt 545
 Pindar, on Delos as a floating island 984
 on Rhodes as a floating island 986
 sees stone image fall from heaven
 893
 Pi-Ramses
Cult: Hurun 1076
 Pisces 324
 Pisiaia
Cults: Hera Βασίλις 61₁ Zeus Καλα-
 κάγαθιος 1162
 Pisthetairos 44 ff.
Personates Zeus 21 59 f.
 — as bridegroom of Basileia 57 ff.
 Pitane, coins of 842₀₍₂₎
 Planktai 975 f. 983 987
 Plataiai
Cults: Athena Ἀρεία 773₆ Hera
 Νυμφευομένη 1042₆ Hera Τελέια 932
 1042₆
 Platon 746 f. 960 f. 974 bees settle on lips
 of infant 265₀
 Plav, floating fen in Delta of Danube 1015
 Plegades 976 See Kyaneai
 Pleiades 437
 Pleuron, eponym
Cult: Sparta 161
Etymology: 161₅
 Pleuron in Aitolia 161
 Ploades 987 f.
 Plotai, name of Islands of Aiolos 987
 name of Strophades 987
 Plouton
Etymology: 746 (?)
Attribute: cornu copiae 1053₁ (1 f.)
 See also Pluto
 Ploutos
Genealogy: s. of Iasion by Demeter
 75 f.
 — birth of 188₁ springs of 500
 Plutarch, repeatedly quotes Pindar's
 description of Zeus 964₂
 Pluto, jaws of 432₁ 440
 See also Plouton
 Plynteria 224₃ 240 f. 749
 Pneuma 983
 Poeni
Cult: Abaddir 937₀
 Pogla, coins of 899₅
 Polion in Lesbos 417₀
 Polos at Tanagra 417₀
 Polyarches 77₄
 Polybotes 14₀
 Polydeukes and Kastor (bibliography) 1134
 Polydora 357
 Polygnotos, the painter 397 f. 712₄ 1067
 Polykleitos 65 816₀ 964 965₃
 Polyktor 498₀
 Polymele 110
 Polyneikes 563 815₀
 Polypheinos
Type: driven by infant Eros 1020 1023
 Pompeii
Cults: Isis 641₄ Iupiter 29₄ Zeus
 Μετλχιος 1189
 — fresco from 'House of the Tragic
 Poet' at 1033 f. gold armlets from
 765₄ *lararia* of 773₂ paintings of
 Twelve Gods on outer walls of
 houses at 1062₂ (1 f.) supposed
 representation of earthquake at 29₄
 Villa Item at 1118
 Pontos, f. of Nereus 743₃
 Populonia, coins of 856₀
 Poros
Genealogy: s. of Metis and f. of Eros
 by Penia 746
Identified with Chaos 747₁
Associated with Aisa 747₁
 Porphyryon 55₅
Myths: founds sanctuary of (Aphrodite)
 Οὐρπία at Athmonia or Athmonon
 55₅ Gigantomachy 55₅ 534 1148
 makes love to Hera 55₅ slain by
 thunderbolt of Zeus and bow of
 Herakles 55₅
Genealogy: s. or b. of Athamas 55₅
Etymology: 55₅
 Porphyrios, St 551 ff.
 Porphyris 14₀
 Poseidon
Cults: Apameia in Phrygia 22 Athens
 91 11₃ 758 Atlantis 283₄ 1184 Boiotia
 736₂ Ephesos 599₍₂₎ Erechtheion
 11₃ 758 Gythion 11₂ Karpatois 18₀
 Lesbos 1042₁ Mykonos 179₀ Mytilene
 6 Cape Tainaros 21 23₂ Thera 13₁
 Therapne 11₁ Tralleis 22
Epithets: Ατολος 107₃ (?) Γαίχιος (?) 11₀
 γαιήοχος 10₄ ελασίχθων 9₁ Ἐλάτης 9₁
 ἐλελίχθων 9₂ Ἐλικώνιος 283₄ Ἐλύμ-
 νιος 1042₁ Ἐλύτιος 1042₁ Ἐννοσίγαιος
 531 ἐννοσίγαιος 7₂ Ἐννοσίδης 8₁
 ἐνοσίχθων 7₂ Ἐρεχθεύς 12₃ 758 f.
 Ἐρεχθεύς Γαίήοχος 12₃ Εὐρυμέδων (?)
 675₁ Ἴμψιος 9₁ Ἰππηγέτης 9₁ Ἴππιος
 9₁ 107₃ 217₀ (?) κνησίχθων 10₁
 Λυταῖος 10₁ ὁ ποντομέδων 1064
 Ἰόρρμος 18₀ σεισίχθων 10₁ Τεμενίτης

Poseidon (*cont.*)

179₀ τινάκτωρ γαίης 10₂ Φράτριος
585₄ Φύκιος 179₀ Φιντάλμιος 527 562

Rites: sacrifice of bull 'to Poseidon and to Erechtheus' 759 sacrifice of *ἐνορχα μήλα* 396₃ sacrifice of white male lamb 179₀ sacrifice of white ram 179₀

Priest: *ιερεὺς* 12₃

Myths: contest with Athena about Athens 750 ff. contest with Athena about Trozen 751₁ contest with Hera 751₁ contest with Zeus 751₁ Ephialtes 18₀ floods Thriasian plain 751 gives cup to Teleboes 507₅ Koronis 782₄ Minos 628₁ Polybotes 14₀ produces sea at Athens 750 f. produces springs at Lerna 361 punishes Inachos with drought 355 f. saves Amymone from Satyr 356 shows Amymone the Lernaean springs 361 369 Tempe 10₁ woos Thetis 741 f.

Genealogy: f. of Aloeus by Kanake 4₀ f. of Athena by lake Tritonis 128₁ f. of Eryx by Aphrodite 176₀ f. of Sinis 10₁

Functions: originally a specialised form of Zeus 20₁ 736₃ 1140 1153 originally a lightning-god with lightning-fork, later a sea-god with fishing-spear 736 agriculture 527 earthquakes 5 ff. 943 sea 726₆ wind astern 162

Etymology: 736₃ 1140

Attributes: *χίλαμψ* 1153 dolphin 1060 two dolphins 753 lightning-fork 20 867 trident 10 tunny 671₀

Types: bearing the island Nisyros or Porphyris 14₀ bronze statue from Artemision (?) 1151 ff. energetic 697 exhibiting wave 755 (?) 755₂ (?) holding *aphlaston* 755₂ hurling trident 1153 in archaistic reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff. in the guise of Zeus 1153 leaning on trident 1153 riding on dolphin 627₍₃₎ 831 seated on rock 581₀ standing with dolphin and trident 12₀ striking with trident 1153 terra-cotta relief at Munich 1152 with eyes in garnet 217₀ with glaucous eyes 216 with horse's head in hand 217₀

Identified with Erechtheus 12₃ 737 758 f.

Associated with Amphitrite 681 958 Aphrodite 675₂ 699 f. Erechtheus 758 Zeus and Hades 6 1157 (?)

In relation to duck 52₂

Superseded by Zeus 21

— brass pillar of, inscribed with laws 1184 Ionian by descent 736₃ 751 *provenance* of 736 1140

Poseidonia, coins of 1153

Poseidonia, the festival 297

Poseidoniastai 155

Poseidonios 482 f.

Potidaia, founded where meteorite fell 886

Praeneste, mosaic from 626₍₂₎

Praisos

Cult: pig 1103

— terra-cotta plaques from 1011

Praxiargidai 241₀

Praxiteles 659₀ (?) 932 f. (?) 970 1009 (?)

Praxiteles 'the elder' (?) 933₂

Preale 679₍₃₎

Premnousia 515₂

Priansos

Cult: Zeus Σκύλλιος 413₀

Priapos

Type: on column 1096

Priasos 531

Prinia, archaic goddess from 957₀

Prinophoros 1134

Prochyte 3₀

Prodikos 839

Prokne

Myth: 1147

Genealogy: w. of Tereus 53

Prokris

Myth: Kephalos 72

Genealogy: d. of Erechtheus 72

Promacheia 1008

Prometheus

Myths: theft of fire 228 refuses to reveal secret to Zeus 740 f. consents at last to reveal secret to Zeus 741 Herakles 956 at Ikionion makes images of clay 528 birth of Athena 125₃ cleaves head of Zeus 661 first to kill ox 661

Attributes: double axe 125₃ ring 1029₁₀ umbrella 57 willow (?) wreath 1029₁₀

Identified with Engonasin or Ingeniculus 483

In relation to fire-drill 1075 (?) Zeus 1075

— pillar of 1115

Pron, Mt

Cult: Hera 65

Proserpina

Attributes: *modius* 1062₍₂₎ sceptre 1062₍₂₎

Type: in Pompeian painting of Twelve Gods 1062₍₂₎

Associated with Dis 432₁

See also Persephone

Proteus

Myth: Helene 78

Genealogy: f. of Theonoe 349₈

Function: seer 349₈ 743₈

Protokles 121

Protokreon 121

Prousius See Kios

Psychro Cave on Mt Lasithi 1143

Ptah-Seker See Pataikos

Ptereleos 507₅

Ptolemaios Chennos 1043₁

Ptolemaïs in Egyptian Thebaid

Cults: Harbaktēs 1073 Hierax Theos 1073

Ptolemies, marriage-custom of 110 f.

- Punt, serpent-king of 984
 Pushkalāvati
Cult: Nandi 1086
 — coin of 1086
- Pygmalion
Myths: bids Bousiris cure eight years' drought by sacrificing a stranger 653₀, slays Acerbas h. of Elissa 646₀
 — golden olive of 983
- Pyr 983
 Pyrenees, bear-festivals in 1080
 Pyrgoi
Cult: Eileithyia 679₀
 Pyrrhakos 118
 Pythagoras, bids abstain from eating plough-ox or ram 591₁, conceives soul of dead friend as hound 413₀, controls wind 106 explains earthquakes 2₅
 Pythagoras of Rhegion 850
 Pythagoreans, cosmic ship 18₃, fire at centre and circumference of universe 19₀
 Klotho, Atropos, Lachesis 717₄
 Milky Way 946 pentagram 341₃ *πίθος* *τερημένος* 398₅, Sappho and Phaon 136₃, subterranean basilica at Rome 139
 Pythia, the festival 901₁
 Python
Cults: ἥρως Ἐπικράτης 1114 f. Zeus Καταιβάτης 1114 f. Zeus Κεραύνιος 1157
 Pytho 929 See Delphoi
 Python, the vase-painter 510 512 518
- ‘Qaḥiū 884₀
 Qebhsennuf 345₁
 Quadi
Cult: sword 1139
 — miracle of 324 ff.
- Quinquatrus Minusculae 856₀
 Quinquennalia 1141
 Quintilian describes the effect produced by Pheidias' statue of Zeus at Olympia 960
- Ramman
Type: standing on bull 831
Identified with Zeus 945
Compared with Adad, Tešub, and the god of Mt Tabor 1173
 Raria, sacred ploughing in 178₀, 606 cp. 610
 Rarian Plain 610 cp. 178₀ 606
 Ras Shamra
Cults: Ba'al 1156 the dead 1193
Rite: use of libation-funnels 1193
 — *stèle* from 1156
 Remus and Romulus (bibliography) 1134 f.
- Rhadamanthys
Genealogy: s. of Zeus by Europe 627₁ 628₀
Function: judge of dead 402
 — oath of 47₅
- Rhamnous
Cult: Nemesis 955₇
 — sanctuary of Nemesis at 1073
- Rhapso
Function: birth-goddess 89 94
Etymology: 1121
- Rhea
Cults: Athens 169₀, Mt Ide in Crete 1033₁, Mt Ide in Phrygia 1033₁, Mt Kyntnos (?) 1172
Myths: consorts with Kronos 111₁, entrusts infant Zeus to the Kouretes and to the nymphs Adrasteia and Ide 931₃, entrusts infant Zeus to Themis 839₆
Genealogy: in. by Kronos of Hestia, Demeter, Hera, Hades, Ennosigaios, Zeus 928
Functions: ‘Minoan’ earth-goddess 200 953 mountain-mother 931
Attribute: lions 1172
Types: ara *Capitolina* 933 f. in chariot drawn by two griffins 842₂ (?) offering stone to Kronos 929 ff. veiled 935
Associated with Kronos 169₀ 745
 — Korybantes followers of 323₂
- Rheitoi 297
 Rhizenia (?), law-*kírvis* from 1183 f.
 Rhodanos 366
 Rhodes
Cults: Athena Λωδία 355 Damateres 1124 f. Isis 986 Zeus Ἀταβύριος 525
Myths: Helios claims it as his portion 986
 Helios weds Rhodos 986 Telchines 296 881, Zeus consorts with Hymalia by means of rain 477 Zeus rains golden snow at birth of Athena 477 670 719
 — as a floating island 986 f. coins of 856₀ 1072 tubular stand from 197₀
 Zeus and Hera in reliefs from 1034 ff.
- Rhodos, w. of Helios 986
 Rhoiai 818₀
 Rhoio 818₀
 Rhytion
Cult: Zeus Σκύλιος 1148
- Roma, the personification of Rome
Cult: Pergamon 1191
Epithet: *Victrix* 825₀
- Rome
Cults: Apollo 436₀, Bellona *Pulvinensis* 1142 Dis 1115 Dis *Pater* 904₂, Elagabalos 902 f. Iuno *Moneta* 23
 Jupiter *Dolichenus* 1097 f. Magna Mater 896 f. 896₁, Malachbelos 1159
 Mars 432 442 f. Mars *Ultor* 1021
 Minerva 856₀, Minerva *Medica* 859
 Saturnus 967₃, Sol 906 f. Tellus 24₃
 Terminus 441 Venus 443 Venus *Genetrix* (*Genetrix*) 1022 Victoria 896
Festivals: Agon *Capitolinus* 1141
 Consualia 437 Ludi *Capitolini* 1141
 Nonae *Caprotinae* 612₀, Opiconsivia 437 Quinquatrus Minusculae 856₀
 Quinquennalia 1141
 — altar of Dis in *Tarento* at 1115
 Catacomb of St Balbina at 1119

Rome (*cont.*)

Catacomb of St Domitilla at 972₀
 coins of 801 f. 821 856₀ 872 901₂ 902
 904₅ 906 1020 1092 1095 Golden
 House of Nero at 37 ff. 948 'House
 of Livia' at 638₀ *manalis lapis* at
 429 ff. *mundus* at 429 ff. *Palládion*
 of 896 (?) 903₅ Pantheon at 353₁
 441 ff. pediment of temple of Iupiter
Capitolinus at 707 1066 Porta
 Capena at 432 *Roma quadrata* at 429₁
 430₀ 431₀ 436₀ 436₂ 438 Scalae Caci at
 896 f. subterranean basilica at 135 ff.
 Syrian sanctuary on Ianiculum at
 1114 temple of Apollo at 436₀
 temple of Augustus at 460 temple of
 Elagabalos on the Palatine at 903 f.
 temple of Elagabalos in suburb of
 903 f. temple of Iupiter *Capitolinus*
 at 246₀ 707 1066 temple of Magna
 Mater on Palatine at 896 f. 896₁
 temple of Mars *Uitor* at 1021
 Tullianum at 366 Viale Manzoni
hypogaeum at 972₀

Romulus

Myth. hurls spear at Palatine 754₂
 — and Remus (bibliography) 1134 f.

Rosalia 293₁

Sabaoth 1086

Sabazios

Cult. Thracio-Phrygians 874
Epithet. "Υἱς (Υἱς?) 874
Function. rain 874
Identified with Zeus 945
 — boar dedicated to 875₀ regarded
 as boar (?) 875₀

Sabines

Cult. Vacuna 1012

Saepinum, burial within house at 1181

Sagaris, river in Phrygia 918₃ See also Sangarios

Sagittarius 324

Saittai, coins of 408₀

Salamis

Cult. Zeus 650₀ (?)

Myth. Teukros 650₀

Salamis personified 956

Salamis in Kypros

Cults. Athena 653₀ Iupiter *Salaminius*
 646₀ Thea ἡ "Ομβριος 561 (?) Zeus
 646₀ ff. Zeus 'Ολύμπιος 648₀ 649₀

Rite. human sacrifice to Agraulos or
 Diomedes 653₀

Myth. Teukros 646₀ 650₀

— coins of 833₀ temple called Διὸς
 ἀσφάλεια at 646₀ f.

Salhad

Cult. Zeus Μέγας ὁ Κύριος 1098

Saliars, dancing islands in Lydia 989

Salii, hymn of 1130

Salmones

Myth. Zeus 966

Personates Zeus 141

Salus 1092

Šamaš

Functions. sun, wisdom, law 1135 law
 and righteousness 836

Samemroumos 983

Samos

Cults. Aphrodite ἐν Καλδμοῖς or ἐν

"Ελεῖ 66₂ Dionysos 'Ελιγείς 1030₃

Hera 645₀ 969 1027 ff. 1045 Zeus

1027 ff. Zeus Μολίχιος 1187

Festival. Tonea 1028 ff.

Rites. ἱερὸς γάμος 1027 ff. image of

Hera annually carried off to the
 shore 1029 1031

Myths. Admete 1029 birth of Hera

beneath willow beside Imbrasos 102₉

Neades or Neides 3₀

— called Dryousa 1027₁ called

Parthenia 1027 coins of 211 645₀

899₅ 1029 Heraion at 1027 once

occupied by Carians 1027₁ 102₉

willow-tree of Hera at 1028 ff.

Samos, h. of Parthenia 1027₁

Samothrace

Myth. Dardanos and Iasion (Iason) 77₆

77₇

— mysteries in 133 135

Sanchouniathon 887 891 892 1179

Sandanos 366

Sandas

Type. standing on lion 831

Sangarios, river of Asia Minor 531 See also Sagaris

Sappho 136₃ 137₄

Saqqâra, mummies of horses at 1187

Saracens

Cults. Aphrodite Χαβάρ (Χαμάρ) 915₂

915₃ 917₇ Heosphoros 915₂ 917₇

Sarapis

Cults. Athens 588₁ Delos 154 f.

Sarmizegetusa 1162

Attributes. eagle 37₆ *kálathos* 1148

wreath 1148

Identified with Zeus 945

Associated with Zeus 1148

Sardeis

Cult. Artemis 1082

Rites. ταυροκαθάρσια και κυνήγια (?)
 1091

— coins of 899₅ 899₅ (1)

Sardus Pater 1119

Sarmizegetusa

Cults. Fortuna Daciarum 1162 *Invictus*

Deus Serapis 1162 Sol *Invictus*

1162 Theos Hypsistos 'Επήκοος

1162

Saros 18₀

Sardinia

Cults. bull-god 1110 pillar 1110 spring
 or well 1110

Myth. Aristaios 270

Sarpedon the Lycian

Myth. slain by Patroklos 478

Genealogy. s. of Zeus 478 s. of Zeus
 by Europe 628₀

Saturnalia 432₁

Saturnus

Cults: Ghardimaou 1095 Numidia 1078

Rome 967₃

Festival: Saturnalia 432₁

Rite: human sacrifice commuted 433₀

Types: cult-image filled with oil 967₃
968 three-eyed (?) 937

Satyroi

Attributes: ivy-wreath 1133 *lagobólon*
382₀ *nebris* 1133 pine-wreath 1133
vine-wreath 1132 dancing 380₄ 382₅
386_{0(ρ)} double bust (bearded and
beardless) 1132 f.

Schiblél 1114

Seasons See Horai

Sebastopolis, coin of 408₀

Securitas 946₁₆

Sedasa

Cults: Hermes Μέγιστος 1071 Zeus
Helios 1071

Segesta 177₀

Seimia (Semea, Sima)

Cult: Syria 889

Seimios

Cult: Heliopolis in Syria 1095 Syria
889

Seir, Mt 1076

Seiren See Siren

Seirios

Cult: Keos 266

Types: dog's head 271₁ forepart of dog
270₆ 271₂ star 271₃

— oath by (?) 48₉ sun so called 1074

Sekhet

Type: with leonine head, disk, and
ankh 1095

Selene

Myth: consorts with Zeus 1111

Genealogy: m. of fifty daughters by
Endymion 357 m. of Herse by Zeus
179 f.

Types: riding horse or mule 958 driving
quadriga down behind hills 718
facing bust with moon on head,
seven stars ranged round, and zodiac
as framework 1085 f.

— meadows of 1064₄

Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos

Cult: Zeus Βόρειος 161

— coins of 843₃

Seleukeia Pieria

Cults: Zeus Κάσιος 884₀ Zeus Κραύνιος
884₀

— coins of 884₀

Selge, coins of 645₀

Selinos, the river-god 614₅

Selinous

Cults: Apollon 614₅ Demeter Μαλοφόρος
1136 1188 Hekate Προσπυλαία 1188
Pasikrateia 1188 f. Zeus Μελίχιος
1188 f.

— coins of 614₅ metope from temple
'E or R' at 1036 1038 f. metope
from temple 'F or S' at 615₅₍₁₎

Selket or Serqet 345₁

Semea See Seimia

Semele

Cult: Thraco-Phrygians 874

Epithets: Έγχώ 1114 "Τη (Τή) 874

Myth: Zeus 82₃

Function: earth 874

Serapis See Sarapis

Seriphos

Myth: Diktys s. of Peristhenes draws
chest of Danaë to land 455

Sestos

Cults: Theos Olbios 656₂ Zeus "Ολβιος
656₂ (?)

Set 1135

Sethlans

Attribute: double axe 678₍₁₎

Sichna 295

Side, coins of 813₅

Sidon

Cult: Astarte 1023

— coins of 158₃

Sigurd 1174

Sikinos

Cult: Hera Βασιλεια (?) 61₁

Sikyon

Cult: (Hebe) Δία 184₂

Silenos

Etymology: 1106

Types: dancing 512 with pig's ears 92₀

Silsilis

Cult: Neilos Zeus Νεφώτης ό Μέγιστος
349

Sima See Seimia

Simeon Stylites 779₀

Sinis 10₁

Sinope, coins of 1137 silver bracelets from
765₄

Sinties 228

Sipylos, Mt

Myths: Priasos 531 Tantalos 418₀

— grave of Tantalos on 417₀

Siren

Types: beating head and breast 385_{0(α)}
flanked by *loutrophoros* and Sphinx
393₀ flanking nude Aphrodite 1016
on column 387₃ on sepulchral *stèle*
132

— helps Herakles in rape of Delphic
tripod 799₁

Sisyphos

Types: rolling stone up hill 399 416
lashed by Erinyes 416

Sithon

Myth: gives his d. Pallene to winner of
single combat 522 f.

Skedasos, sacrifice to daughters of 565₁ \
Skepsis, coin of 517₀

Skira 115

Skiron, the suburb of Athens, sacred
ploughing at 606

Skiron, the brigand 1186

Skiron, the wind 130

Skirophoria 166₀ 602

Skopas 135 471 704₃ (?)

Skopas, the Silenos 513

Skylakeus 413₀

Skylia

Etymology: 414₀ 416₀

Types: dog 414₀ (?) semi-human 414₀ ff.

Connected with Sicily 976

In relation to Zeus Skyllios 1148

Skylies 414₀ 1148

Skyllion, Mt 413₀

Skythia

Cult: scimitar 907₆

Slavonic deities (?): Dzewana 64₀ Dzydzi-

lelya 64₀ Jesza 64₀ Lado 289₂ Lel

64₀ Lyada 64₀ Marzyana 64₀ Nya 64₀

Perdoytus 108 Pogoda 64₀ Polel 64₀

Żywy 64₀

Smilis 1027

Smyrna

Cults: Atys 22 Boubrostis 1156 Zeus

Σωτήρ 22

Rites: sacrifice of black bull to

Boubrostis 1156 ταυροκαθάρσια 1091

— marble relief at 757 f.

Sol

Cults: Aquae Sulis 863₁₁ Palmyra 1112

Rome 906 f.

Function: a fusion of Elagabalos and other oriental Ba'alim (?) 907

Etymology: 858

Attribute: radiate crown 41

Types: in quadriga pursues Luna in biga 41 radiate 863₁₁

Identified with Elagabalos 901₁ 902₃

Solomon, throne of 957₀

Solon, *kýrbeis* and *áxones* of 949

Solon, the gem-engraver 853₁

Soma 128

Sopatreia 593₂

Sopatros 590 ff. 604 661₃

Sophia

Epithet: γενέτις 745₆

Sophokles, controls wind 106

Sosipolis

Cult: Elis 239₁

Sounion

Cult: Zeus Μείλιχος 1184

Sparta

Cults: Aphrodite Ένὸπλιος 722₃ Artemis

Λυγὸδέσμα 1030 Artemis Όρθία 1009

1030 Asklepios Άγνίτας 1030₄ Athena

Χαλκίοκος 11₁ 661 Moirai Λαχέσεις

722₃ Ourpis 189₁ Pleuron 161 Zeus

Εὐάνεμος 160 Zeus ΤΨιστος 1162

Festivals: Gymnopaídiai 997 1008

Promacheia 1008

Rites: διαμαστίγωσις 1134 Ανδῶν πομπή 1009

Myth: Helene 78

— stéle from 507₃

Sphinx

Myth: Mt Phikion 506

Sphinxes

Type: grasping Theban children 955

Stara Zagora, bronze statuette of Zeus

Ολύμπιος at 1196

Statoniensis, Lake, floating island in 1013

Sterope 956

Stesichoros, palinode of 77 f.

Stoies 234 ff. 726 f. 878 f. 947 961 (?) 1046₅

Stonehenge, genetically posterior to Woodhenge 910₅

Stratonikeia

Cults: Hekate 1066 Hekate Δαδοφόρος

544₃ Theos Agathos 1162 Zeus 568

Zeus Πανάμωρος 544₃ 1066 Zeus

ΤΨιστος 1162

— coins of 568 cp. 589 ox precedes

priest to 568

Stratos in Akarnania

Cult: Zeus 1166 f.

Strophades, as floating islands 987 called

Plotai 987

Stryphalos

Cult: Hera Χήρα 1070

— tomb of Zeus at 1070 (?)

Sucaelus

Compared with Cornish 'Jack of the Hammer' 1142

Sul 858 See Sulis

Sulien, St 859₂₍₁₎

Sulis

Cult: Aquae Sulis 858 ff.

Epithet: Minerva 859₂₍₁₋₃₎ 859₄

Functions: hot curative springs 858

sun-goddess 859 863

Compared with Minerva Medica 859

Sumerians

Cults: Domouz (later Tamouz) 112₅

Im-dugud 1155 Lilith (?) 832 ff.

Nin-khursag 1155

— balag in relation to pélekys (?)

1141 bull's head from harp of 1102

Summanus 1115

Symbetylos

Cult: Syria 889

Symphheropolis

Cult: Zeus Άραβύριος 1173

Symplegades 975 f. 983 987

Synnada

Cults: Zeus 1070 Zeus Πάνδημος 212₂

— coins of 212₂

Syra See Syros

Syracuse

Cults: Athena 850₆ Zeus Οὔριος (Iupiter Imperator) 148

— coins of 784 f. 819 870₄

Syria

Cults: Seimia (Semea, Sima) 889

Seimios 889 Symbetylos 889 Zeus

Βέτυλος 890 f.

— coins of 820 f. 856₆ idols with two or more heads from 1135

Syrianos 745

Syrinx

Myth: Pan 1012

Syros, folk-tales from 818₀ 977

Tabor, Mt

Etymology: 1102

— divine light round summit of 1068 name and cult of, spread to

- Tabor, Mt (*cont.*)
 Crete, Rhodes, Agrigentum, and
 Crimea 1172 f.
- Tages
Myth: 203₀
 — lore of 434
- Tainaros, Cape
Cult: Poseidon 21 23₂
- Tainaros in Lakonike 257₁
- Taitle 1111
- Tala (?) 989 See Gygaia Limne
- Talaimenes 989
- Taliesin 1174
- Talos
Epithet: *Perdix* 1111
Myth: 1110
Genealogy: nephew of Daidalos 1110 f.
Attribute: saw 1110
Identified with Engonasin or Ingeni-
 culus 491
Compared with Daidalos and Ikaros
 1111
- Tamise (Temsche) 338₁
- Tanagra
Cults: Athena Ζωστειρία 567₀ Zeus
 Μαχαιεύς 567₀
 — tomb of Orion at 417₀
- Tanais 366
- Tantalos
Epithet: ἡεροφοίτης 418₀ ἡερόφοιτος 418₀
Myths: buried beneath Mt Sipylus 418₀
 overhanging rock 416 417₀ f.
Genealogy: s. of Zeus 417₀ f. of Pelops
 417₀
Functions: doublet of Atlas 417₀ Giant
 or Titan 418₀ supporter of sky 418₀
Etymology: 417₀
Identified with Engonasin or Ingeni-
 culus 491
 — bones of 566₂ grave of, at Polion
 in Lesbos 417₀ grave of, on Mt
 Sipylus 417₀ perhaps a Hittite king
 416₁
- Tantalos, Mt, in Lesbos 417₀
- Taos 491
- Taranis
Cult: Celts 1191 (?)
Attribute: wheel 1191
Type: holding wheel 1074 (?)
- Tarentum
Cults: Anemoi 105 f. Hera 636₀ Zeus
 Ἐλευθέριος 1097
Rite: sacrifice of ass to the Winds
 105 f.
 — antefixes with head of Io from
 635₀ f. coins of 636₀ 714₀ 794 frieze
 from tomb at 425 loom-weights from
 795 relief of Twelve Gods from
 1055 ff. terra-cotta disks from 1119
 1136
- Tarentum in the Campus Martius 1115
- Tark See Tarku
- Tarku
Cults: Hittites (?) 651₀ 652₀ Leleges (?)
 651₀
- Tarku (*cont.*)
Identified with Zeus 651₀
- Tarquiniensis, Lake See Volsiniensis,
 Lake
- Tartaros
Etymology: 411₀ (?)
- Tarvos Trigaranus 1100
- Tarxien, seated goddesses and other discoid
 figures from 1101
- Tat 332₃
- Taunion
Etymology: 1155
- Taurophonia 570 1110
- Tauros, Mt
Cults: Elagabalos 902 Faustina the
 younger 902
- Tav-, pre-Phrygian form of Zeus 1155
- Tavium See Taunion
- Taygeton, Mt, ascent of 1164
- Tegea
Cult: Athena Ἀλέα 1141
 — temple of Athena Ἀλέα at 1141
- Teiresias
Etymology: 1115
- Telchines
Function: produce clouds, rain, hail,
 snow 296 881₁
- Teleboes 507₅ 508
- Telephos 823₃
- Telesphoros
Type: hooded 1182 f.
In relation to Genius Cueullatus 1183
- Tellus
Cults: Numidia 1078 Rome 24₃
Rite: sacrifice of pregnant sow 23
Type: with cornu copiae and child
 904
- Temenothyrari
Cult: Zeus Γαλάκτιος 1104
 — rock-cut throne of Geryones at
 1070
- Tempe 10₁
- Temsche (Tamise) 338₁
- Tenedos
Cults: Apollon 1146 Dionysos Ἀνθρωπο-
 ρραίστης 599₍₂₎ Dionysos Ὠμάδιος
 599₍₂₎
 — coins of 789₂
- Tenes 1146 See also Tennes (Tenes)
- Tennes (Tenes) and Hemitheia 458₂ (?)
- Tenos, 'Tower of the Winds' at 129₆
- Tereus
Myth: pursues Prokne and Philomela
 1147
Genealogy: h. of Prokne 53
Attribute: double axe 1147
 — in the *Birds* of Aristophanes 44 ff.
- Termessos (Termessus Maior)
Cults: Zeus Ἐλευθέριος 1176 Zeus
 Σολυμεύς 1176
Festival: Eleutheria (?) 1176
 — coins of 1177
- Terminus
Cult: Rome 441
Rite: blood of burnt sacrifice, incense,

- Terminus (*cont.*)
corn, honeycombs, wine etc. placed
in hole 441
— altar of (?) 430₀ stone of 441 1067
- Terra
Epithet: mater 453₂
- Terra Mater
Rite: sacrifice of pregnant sow 23
- Tesana 259₀
- Testimonius
Cult: Numidia 1078
- Tešub
Compared with Adad, Ramman, and
the god of Mt Tabor 1173
- Tethys
Genealogy: m. of Metis by Okeanos 743
- Tettix the Cretan 257₁
- Teukroi 651₀
- Teukros
Myth: founds temple of Zeus at
Salamis in Kypros 646₀ 650₀
Function: faded god (?) 650₀
Etymology: 651₀
— as name of priestly dynasts at
Olba 643₀ 645₀ prehistory of 650₀ ff.
- Teutamidas 1187
- Teuthras 823₃
- Thales 19₄ 19₅
- Thaletas 592₃
- Thalna 678₍₁₎ 679₀ 679₍₃₎ 680₍₄₎
Function: birth-goddess 88₀ 679₍₃₎
- Thamyras
Myth: blinded by Muses 488
Identified with Engonasin or Ingeni-
culus 488
- Thanr 665₀ 678₍₁₎ 678₍₂₎
- Thasos
Cults: Hestia Βουλαια 1125 Zeus
'Αγοραῖος Θάσιος 1181 Zeus Βουλαῖος
1125 Zeus Καταβάτης 1115 Zeus
Κρήσιος Πατρόφος 1181
— archaistic relief from town-gates
of 1155 f.
- Thaulia 282₇
- Thaulon 282 596 ff. ancestor of Boutypoi
597 etymology of 603 first to sacri-
fice ox 597 661₃
- Thaulonidai 282 identified with Boutypoi
597 603
- Thaumasion, Mt
Myth: stone swallowed by Kronos 929
- Thea 302₀₍₆₎ 309 312₀₍₄₎
- Thea ἡ "Ομβριος
Cult: Salamis in Kypros 561 (?)
- Theandrius
Cult: Carnuntum (?) 1163
- Thebai Phthiotides
Cult: Zeus Μειλίχιος 1187
- Thebe, early name of Thebes in Boiotia 224
- Thebes in Boiotia
Cults: Apollon 'Ισμήνιος 507₅ 880
Apollon Χαλδῆιος 880 Athena 'Ομο-
λωῖς 608₃ Dionysos 1103 Hektor
1174 Mother of the gods 893 Pan
893 Zeus 'Ελιεύς 762₄
- Thebes in Boiotia (*cont.*)
Festival: Daphnephoria 880
Rite: bridal bath from Ismenos 372
Myths: birth of Dionysos 477 1118
Laios 426 Menoikeus 815₀ Semele
82₃ Zeus consorts with Alkmene w.
of Amphitryon 477
— 'Ηλεκτρίδες πύλαι at 77₄ Νηῖστα
πύλαι at 815₀
- Thebes in Egypt
Cults: Amen 882₂ Zeus 1131 Zeus
Θηβαίεύς 837
- Theira
Cults: Demeter 992 Men 992
Rite: κάλαθος 992
- Thekla, St 475₁ 523 f.
- Thelpousa, coins of 1012
- Themis
Cult: Delphoi 1121
Myths: advises Zeus to slay Amaltheia
839 consorts with Zeus 744₁₍₂₎
1064 f. entrusts infant Zeus to the
nymph Amaltheia 839₆
Genealogy: m. of Dike by Zeus 823 m.
of Horai and Moirai by Zeus 744₁₍₂₎
Function: 'an emanation from Ge'
1064₇
Identified with Ge 1064 Zeus 951
Associated with Ge 1121
- Theodosios i, abolishes Olympian festival
969 suppresses paganism 969
- Theogamia 1047
- Theoi Agreis 1176
- Theoi Agrioi 1174 1176
- Theoi Agroteroi 1174 1176
- Theoi Akraioi
Cult: Mytilene 6
- Theoi Hosioi kai Dikaioi
Cult: Inönü in Phrygia 1146
- Theoi Katachthonioi
Cult: Nakoleia 1160
- Theonoe 349 1193
- Theopista, St 1102
- Theopistus, St 1102
- Theopropoi 593 f. 595
- Theos 302₀₍₆₎ 309 312₀₍₄₎
- Theos Agathos
Cult: Stratonikeia 1162
- Theos Agnostos See Agnostos Theos
- Theos Aniketos
Cult: Amastris 1140
Epithet: 'Ασβαμεῖς 1140
- Theos Hypsistos
Cults: Amastris 1163 Thessalonike
1162
Epithet: 'Επήκοος 1163
Identified with Helios 1163 Jehovah
1162
- Theos Megas
Cult: Odessos in Thrace 1129
- Theos Olbios
Cults: Kavak 630₀ Lampsakos 1196
Sestos 656₂
- Theos Tauros
Cult: Thespiai 1086

- Thera
Cults: (Poseidon) Γαῖδοχος 13₁ (Zeus)
 Ποσειῶς 161 (?)
 — rain-magic in 284
- Therapne
Cult: Poseidon Γαῖδοχος 11₁
- Theren 1032
- Thermos in Aitolia
Cults: Ge 1184 Helios 1184 Zeus 1184
- Thesan 259₀
 'Theseion' at Athens 223₆
- Theseus
Myths: finds sword of Aigeus 484₁₁
 Peirithoös 956 purified at altar of
 Zeus Meilichios 1184 Skiron 1186
Genealogy: s. of Aigeus by Aithra
 484₁₁
Types: bidding farewell to Peirithoös
 402 Euphranor 1186 fighting
 Amazons 955 hurling Skiron into
 sea 1186 raising the rock at Troizen
 484 ff. with Minotaur as centre of
 Labyrinth in mosaic 1087
Identified with Engonasin or Ingeni-
 culus 484
- Thesmophoria 166₀ 168 815₀ 1030 f. 1083
- Thespiæ
Cults: Apollon 1070 Athena 1066
 Milichie 1187 Mnemosyne 1070
 Theos Tauros 1086 Zeus 1070 Zeus
 Αἰθριος 1066 Zeus Καραῖος 1148 1162
 1165 Zeus Μελίχιος 1187
- Thesprotis, floating islands in 987
- Thessalonike
Cults: Jehovah 1162 Kabeiros 902₇
 Theos Hypsistos 1162
 — coins of 902₇
- Thessaly
Cults: Aphrodite 271 (?) Athena Βούδεια
 608 Athena Ἰρωνία 871₁ Thetis
 743₁ Zeus Λαφύστιος 525 1080 1167
Festivals: Kataibasia 1115 Sichna 295
Rite: Kledona 290
 — coins of 870 f.
- Thestios 161₁
- Thetis
Cult: Thessaly 743₁
Myths: hides Hephaistos in cave for
 nine years 228 seized by Peleus
 1019 wooed by Zeus, Poseidon, and
 Apollon 741 f.
Type: borne by Triton 129
Associated with Zeus 742 f.
Compared with Metis 745
- Theudaisia 570₂
- Thevrumineš 1090
- Thisbe, gold ring from 681₂
- Thomas, St, as 'twin' brother of Jesus
 1128
- Thor
Epithet: Thorrrkarl 1078
Attribute: hammer 926 1139 (*Mjölnir*)
 1142
- Thorikos
Cult: Hera Εἰλείθυια 725₄
- Thoth
Identified with Hermes 332₃
In relation to the letter Θ 343₁
- Thrace
Cults: Bendis 189₁ Derzelas 1129
 Erikepaïos 64₀ Liber Pater 1118
 — three meteorites fall in 886
- Thracο-Phrygians
Cults: Dionysos "Τῆς 874 Dios 952
 Dios Νῶσος 952 Erikepaïos 64₀
 Sabazios 874 Semele "Τῆ (Τῆ) 874
 Zemela 952 Zeus "Τῆς (Τῆς?) 873 f.
 — Dios, Zemela, and Dios Νῶσος
 naturalised in central Greece as
 Zeus, Semele, and Dionysos 952
 prepared to accept Christianity 952
- Thrakia Kome
Cult: Zeus Χαλάριος Σώζων 880 f.
- Thrasius See Phrasios
- Thronax, Mt 65
- Thyateira, coins of 211
- Thyestes
Myth: the first victim sacrificed by
 Bousiris 653₀
 — story of, as dance-theme 935₃
- Thyestes, a storm-god (?) 899₄
- Tiāmat 1135
- Tieion See Tios (Tion)
- Tina (Tinia)
Etymology: 1113
Attributes: lily-wreath 88₀ lotiform
 thunderbolt 92₀
Types: bearded 92₀ beardless 680₍₅₎
 birth of Athena 678₍₁₎ 678₍₂₎ 679₍₃₎
 680₍₄₎ 680₍₅₎ birth of Dionysos 88₀
 seated with eagle-sceptre in right
 hand and winged thunderbolt in
 left 88₀
Confused with Tinthun 259₀ (?)
 — on Orvieto cone 1067
- Tindaridai 1113 See Tyndaridai
- Tingis, grave of Antaios at 372₃
- Tinia 1067 See also Tina (Tinia)
- Tinthun or Tinthn 259₀
- Tion See Tios (Tion)
- Tios (Tion)
Etymology: 1155
 — visit to, and views of 1112
- Tiryns
Cult: Hera 1085
 — small snakes at 764
- Tisyroi 1092
- Titane
Cult: Euamerion 1183
- Titanes
Myth: Zeus 478₀ 839 966
Etymology: 1103
- Tithonos
Myth: tended by Heos (Eos) in old age
 247
Metamorphosed into cicala 247
Genealogy: s. of Kephalos and f. of
 Phaethon 246 f. s. of Laomedon by
 Strymo or Trymo or Rhoio 247₁
 f. of Memnon by Heos (Eos) 260

Tithonos (*cont.*)

Function: personification of cicala 257

Etymology: 257 259₀

Compared with Erichthonios 248

Tituno 259₀

Tiv, Etruscan moon-goddess 1130

Tiv-, Phrygian form of Zeus 1155

Tmarion, Mt, in Arkadia 1168

Tmaros, Mt See Tomaros, Mt, near Dodona

Tmolos, Mt

Cults: Zeus Δείσιος (?) 320₄ Zeus Ἰέρσιος 562

Myth: birth of Zeus 562

— place called Γοῦαι Διὸς Ἰερτίου, later Δείσιον on 320₄

Tmor, Mt, near Ragusa 1167

Tomaros or Tmaros, Mt, near Dodona

Cult: Zeus Τῡάριος 1168

Etymology: 1168

Tomori, Mt, near Berat

Cults: Abbas Ali 1168 ff. Zeus (?) 1168 ff.

Festival: Bektashi celebration on Aug. 25 (15) 1168 ff.

Etymology: 1168

— ascents of 1168 ff. gold plant on 1171 oath by 1169 ruin called Dodona on 1171

Trajan

Cult: Pergamon 1191

Personates Zeus Φίλιος (?) 1191

Tralleis

Cults: Poseidon 22 Zeus 22

— relief from 630₂

Tranquillina as Tyche of Kaisareia in Kappadokia 1177

Triballos

Myth: his gd. Polyphonte transformed into owl, her sons Agrios and Oreios into vulture and swallow (?), and their maid into woodpecker 57₂

Etymology: 57₂

— in the *Birds* of Aristophanes 57 f.

Triptolemos

Functions: king of Eleusis 596 judge of dead 402

Attribute: plough 607

Trita 128 545 cp. 546₁

Tritoi Paternos 120₆

Tritomenis 719₄

Triton, river 124 f.

Triton

Function: wind 129

Etymology: 124 f.

Attributes: conch 129 fish-skin 129

Tritones

Function: protectors of the dead 132

Attributes: conch 132 paddle 132 wreath of reeds (?) 132

Type: sportive 39

Associated with Nereids 132

Tritonis, spring or lake 124

Tritopateres

Cult: Kyrene 115

See also Tritopatores, Tritopatris

Tritopator

Cult: Delos 116 ff.

Epithet: Πυρρακιδῶν Αἰγυλιῶν 118

Tritopatores 112 ff.

Cult: Athens 113 ff.

Genealogy: sons of Ouranos and Ge 120

Functions: ancestral spirits 119 controllers of the wind 139 guardians of the soul 139 procreation 113 122 winds 121

Identified with Amalkeides, Protokles, Protokreon 121 Kottos, Briareos, Gyges 120

Compared with Lares Compitales 119

See also Tritopateres, Tritopatris

Tritopatris

Cult: Marathon 115

Epithet: Ζακναδῶν 114 f.

Rite: τράπεζα 115₄

Genealogy: sons of Ge and Helios 120₆ sons of Ge and Ouranos 120 sons of Selene and Helios 120₆

Function: procreation 120

Superseded by Hagia Trias 114 (?) cp. 119 (?)

— *dvaton* of 114 Τρίτοπατρεις originally a verse-form of Τρίτοπάτορες 112₃

See also Tritopateres, Tritopatores

Tritopatreus 120

Troizen

Festival: Lithobolia 612₀

Myths: contest of Poseidon with Athena 751₁ Damia and Auxesia 612₀ Theseus finds sword of Aigeus 484₁₁

— coins of 485₁₂

Trophonios

Associated with Agamedes 507₅

Troy

Cult: Athena 193₀

Myth: Zeus drops *ákmones* on the Trojan plain 924

— axe-hammers from 1142 f. face-urns from 193₀

Trozen 751₁ See Troizen

Trysa, reliefs from *herdion* at 485₁₂ 1000 ff. 1008

Tuamäutef 345₁

Tuatha Dé Danann 367

Tuccia the Vestal 428

Tullus Hostilius, hears voice from Alban Mount 492 sees stones fall from sky 492 slain by thunderbolt 433₀

Turan 92₀ 839

Tusculum, well-chamber at 366

Tut-ankh-Amen, throne of 957₀

Twelve Gods

Cults: Bosporos 147 f. Kos 566₂

Functions: a divine 'Synoikismos' on Ionian soil (s. vii b.c.) 1055 'Monats-oder Zodiakusgötter' (s. iv b.c.) 1055 team of beneficent deities 1062

Types: in archaistic reliefs 1055 ff. relief from Tarentum 1055 ff.

Twelve Gods (*cont.*)

Enphiranor 1186 *ara Borghese* 1057 f.
puteal Albani 1057 1059 *ara Albani*
 1060 f. in Pompeian paintings
 1062 f.

Tyche

Cults: Gaza 553 Nabataioi 1097 Olba
 646₀
Personated by Tranquillina 1177
Attributes: cornu copiae 1095 rudder
 1095 turreted crown 1095
Type: standing with *kálathos*, rudder,
 and cornu copiae 646₀ 655₀

Tydeus 60₅(3)

Tyndaridai

Etymology: 1113 1134

Typhaonion, Mt 506

Typhion, Mt 506₄

Typhoeus

Myths: Mt Aitne 3₄ Zeus 615₃
Type: with snaky legs 842₂
 See also Typhon

Typhon

Myths: fight with Zeus 191₀ laid low by
 thunderbolt (of Zeus) and bow of
 Apollon 55₅ searches for s. of Osiris
 983

Functions: enemy of Osiris 345₀ heat
 302₀(6)

Types: three-bodied 140 with snaky
 legs 842₂

— Mt Typhaonion named after 506

See also Typhoeus

Typhos See Typhoeus, Typhon

Týr 1134

Tyre

Cults: Astarte 892 f. Herakles 'Αστρο-
 χίτων 892 f. 978 Melgarth 893 *stēlai*
 of Pyr and Pneuma 983
 — coins of 892 979 f. 982

Tyrinnos 1140

Tyris 1140 See Tyrinnos

Tyrrhenians, attempt to capture Dionysos
 1031₄ attempt to carry off image of
 Samian Hera 1029

See also Pelasgians

Tyrsenians See Pelasgians, Tyrrhenians

Tyrsenos, s. of Herakles by the Lydian
 woman (Omphale) 729₃

Tyssilio, St 859₂(1)Tyssul, St 859₂(1)

Ukko 1101

Ullin 1134

Ullr 1134

Underworld See Index II

Uni

Function: birth-goddess 679₍₃₎ 680₍₄₎
Attribute: drinking-horn 92₀

Type: suckling Hercle 92₀

Ur-Nammu, *stēle* of 832₅ 1196

Ursa Maior 484 953

Ursa Minor 953

Uther 509₂'Uzza 914₁

Vacuna

Cult: Sabines 1012

— Aquae Cutiliae sacred to 1012

Vadimonis, Lake, floating islands in 1014

Valeria Luperca, story of 802₅

Vari

Cults: Apollon 'Ερσος 261 Apollon Νέμιος

265₀ Charis 261₇ Ge 265₀ Nymphs

261₇ 262₀ 263₀ 265₀ Pan 261₇ 265₀

Varro, M. Terentius, on the Islands of the
 Nymphs in Lydia 988 f.

Vartavar 293

Varuna 1134

Vediovis 314₆ further bibliography of 1109

Vena 953₍₂₎

Venti

Types: blowing conch-shells 41 head
 with puffed cheeks 160 Tritonian

129 with winged head 706₂

See also Anemioi

Venus

Cults: Elousa 915₂ Mt Eryx 175₂
 Numidia 1078 Paphos 646₀ Rome

1022

Epithets: Amathusia 646₀ Erycina 175₂

Genetrix (*Genitrix*) 1021 f. Paphia

646₀ Pompeiana 1062₂(1)

Personated by Faustina Iunior 173₀

Livia 1021 Lucilla 173₀

Myth: transforms Cerastae into bulls
 653₀

Attributes: modius 1062₂(1) rudder (?)
 1062₂(1)

Types: Arkesilaos 1022 half-draped,
 holding tree, with Cupids playing
 about her 173₀ with Cupid on her
 shoulder 1020 ff. in Pompeian
 paintings of Twelve Gods 1062₂(1 f.)
 Associated with Mars 442 f.

Venus, the planet 173₀ 180

Vesta

Attributes: ass 1062₂(1) sceptre 1062₂(1)

Type: in Pompeian painting of Twelve
 Gods 1062₂(1)

— fire of 903₅

Vesuvius, Mt

Myth: Alkyoneus and other Giants 3₀

Vetulonia, 'Tomb of the Licitor' at 1192

Victoria

Cult: Rome 896

Type: sacrificing bull 904

See also Nikai, Nike

Vikare 1111

Vikrama, lion-seat of 957₀Virbius 177₀

Virgin, the

Type: baring her breast in last appeal
 974₀

Compared with Danaë 467₀

Virgo 71₁

Identified with Dike 823

Virgo Caelestis 1045₅

Vocontii, meteorite falls in territory of
 886

Volcanalia 431₄

Volcanus

- Festival:* Volcanalia 431₄
Etymology: 235₂ (?) 1173
Types: beardless 1062₂(1f.) in Pompeian paintings of Twelve Gods 1062₂(1f.)
Identified with Donar 210 (?)
Associated with Minerva and Mercurius 209 f.

Volsi

- Cult:* Iupiter *Anxurus* 1155
 Volsiniensis (or Tarquiniensis), Lake, floating islands in 1013
 Vītra 273₃ 362₃ 531 1134

Wejopatis

- Cult:* Lithuanians 158
Function: wind 158
Type: bifrontal 158
 Wettingen, silver *simpulum* from 938
 Willingham Fen, bronze mace from 1099 f.
 Wind-gods See Anemoi, Venti
 Wodan

- Function:* *regnator omnium deus* (?) 1117
Identified with Mercurius (?) 210
 See also Odhin

Wolfgang, St 1147

- Woodhenge, genetically prior to Stonehenge 910₅

Xanthios, f. of Leukippos 590₅

- Xanthos (or Xanthios), slain by Melanthios 1105

Xanthos, the logographer 519

Xenoi Tekmoreioi 1125

Xouthos 109₇

Yahweh 884 See Jehovah

Yama, the two hell-hounds of 410₀ ff.

Yggdrasil 404₀ 498₃

Yima 1184

Ymir

- Myth:* bears female-child and male-child from his arm-pit, and six-headed son from his feet 98₀(7)

Zagreus

- Rite:* annual death and resurrection 953
Function: the Cretan Zeus 953
Etymology: 953₃ 1103

Zagron See Zagros, Mt

Zagros, Mt 953₃ 1103

Zan

- In relation to* Pan 1131

Zanes, plural of Zan 1130

Zankle

- Cult:* Zeus 'Ιθωμάρας (?) 1153 f.
 — coin of 1153 f.

Zedekiah 1090

Zefs 1171 See Zeus

Zenes, plural of Zen 1130

Zephyros 130

Zervan 914₀

Zethos

- Etymology:* 1135 (?)
 — and Amphion (bibliography) 1135

Zeus

- Cults:* Achaeans 650₀ 1164 Agrigentum 525 1171 f. Aigeira 1107 f. Aigina 650₀ 1164 f. Ak Kilisse 1140 (?) Akmoneia 794 Akraiphia 1162 Alexandria 1191 Aliphara 99₀ 127₀ Amastris 148 Amathous in Kypros 653₀ 1187 Anthedon 1187 Antimacheia 562 Antiocheia on the Orontes 22 Mt Apesas 1165 Aphrodisias in Karia 1191 Argos 142₅ 455 563 631 Arkadia 525 Mt Atabyrion in Rhodes 1172 Athens 212₂ 243 317 569₅ 570 ff. 575₉ 604₂ 721₄ 749 939₄ 1047 1185 f. 1189 Attike 318 f. 563 1196 Bithynia 1160 Boiotia 61₁ Bosporos 142 ff. Bostra 912 912₄ Bulgaria 1126 Byblos 1163 Chalke 544₃ Chersonesos Thraikike 1183 Corinth 526 Corycian Cave 651₀ Crete 953 Delos 152 ff. 1162 Didyma near Miletos 563 Dion in Makedonia 1068 Dios Chorion 22 Dorylaeion 1191 Dura-Europos 890 f. 1095 1163 Elaioussa Sebaste 643₀ 645₀ Eleusis 598 (?) 605₀ (?) Ephesos 422₀ 1174 Euboea 912₂ 1042 (?) Galatia 1140 Gaza 556 ff. Gortyna 413₀ Gümbet in Phrygia 1160 Gythion 884₀ 939 ff. Halikarnassos 569 Halos 1167 Haurân 1163 Heliopolis in Syria 888 Hierapytna 413₀ Mt Hymettos 526 Mt Hynnaron 1177 Iasos 1162 Inönü in Phrygia 1160 Kaisareia in Kappadokia 1177 Kanatha 555 Kapisa 545 Kara Adili 1071 Karousa 951 Karystos 126₄ 127 Mt Kasion in Egypt 1177 Mt Kasion in Syria 1177 Kassandreia 882₂ Kavak 628 ff. Mt Kenaion 1166 Keos 266 f. Kephallenia 1171 Mt Kithairon 1042 Klazomenai 1117 Mt Kokkygion 63 65 Mt Koreossos 323 Korkyra 271₃ 1184 Kos 564 ff. Kranioi (?) 1171 Mt Kynthos 1172 Kypros 652₀ 762₃ Kyrene 1188 Kyrrhos 794 Kyzikos 1071 Mt Laphystion in Boiotia 525 Larissa in Thessaly 279 Lebadeia 61₁ 562 f. 1182 Lindos 1124 Lokroi Epizephyrioi 1097 Mt Lykaion 267 Lyttos 525 Magnesia ad Maeandrum 239₁ 599₍₃₎ 604₇ Megara 569₅ 1165 Messene 525 1130 Metapontum 1097 Miletos 7₂ 912 1111 1192 Mylasa 1140 1162 1181 Mytilene 6 1184 Nabataiioi 1097 Nakoleia 1160 f. Naukratis 1187 Nemea 1083 ff. Nikaia in Bithynia 1184 Nikopolis in Moesia 1157 Nisyros 1187 Oasis of Siwah 882₂ Olba 642₁ Olbia 653₁ 654₀ 655₀ 656₀ Olympia 954 ff. 1147 Mt Olympos in Makedonia 236 737₂ Orchomenos in Boiotia 949₀ Mt Oros 1164 Oxyrhynchos 1076 Palmyra 1112 Panamara 1066 Mt Parnes 526 Paros 1173 Pedasa 569 Peiraenos 659₀

Zeus (cont.)

1196 Mt Pelion 31 f. 317 1161 Pellana in Achaia 1187 Pelousion 817₀ Pergamon 872 1125 1182 1191 Phaistos 1043₀ Pharsalos 281 f. Pherai 271 ff. 277 ff. Philadelphiea in Lydia 652₀ Phokis 61₁ Phrygia 1112 1125 f. 1162 Pisidia 1162 Pompeii 1189 Priansos 413₀ Pythion 1114 f. 1157 Rhodes 525 Rhytion 1148 Salamis 650₀(?) Salamis in Kypros 646₀ ff. Salhad 1098 Samos 1027 ff. 1187 Sedasa 1071 Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos 161 Seleukeia Pieria 884₀ Selinous 1188 f. Sestos 656₂(?) Silsilis 349 Mt Skyllion 413₀ Smyrna 22 Sounion 1184 Sparta 160 1162 Stratonikeia 544₃ 568 1066 1162 Stratos in Akarnania 1166 f. Sympheropolis 1173 Synnada 212₂ 1070 Syracuse 148 Syria 890 f. Tanagra 567₀ Tarentum 1097 Temenothyrai 1104 Termessos (Termessus Maior) 1176 Thasos 1115 1125 1181 Thebai Phthiotides 1187 Thebes in Boiotia 762₃ Thebes in Egypt 837 1131 Thera 161(?) Thermos in Aitolia 1184 Thespiiai 1066 1070 1148 1162 1165 1187 Thessaly 525 Thracio-Phrygians 874 Thrakia Kome 880 f. Mt Tmolos 562 Mt Tomaros or Tmaros near Dodona 1168 Mt Tomori near Berat(?) 1168 ff. Tralleis 22 Zankle 1153 f.

Epithets: ἀγαθέ 961₁ Ἀγαμέμνων 269₇ 1181 Ἀγίος 945 ἀγάλας 1126 Ἀγρός 1071 Ἀγοραῖος Θάσιος 1181 ἀθάνατος 508₃ ἀθανάτων βασιλεὺς 35₈ αἰγίολχος 314 844₉ 866 866₆ 866₇ 867 1156 αἰθέρι ναῖων 743₉ αἰθέριος 1066 Αἰθριος 1066 Αἰθρήσιος 1171 αἰολοβρόντας 107₃ αἰολόμορφος 107₃ Αἰολος 107₃(?) 141(?) Ἀκραῖος 1043₂ Ἀκταῖος 68 260 317 1043₂ 1161 ἀλάστωρ 952 Ἀλδήμιος or Ἄλδος 556 Ἀλεξίκακος 879₃ Ἀμάριος 1114 Ἀμάριος(?) = Ὀμάριος 1114 Ἀμμων 882₂ 884₄ 912₄ 1076 1078 Ἀμφιάρας 269₇ 1181 ἀμφιθαλής 1181 f. ἀναξ 560₆ 1066 1085 1113 ἀναξ μακάρων 1183 Ἀπεσάντιος 1165 Ἀπήμιος 526 Ἀποτρόπαιος 1187 ἀργικέρανος 34₂ Ἀρισταῖος 267 ff. ἀριστοτέχνης 567₀ 964₂ ἄρρην 726₈ Ἀσβαμαῖος 1140 Ἀσεῖς 1106 f. Ἀσκληπιός 269₇ 973₀ 1182 Ἀσκραῖος 569 Ἀστέριος 953 954 Ἀστροπῖος 70 ἀστράπιος 21₆ Ἀταβύριος in Rhodes 525 1172 Ἀταβύριος in Sicily 525 Ἀταβύριος in Sympheropolis 655₀ 1173 αὐξητής 21₆ Ἀφείσιος 1165 Ἀφριος 271 ff. βαρύκτυπος 811₁ Βασιλεὺς 52₄ 61₁ 654₀ Βεννεὺς 1162 Βέννιος 1162 Βένυλος 890 f. 944 Βῆλος 1112 Βορεαῖος(?) 161 Βόρειος 161 944 Βουλαῖος 1125 Βουλεὺς 1124 Βουσ-

Zeus (cont.)

σουρίγιος 1140 Βρύβιος(?) 531 βρονταῖος 21₆ βροντῶν 1160 f. βροντῶν καὶ Πατὴρ Θεός(?) 1161 βροντῶν Νεικήτωρ Πατὴρ(?) 1161 γαῖδοχος 10₄ Δαμάτριος 1124 Δικαῖσινος 951 Δικαῖσινος Μέγας 951 Δίκας δαμιοεργεὶ καὶ εὐνομίας(?) 964₂ Διομεύς 595₀ Διόνυσος 1126 Διός 1125 Δολιχαῖος 1097 f. (bibliography) Δουσάρης 944 Δουσάρης Σωτήρ(?) 912 Δωδωναῖος 56₆ 667₀ 964₂ 10₁₆ 1113 Εἰλαπιναστής 652₀ 762₃ Εἰλήτι(?) 762₃ εἰρηνικός καὶ πανταχοῦ πρῶτος, οἷος ἀσπασίστου καὶ ὁμονοοῦσής τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπίσκοπος 963₂ ἐκ Πείσης 967₁ Ἐλαῖος(?) 762₃ Ἐλευθέριος 212₂ 581₀ 654₀ 1097 1130 1176 1184 1186 Ἐλεὺς 762₃ Ἑλλάνιος 1164 f. Ἐλύμιος 1042(?) Ἐνδενδρος 1173 ἐν Ὀλυμπῷ 967₁ ἐν Παλλαδίῳ 609₅ ἐξ Αὐλῆς 1160 Ἐπαφος 99₀(?) Ἐπήκοος 652₀ 1160 Ἐπήκοος Θεός 1160 Ἐπιδώτας 1130 Ἐπικάρπιος 912 912₂ 964 ἐπὶ Παλλαδίου 609₆ Ἐπιτέλειος Φίλιος 309₄₍₂₎ ἐρίγδουπος 61₁ Ἐρκείος 243 455 749 Ἐρρος 261 944 Ἐρραῖος 265(?) 944 Ἐρμιός 261₃ Ἐταιρεῖος 963 Εὐάνεμος 160 f. 944 εὐάντητος 147₁ 147₂ Εὐβουλεύς 312 1124 Εὐελίδης 762₃ εὐήμερος 160₂ εὐώδιν 990 Ἐφέστιος 1189 Ἐφόριος 1183 Φελχάνος 1043₀ 1173 f. Ζηβελθιοῦδος 1159 Ζηβελοῦδος 1159 Ἥλιος (See Identification) Ἡραῖος 1047 Θάσιος (See Ἀγοραῖος) Θαῖλιος 277 ff. 603 Θεμίστιος 949₁ 964₂ Θεός 1095 θεόταυρε (v.l. ᾧ ταύρε) 1086 Θηβαῖος 837 θῆλυς 726₆ Ἰδαῖος in Crete 953 Ἰθωμάτας 525 1153 f. Ἰκέσιος 951 f. 963 Ἰκέτας 952 Ἰκμαῖος 157(?) 266 f. 320₂ 944 Ἰκμενος 157 944 Ἰκμος 268 καθάρσιος 21₆ Καλακάγυθιος 1162 Καππώτας 884₀ 939 ff. 944 Καραῖος 32₅ 1148 1162 1165 Κάριος 569₅ Κάσιος in Egypt 817₀ 1177 Κάσιος in Korkyra 271₃ Κάσιος in Syria 334₁ 884₀ 1140 1177 Κάσι(ο)ς Σώζ[ων] 1177 Καταιβάτης 942₇ 1114 f. 1115 κελαινεφής 33 f. Κεραῖος 1162 1165 Κεράστης(?) 652₀ Κεραύνιος 70 884₀ 1157 κεραύνιος 21₆ Κεραυνός 743₉ 942₇ 1114 Κήραιος (Κηραίος) 1166 κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πατέρα καὶ σωτήρα καὶ φύλακα 963₂ Κόνιος (not Κρόνιος, nor Κώνιος, nor Σκοτίτης, nor Χρόνιος) 569₅ 1165 Κρηταγενής 551 553₁ 555 556 1092 Κρονίδης 34 633₀ 743₀ 866₆ 1183 Κρονίων 33 f. 107₁ 265₁ 1085 Κτήσιος 964 1180 1181 Κτήσιος Πατρῶος 1181 κύδιστος 34₂ Κύνθος 1172 Κύριος 1095 1098 (See also Μάρπας) Λαφύστιος in Boiotia and Thessaly 321₀ Λαφύστιος in Thessaly 525 1080 1167 Λεχεάτης 99₀ 127₀ Λαιτῖος 1184 Λύκαιος

Zeus (cont.)

267 525 580₀ 1068 Μαζεύς 1112
 Μαίμακτης 321₀ Μάναφος 1163
 Μάρνας ὁ Κύριος 555 μέγα θαῦμα,
 μέγ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὄνειρα 947 Μέγας
 531₁ 1098 (See also Δικαίδουρος) μέγας
 928 949₂ μεγασθενής 567₀ 964₂ Μέγ-
 ιστος 1160 1163 1172 (See also
 Νεφώτης) μέγιστος 34₂ μέγιστος θεός
 1112 Μελίχιος 951 1184 1187 ff.
 Μελίχιος (= Μελίχιος) 1188 Μελ-
 λίκιος (= Μελίχιος) 1187 Μεσέρκειος
 243₅ Μήλιος 1172 Μηλώσιος 32₃
 μητιέτα 567₀ 743 745 μητιέτης 727₃
 μητιέτις 743 928 Μηχανεύς 142₈ 321₀
 566₂ 567₀ Μιλίχιος (= Μελίχιος)
 1187 1188 Μοιραγέτης 721₄ Μόριος
 762 Νάιος 320₄ 1078 Νέμειος 1191
 νεφεληγερέτα 30 ff. 296 314 321₀
 Νεφώτης ὁ Μέγιστος 349 Νόσιος 7₂
 1111 Ξένιος 32₅ 653₀ 964 1184 1189
 ὀδηγητήρ 147₁ Ὀάβιος 628 ff. 1194
 1196 Ὀλύμπος 188 236 320₄ 604₂ 648₀
 649₀ 737₂ 954 967₁ 1068 1107 1155
 1165 1196 Ὀμάριος 1114 Ὀμβριος 320₄
 324₅ (?) 525 ff. 562 873₄ ff. 874 944 Ὀμό-
 γνιος 963 Ὀριος 1183 Ὀρκιος 946 1147
 Ὀρσίλοχος 99₀ (?) ὀρσινεφής 35₆
 Ὀσογῶα 1140 οὐρανῶ... κρέοντι 35₈
 Οἰριος 142 ff. 944 οὔριος 567₀ παγ-
 κρατής 10₄ Πάλαξος (?) 1140 Πανά-
 μαρος 544₂ 1066 Πάνδημος 212₂ Πάνδρο-
 σος 260 (?) Παελλήνιος (?) Hadrian)
 422₀ Πανομφαῖος 320₄ 1076 Πανόπτης
 1086 πάνταρχος θεῶν 53₄ Παντεπότης
 1086 παντόπτας 53₄ παντοτινάκης 21₆
 Πάσιος 1181 πάτερ (voc.) 471 567₀ 737₈
 947 949₆ 964₂ Πατήρ 940₀ 1060₇ (See
 also Βροντῶν) Πατρώος 585₄ 964₂ 1125
 1174 Πατρώος (= Augustus) 1191
 (See also Κτήσιος) Πειώλης 1111
 Πελασγικός 560₆ 1113 περίγειος 1066
 Πολειαῖος (?) 575₈ Πολιαῖος (?) 575₈
 Πολιάρχης 654₀ Πολιεύς 317 565
 570 ff. 720 755 757 963 1194 πολυ-
 νεφέλας 35₈ Πόλωξος (?) 1140 Πορφυ-
 ρίων (?) 55₅ Προμηθεύς (?) 1075
 Σαβάζιος 874₁₂ Σαλαμίνιος (?) 648₀
 649₀ Σάραπισ 973₀ σεισίχθων 21
 Σημαλέος 267₆ Σκύλιος 413₀ 1148
 Σκύλλιος 413₀ 414₀ 416₀ 1148 Σολυμεύς
 1176 Σπάλαξος 1140 Σπλαγχνοτόμος
 652₀ Στρατηγός 148 Συκάσιος 1184
 σχυνοκέφαλος 32₅ Σωσιπόλις 239₁
 599₍₃₎ 604₇ Σωτήρ 563 575₀ 654₀
 659₀ 1163 1177 1181 1184 1196 (See
 also Δουσάρης) σωτήρ 35₇ Ταργηνός
 651₀ 652₀ Τέλειος 609 948₁₆ 949₀ 1060₇
 Τελεσιουργός 1192 Τεράστιος 939
 Τέρμιος 1168 τὸν βίον καὶ ζωῆς καὶ
 συμπάντων δοτήρα τῶν ἀγαθῶν 963₂
 τοῦ κατ' ἄστρο Ζηνός 1112 Τρεφώνιος
 οὐ Τροφώνιος 265₇ 1182 Τροπαιοφόρος
 1117 Τροφώνιος 1182 (See also
 Τρεφώνιος) τύραννος 1102 Ὑτίος 319₁

Zeus (cont.)

320₄ 531 561 ff. 561₅ 873 944 ὕτιος
 473₂ Ὑτης (Ὑῆς?) 873 f. 944 Ὑνναρεὺς
 1177 Ὑπαςος 531 945 964₂ ὑψίζυγος
 743₀ ὑψιμέδων 1115 ὑψινεφής 35₇
 Ὑψιστος 939₄ 945 1162 ff. Φαλακρός
 (Φάλακρος) 321₀ Φάντιος 1126 Φεβδιακός
 966 Φίλιος 951 963 1189 1191 (See also
 Ἐπιτέλειος) φίλος 317₄ 319₂ Φύξιος
 963 φυτάλιος 21₆ Φύτιος 1071 Χαλάξ-
 ιος 944 Χαλάξιος Σώζων 880 f.
 *Χειρογόνος 99₀ (?) χρυσόμορφος 456₀
 Ὀρομάσδης 951
Festivals: Buphonia (See *Rites*: βου-
 φόνια) Dia 320₄ Diisoteria 575₉ Διός
 βοῦς (See *Rites*) Dipolia 317 574 ff.
Rites: βοσηγία 563 βουφόνια 570 576 ff.
 873 Διός βοῦς 564 Διός κώδιον 602₇
 1081 ὁ διὰ κόλπον θεός 775₆ human
 sacrifice to Jupiter *Hospes* (Zeus
Xénios) at Amathous in Kypros 653₀
 human sacrifice to Zeus at Lyttos
 525 human sacrifice to Zeus in
 Kypros 652₀ human sacrifice to Zeus
Atabýrios in Rhodes and Sicily 525
 human sacrifice to Zeus *Ithomátas*
 in Messene 525 human sacrifice to
 Zeus *Kretagenés* (Marnas) at Gaza
 554 f. human sacrifice to Zeus
Laphýstios in Thessaly and Boiotia
 525 human sacrifice to Zeus *Lýjkaïos*
 in Arkadia 267 525 1068 human
 sacrifice to Zeus *Ōmbrios* at Elis
 267 525 f. libation of honey to Zeus
Endendros in Paros 1173 monthly
 banquet in sanctuary of Zeus
Hýpsistos 1163 procession of goat
 leading priest 569 procession of rain-
 makers clad in sheep-skins 31 f. 68 f.
 rain-magic 314 ff. sacrifice of bull
 to Zeus *Ōlbios* 630 sacrifice of bull,
 ram, he-goat, boar etc. to Zeus
Hýétios, according to wealth of
 donor 318 563 sacrifice of ox
 representing Zeus *Polieús* 606
 sacrifice of ox to Zeus *Sotér* 22
 sacrifice of pig to Zeus *Heraïos* 1047
 sacrifice of sixty rams to (Zeus)
Machaneús 566₂ sacrifice of sheep to
 Zeus *Hórios* 1183 sacrifice of she-
 goat to Zeus in Crete 1110 sacrifice
 of self-chosen goat 569 sacrifice of
 self-chosen ox 581 ff. sacrifice of
 white bull by Bektashi monks on
 Mt Tomori near Berat 1171
 ὑδροφόροι pour water over axe and
 knife at Dipolia 317 583 604
Priests: P. Aelius Aristides 872 ἀρ-
 χιερεὺς καὶ συμποσιάρχης τῶν ἱερῶν
 1112 ἀρχιερεὺς μέγας 642₁ 645₀ βοῦτης
 589 f. (?) βουτύπος 585 ff. at Corycian
 Cave 651₀ βουφόνιος 583 586 ζακῆρος
 155₁ 155₂ ἱερεὺς 155₁ 155₂ ἱερεὺς διὰ
 βίον 1176 κλειδοῦχος 155₁ of Zeus ἐν
 Παλλάδιῳ drawn from Bouzygai 609

Zeus (cont.)

of Zeus *Teleios* drawn from Bou-
zygai 609 τομῶροι (τόμυροι) 1168
ὑποφῆται 1168 Φαιδρυνταί 967

Priestesses: ὑδροφόροι 583 603

Worshippers: Ἐρμαισταί, Ἀπολλωνιασ-
ταί, Ποσειδωνιασταί 155 ιερόδουλοι
648_o

Personated by Aeolian kings 141
Alexander the Great 540_o alytarch
of Olympian games at Antiocheia
on the Orontes 562₃ Antiochos i of
Kommagene 951 (?) Antoninus Pius
1130 Augustus 1125 1191 Caligula
969₁ Caracalla 37₆ Commodus 37₆
dead man 309₄ (2) Demetrios Polior-
ketes 1115 Domitian 37₆ early Greek
kings 733 Epopeus (?) 1112 Geta 37₆
hierophant 301_o (3) Ixion 141 Keyx
141 Nero 1117 Perikles 32₅ 66₁
Pisthetairos 21 59 f. priestly king
at Stratonikeia 568 (?) Roman
emperors 537_o 537₁ Salmoneus 141
Trajan (?) 1191

Myths: adoption of Dionysos by
simulated birth from himself 89₁
adoption of Herakles by simulated
birth from Hera 89₁ Aiols 106 f.
Aix 839₆ 840_o Amphion 54₂ as infant
entrusted by Rhea to Themis, by
Themis to Amaltheia, by Amaltheia
to her goat 839₆ as infant guarded
by sword-dance of Kouretes and
Korybantes 1070 Asterie 984 f. at
first tries in vain to learn Pro-
metheus' secret 740 f. at last
succeeds in learning Prometheus'
secret 741 bestows his intended bride
Thetis upon Peleus 741 f. birth of
Dionysos 79 ff. blinds Lykourgos,
s. of Dryas 228₈ born on Mt Tmolos
562 carries off Hera from Euboia to
Boiotia 1042 cleaves cloud in Crete
and so produces Athena 727 comes
to 'anchorage' at Hermione 1043

consorts with a succession of
seven wives listed by Hesiod as
— Metis, Themis, Eurynome,
Demeter, Mnemosyne, Leto, Hera
744₁ Aigina d. of Asopos 1121 f.
Alkmene 506 ff. 518 Antiope 467
469 615₃ Danaë 455 ff. 518 944
Demeter 301_o (3) 744₁ (4) Deo or
Demeter 615₃ Europe 469 615₃
Eurynome 744₁ (3) Ge *Thémis* 949
Hera 35 58 65 111 111₁ 180 744₁ (7)
1025 ff. Himalia 477 518 Io 615₃
Leda 462₁ 467 469 Leto 744₁ (6) 1042
Metis 744₁ (1) Mnemosyne 744₁ (5)
Myrike 1111 Othreis 246 Pasiphae
615₃ Selene 179 f. 1111 Themis
744₁ (2) 1064 f.

contends with Poseidon for
Aigina 751₁ courts Hera for three
hundred years 1025 creates the

Zeus (cont.)

world anew inside himself 745 de-
poses Kronos 966 Dionysos sown up
in thigh of Zeus 79 Διὸς ἀπάτη 35
180 924 1065 Διὸς θάκοι καὶ πεσσοί
(ψῆφοι) 600₍₄₎ 757₁ division of the
world between the sons of Kronos 34
drinks of Nile and begets Ares 344₃
Endymion 74 expelled in infancy
by Kronos 1187 extinguishes pyre
by timely rain 506 ff. fights with
Typhon 191_o flays the goat Amal-
theia and wears its skin 839 flings
Hephaistos down to Lemnos 235
Ganymedes 469 955₇ 981 f. gets *aigis*
from Hephaistos 866 f. Gigantes
792₂ 966 gives cup to Alkmene 507₅
hangs up Hera with *ákmones*
fastened to her feet 924 head cleft
by Hephaistos 660 f. head cleft by
Hermes 661 head cleft by Palamaon
661 head cleft by Prometheus 661
hidden from Kronos in Crete 953
Iasion 75 f. To 631 ff. 1082 Ixion 74 f.
leaps upon Phanes and swallows
him 745 lends *aigis* to Apollon 314₃
lends thunderbolt to Athena 868
Leucadian rock 941₁ Metis 567_o
nursed by Hyades (?) 1082
Meteres in Crete 225₁ Pleiades (?)
1082

nurtured by bears 953 doves 975
prince slain by wild boar and
buried in Crete 1070 rains am-
brosia at birth of Dionysos 477 500
rains blood before battle between
Achaeans and Trojans 478 rains
blood before death of Sarpedon the
Lycian 323 478 rains blood before
single fight between Herakles and
Kyknos 478 f. rains golden snow at
birth of Athena 477 670 719 rains
golden snow at wooing of Alkmene
477 507 rains stones to help Herakles
fighting Ligurians 483 492 rains
wine etc. in Utopia 500 Salmoneus
141 966 Semele 82₃ swallows Metis
727₃ 728 743 f. 942 swallows Phanes
745 942 taught by Cretan Olympos
321_o threatens to flog Hera 924
Titanes 478₈ 839 966 Typhoeus 615₃
Typhon 1135 visits Hera clande-
stinely 1025 f. woos Thetis 741 f.

Metamorphosed into Amphitryon 507 f.

bull 469 615 ff. 628 cash 466 f. coins,
chains, rings, trinkets 467 cuckoo
63₆ 1043 dew 180 261 eagle 981
1122 (?) Eros 974 1129 golden rain
455 golden snow 477 518 rain 477
Satyr 467 469 1111 swan 63₆ 467 469

Genealogy: s. of Kronos 34 ancestor
of Danaïdes 142 reputed f. of
Aëthlios the s. of Aiols 107 f. of
Apollon and Artemis by Leto 744₁ (6)
f. of Ares after drinking of Nile 344₃

Zeus (cont.)

f. of Athena by Metis 744₍₁₎ adopts Athena, d. of Poseidon by lake Tritonis 128₁ f. of Basileia (?) 60₅₍₂₎ f. of Britomartis by Hekate (?) 544₁ f. of Charites 955 f. of the Charites (Aglāia, Euphrosyne, Thalia) by Eurynome 744₍₃₎ f. of Dike by Themis 823 f. of the first three Dioskouroi (Tritopatreus, Eubouleus, Dionysos) by Persephone 120 f. of Erichthonios by Ge 236 f. of Hebe, Ares, Eileithyia by Hera 744₍₇₎ f. of Hebe 724 f. f. of Herakles by Alkmene w. of Amphitryon 506 f. of Herakles by Hera 92₀(?) f. of Herse 261 f. of Herse by Selene 179 f. f. of the Horai (Eunomia, Dike, Eirene) and the Moirai (Klotho, Lachesis, Atropos) by Themis 744₍₂₎ f. of Iasion by Elektra 77₄ f. of Megaros (Megareus) 1165 f. of Melichos by Myrike 1111 f. of Meliteus by nymph Othreis 246 f. of Minos and Rhadamanthys by Europe 627 f. of Minos, Sarpedon, and Rhadamanthys by Europe 628₀ f. of the Muses by Mnemosyne 744₍₅₎ f. of Persephone by Demeter 744₍₄₎ f. of Perseus by Danaë 455 f. of Sarpedon the Lycian 478 f. of Spartaioi, Kronios, Kytos by Himalia 478₀ f. of Tantalos 417₀

Functions: agriculture 526 f. air 180 322₂ *aithēr* 1046₅ ancient king 120 chthonian 309₄₍₂₎ 1160(?) clouds 30 ff. 943 1171 common Father and Saviour and Keeper of mankind 963 974 contriver 567₀ cosmic lord 948 creator of the universe 964 974 1179 dew 165 ff. 236 261 ff. 261₁ 265 944 earthquakes 1 ff. 20 ff. 943 1163 etesian winds 142 266 favouring wind 141 ff. fertility 656 fire 234 fire in heaven 234 foam 272 ff. giver of himself to men 961 giver of livelihood and life and all good things 963 guardian of *thēmistes* 949 hail 868 875 ff. head of Hellenic pantheon 943 honey-dew 500 law of nature 950 magician 31 567₀ 743 marriage-god 609 948₁₆ 1060₇ meteorites 881 ff. 944 mills 1125 mind of man 950 moon 943 north wind 161 not *ab initio* the husband of Hera 744₁ 1025 1065 oaths (See witness of oaths) orders the constellations 1112 pantheistic 745 947 1129 patron of arts 567₀ patron of law and order 949 peace and harmony 963 protector of the bloodguilty 951 protector of boundaries 1183 protector of suppliants and strangers 951 f. providence 946 1197 rain 31 284 ff. 314 ff. 319 ff.

Zeus (cont.)

451 ff. 525 601 f. 868 873 f. 944 sky 942 943 sky-god 943 1092 stars 943 953 storm 65 storm-winds 868 sun 943 945 953 1071 the supreme spirit 728(?) transition from sky to sky-god 943 tyrant 1102 universe or universal soul 727 weather 519 943 welfare 630 west wind 162 whirlwinds 162 f. wind 103 ff. 157 944 (See also etesian winds, favouring wind, north wind, storm-winds, west wind, whirlwinds) witness of oaths 245₁₀ 946 1140 1148

Etymology: 320(?) 322₀(?) 746(?) 947 f. (?)

Attributes: *aigis* 314 533 ff. Athena 548 *chiton* 628 *chlamys* 517₀ cock 1043₀ corn-ears 1126 double axe 604 f. eagle 571 573 elephant 545 ff. globe 1112 golden bay(?) wreath 464 grapes 1125 f. long sceptre 36 464 543 548 Nike 321₀ *nimbus* 36 oak-tree 522₁₀(?) 568 569 881(?) oak-wreath 36 537 f. 871₁ 1033(?) 1191 olive-wreath 685₂(?) owl 794 palm 545 f. panther 569₅ *phiale* 676₀ plough 1125 pomegranate 817₀ radiate *nimbus* 1112 reddish violet *himation* 464 sceptre tipped with eagle 1040 1048₄ 1057 1060 sceptre tipped with forepart of winged horse 665₃ sceptre tipped with Janiform head 686 sceptre tipped with ram's head 665, short sceptre 649₀ snake 1159 spear 21₄ 1147 sword 1142 throne with back ending in swan's head 667₇ throne with seat resting on small carved figure or group 667₂ thunderbolt 36 926 945 f. *thýrsos* 685₂ two snakes 1184 two thunderbolts 946 veil 88₀ 1033 wedding-ring 1033 winged thunderbolt 465

Types: *argos lithos* 939₁ 941 as a bull bearing off Europe 615 ff. as a bull emerging from sea 980 as conceived by Alexander the Great 933₆ beardless 638₀(?) 1155 birth of Dionysos on *bullae* 88₀ birth of Dionysos on coin 88₀ birth of Dionysos on mirrors 86₅ birth of Dionysos in reliefs 83₄(1 f.) birth of Dionysos on vases 80₂₍₃₋₆₎ Borghese head 1154 f. bovine 656 bronze statue from Artemision(?) 1151 ff. bust holding grapes and corn-ears 1125 f. bust shouldering thunderbolt or sceptre 542 bust with eagle on right shoulder 1160 bust with large garland round head 1160 carrying infant Dionysos 1107 colour of hair 1066 Dionysiac (See *Assimilated to Dionysos*) driving chariot 1076 enthroned *en face* 676₍₃₎ enthroned with globe as footstool 948 Eukleides of Athens 1107 f.

Zeus (cont.)

fair-haired 36 Falerio 535 537 fighting Centaur 1142 fighting Giant 844₁₀ 845₀ fighting Porphyryion 534 1148 fighting Typhon (?) 191₀ 1142 head in Hermitage 964₄ head from Mylasa 964 head at Vienna 964₄ Hellenistic cameos 537 f. holding lots (?) 1181 horned head with long rough hair 655₀ 656₀ Hybristas 1150 in archaic relief from Thasos 1155 f. in archaic reliefs of the Twelve Gods 1055 ff. in chariot drawn by two eagles 324 830 1136 in labour 82₃ in labour, helped by Eileithyia 662 ff. infant 556₀ infant seated on globe surrounded by stars 948 Jacobsen head 964₄ Kyrene 534 f. Leochares 570 573 like Alexander the Great 540₀ marble statuette at Lyons 1155 obscene (?) 1027₅ on horseback 568 Otricoli 538₀ 964₄ pantheistic 1129 Pheidias 954 ff. 1155 1196 Pheidias' masterpiece, as described by Dion Chrysostomos 961 ff. Pompeii 538₀ pot 1114 pre-Pheidias cult-image at Olympia (?) 958₄ 959₀ pre-Pheidias figure of Zeus *Lýkaeos* 1155 f. progressive senescence 739₃ pursuit of Aigina d. of Asopos 1121 f. reclining amid clouds 36 recumbent with globe and sceptre on eagle's back 1112 riding in bridal procession with Hera 389₁ seated beside Hera as bridegroom and bride 1027 f. seated between Ganymedes and eagle 469 seated between two bulls with thunderbolt 1097 seated on cloud 37 f. 39 seated on rocky throne 1033 seated on throne with Sphinx as arm-rest 1034 1035 1036₁ seated towards left (unusual) 667 670₃ 686 seated towards right (usual) 663 ff. seated with Athena seated beside him 1049₁ seated with Athena in his right hand and long sceptre and palm in his left 548 seated with Athena standing on his knees 663 681 ff. seated with Dionysos standing on his knees 685₂ seated with eagle in hand 694₁ seated with gesture of prophylaxis and long sceptre 548 f. seated with Hekate in his right hand and spear or long sceptre in his left 544 seated with Hera seated behind him 1048 seated with Hera seated beside him 1048 f. seated with Hera seated *en échelon* 1053 seated with Hera seated facing him 1049 ff. seated with Hestia seated facing him 1050₀ 1065 seated with *phiale* in right hand, sceptre in left, and owl before or beside him 794 seated with sceptre in easy attitude 1053 seated with sceptre in right hand and eagle on left 695₄

Zeus (cont.)

seated with thunderbolt in lowered right hand and sceptre in raised left 657 ff. seated yet hurling thunderbolt 1136 semi-bovine 656 standing beside cone of Aphrodite *Paphia* 650₀ standing in attitude of oriental slackness 542 standing in front of standing Athena 1057 standing to front with brandished thunderbolt and sceptre 542 standing to right, nude, with lowered bolt 571 f. standing to right, nude, with lowered bolt and *phiale* (?) held over altar 572 f. standing with gesture of prophylaxis and long sceptre 543 standing with Hekate in his right hand and spear or long sceptre in his left 544 standing with *kálathos* on head and Mt Argaios in left hand 1177 standing with *phiale* in right hand, short sceptre in left, and eagle on wrist 649₀ standing with thunderbolt and sceptre 540 ff. striding to left with thunderbolt and *aigis* 532 f. striding to right, nude, with brandished bolt 570 f. striding to right with bolt and bird 1150 1157 Stroganoff bust 1174 surrounded by zodiac 948 1112 tauro-morphic 630 wears *aigis* in Homer and once on an Ionian vase, but not again till Hellenic gives place to Hellenistic art 867 winged 1129 with bovine horns 630 with brow furrowed by thought 946 with dark hair but grey beard 669 733 with eagle on head 46 with head radiate 541₁ 542 546 548 with oak-wreath and *aigis* on Alexandrine and later cameos 537 f. 1191 1194 with rain falling from his hand 323 f. with ram's horns and *kálathos* on head 912₄ with ram's horns and solar disk on head 912₄ with the features of Augustus 1191 with white hair 733₅ 734₀ 1078 wreathed with oak 871₁ youthful 464 466 (?) 550 556 youthful figure holding pomegranate 817₀

Identified with Adad 945 Ámen-Râ 882₂ 945 Ammon 945 Aramaean god 'Qaçu 884₀ Aristauros 267 f. 270 Ba'al-ḥamṣān 945 Ba'al-šamin 945 Ba'al Zaphon 1177 the Devil 655₀ (?) Dike 951 Dionysos 1126 Dousares 912 Helios 1071 Indra 531 540 545 Jehovah 945 Marnas 551 553₁ 555 Mithras 945 Neilos 348 f. 524 1077 Nomos 951 Mt Olympos 321₀ rain 451 f. Ramman 945 Roman emperors (See *Personated by*) Sabazios 945 Sarapis 945 Tarku 651₀ Themis 951

Assimilated to Dionysos 685₂

Associated with Aphrodite 1086 Apollon

Zeus (cont.)

1160 f. 1174 Astarte Παλαιστίνη and Aphrodite Οὐρανία 152₆ 153 f. Athena 872 f. Athena Ζωσσειρία 567₀ Athena Μαχάρις 566₂ Demeter 1124 Demeter and Kore 1124 Demos 654₀ Ennodia 279 f. Gaia 526₃ (?) Ge and Helios 1184 Hekate 544₃ 544₄ 1066 Helios 1184 Hera 745 958 Hermes 1071 Hestia 1050₀ 1052₁ 1125 Kybele and Attis 1174 Livia 1078 (?) Milichie 1187 Moirai 721₄ Muses 1165 Poseidon and Hades 6 1157 (?) Sarapis 1148 Thetis 742 f.

Compared with Christ 954 Hades 1189 ροῖς 747₂ Uther 509₂ Ziu 165

Contrasted with Pheidias and Polykleitos 964

In relation to boar 1148 Charites 1057 Dike 949 ff. Diomos 595₀ Eros 1129 Hera 633₀ Horai 1057 Jehovah 1177 Moirai 1057 oaths 1148 Pandrosos 260 f. Poseidon 20 the problem of evil 974 Prometheus 1075 rain 319 ff. Skylla 1148 wren 52₄

Supersedes a proto-Hellenic mountain divinity 730₆ Poseidon 21

Superseded by Abbas Ali (?) 1168 ff. St Athanasios (?) 1187 St Constantine 1166 St Elias 1167 Gordios 1162 Hephaistos 188 St Michael 277₂ (?)

— *accouchement* of 662 ff. amours of 467 469 948 *baityloi* dedicated to 889 belt of 1167 (?) birth of, as dance-theme 935₃ blue-black eyebrows of 1066 *chronique scandaleuse* of 948 clouds of 35 cups inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ 1184 decline in worship of 966 earliest representation of 1192 (?) eye of 1071 finger of, inscribed Παντάρκης καλός 955₇ (?) fleece of 1081 garden of 746 1062 gold tresses stolen from head of Zeus *Olympios* 969 cp. 966 goodness of 961 guild of Zeus *Hypsistos* in Egypt 1163 f. horses of 1064₄ in Orphic theogony 1177 ff. in the plural (*Zâves*) 1130 in the plural (*Zêves*) 1130 jar of 108 jars of 1181 largest extant statue of 558 list of Zeus-cults in or near Athens 1196 love to-

Zeus (cont.)

wards 1189 love-gifts of 638₀ miracle of Zeus *Panāmaros* 1066 moral stability of 948 ff. name of, misspelt by Megarian (?) vase-painter 671₃ nuptial bed of 59 60₃ nurturing dew of 265₁ 603 on the *theologion* 518₃ rain the child of 322 rain the seed of 451 ff. rain the tears of 322 f. rain the urine of, passed through sieve 333 rain as 'Zeus-drops' (Δία ψακός) 451 rain as 'Zeus-water' (Ζήμιον ὕδωρ) 322₀ 451₆ rays of 1066 1077 road of 51₀ 946 cp. 974 scale of Pheidias' statue at Olympia criticised 965 scales of 1150 sceptre of 45 58 1184 sickle of 1135 sneeze of 662₁ (?) 732 (?) spear of 21₄ 59₃ statue of Zeus *Olympios* struck by lightning 968 statue of Zeus *Olympios* removed to Byzantion 969 f. statue of Zeus *Olympios* finally burnt in the Lauscion 970 surviving influence of the statue of Zeus *Olympios* 970 superannuation of 739 ff. tablets of 950₁ teachers of 321₀ (Olympos). 323₂ (Korybantes) tears of 322 323 323₂ temple of, at Salamis in Kypros, called Διὸς ἀσφάλεια 646₀ f. *thémistes* of 949₂ throne of, at Olympia 956₁ tomb of, at Anogeia 1070 tomb of, on Mt Juktas 1173 tomb of, near Mt Tmolos (?) 562₃ touch of, restores Io 633₀ trumpet of 729₄ ubiquity and helpfulness of 947 974 vicissitudes experienced by statue of Zeus *Olympios* 967 ff. waggon of 1162 (?) whip of 1160 will of 947 world-significance of 973 f.

Zeus, the planet 34₂

Zeusis, a Lydianised form of Zeus 1128

Zio See Ziu

Ziu

Personated by Commodus 1100

Function: whirlwind 163₃ 164 f. (?)

Compared with Zeus 165

Zizyma, dedication to ΙΥΩ ΔΙΟΝΥCΩ at 1126

Zoroastres 1115

Zywyte, the Old Slavonic cuckoo-god 64₀



Fig. 932.

Zeus Olympios

on a bronze coin of Athens
(Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Attica
 p. 104 no. 754 pl. 18, 4, E.
 Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes*
 Paris 1858 p. 396 fig., Imhoof-
 Blumer and P. Gardner *Num.*
Comm. Paus. iii. 137 f. pl. BB, 4,
 J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies*
d'Athènes Munich 1923—1926
 pl. 92, 1 Athens, 2 London)
 representing the chryselephan-
 tine copy of Pheidias' statue set
 up by Hadrian in the Olympieion
 (Paus. i. 18. 6).

INDEX II

SUBJECTS AUTHORITIES

The larger numerals refer to pages, the smaller numerals to foot-notes.

- Abaddir* as name of Kronos' stone 936
as name of Mauretanian god 937₀
etymology of 937₆
- Ábata* of Tritopatreis 114 of Zeus *Kataibátēs* 1115
- Abbott, G. F. 257₁ 289 292
- Abercromby, Hon. J. 446₁
- Accouchement* 663
- Adcock, F. E. 188₃ 1140
- Addison, J. 466₈
- Adler, Frau 569₅ 871₁
- Adoption, primitive, by pretended birth from father 89₁
- Ádya* of Athena at Pellene 238₃ of Bel at Palmyra 1159 of Marnas at Gaza 553 of Orpheus at Lesbos 100 of Zeus at Nemea 1083 ff.
- Aér* 68 161 726₆
- Aetites*, the eagle's stone 792₂
- Agnus castus* as antiaphrodisiac 1031 as aphrodisiac 1031 flogging of slave at Chaironeia with rods of 1031₅ flogging of Spartan youths with rods of 1031₅ statue of Artemis at Ephesos made of 968₁ (?) statue of Asklepios *Agnítas* at Sparta made of 1030₄ the willow of Hera at Samos 1028 f. young married couples in Greece wear wreath of 1032₁ (?)
- Agrenón* 1121
- Agriculture as an *evocatio* of earth-powers to help farmer 202₀ f. deities of 526 f. 561 f.
- Agyieús*-pillars 1120
- Aigis* of primitive pre-warlike Athena 189₁ (?) of Athena 837 ff. of Athena a skin-cape either scaly or feathered as being the *exuviae* of her former animal self, either Snake or Owl 837 ff. 842 844 866 of Athena as shield 843₃ of Athena decorated with sun (?), moon, and stars 805 of Athena derived from fringed goat-skins of Libyan women 838 f. (?) 841₃ (?) of Athena transferred to Zeus 866 f. of rustic a cloak of goat-skin 837₁₀ 841₁ shaken by Zeus causes storm 314 taken by priestess of Athena to home of newly married couple 225₂ 841₃ worn and used by Apollon 866
- Aithér* in relation to *aér* 68 943 equated with Athena 727 728 Hera suspended by Zeus in 924 wraith made of 78
- Atthyia* as form of Athena 782 f. as lightning-bird 792 f.
- Ákmon* 924 ff.
- Akrotéria*, disks in terra cotta as 1074 groups in terra cotta as 1186
- Alföldi, A. 973₀
- Alford, Miss V. 1080 1090 1130
- Alibantes* 369₃
- Allcroft, A. H. 1120
- Allegory 227₈ 235 f. 418₀ 452 726 ff. 747
- Allen, T. W. 141₃
- Allinson, F. G. 1047₇
- Altar and base in earliest Artemision at Ephesos 1138 approached by two snakes 1062₂₍₁₎ as object of cult 1091 f. at Delos called *εὐρεβῶν βομός* 593₂ octagonal, at Fiki or Fákýé 1095 of Aphrodite *Ἐρυκίρη* 'covered with dew and fresh grass' 174 of Apollon at Delos 1087 1172 of Apollon *Delphinios* at Dreros 1087 of Dis in *Tarento* 1115 of Elagabalos at Emesa 902₀ of Liber *Pater* in Thrace 1118 of Mater deum on Tiber-side 895 f. of Venus 518 of Zeus *Herkeios* at Athens 749 759 of Zeus *Litaíos* at Nikaia 1184 of Zeus *Meilichios* at Hieria Syke 1184 of Zeus *Polieús* at Athens 573 755 757 1194 taurobollic 66₂ with remains of last offering on it 1062₂₍₂₎
- Altars, combination of *trápeza* with *homós* 580₀ horned in Delos etc. 1091 of Dionysos 580₀ of Zeus *Lýkaíos* 580₀ of Zeus *Polieús* 580₀ in Erechtheion 213₃ 758 f. on bastion of Athena *Níke* 1196
- Altheim, F. 1112 f. 1147
- Alviella, Count Goblet d' 302₀₍₅₎
- Aly, W. 414₀ 1092
- Amann, J. 1179
- Amazonomachy 955 956 f.
- Amber, double axes of 1143
- Amber routes 1136 f.
- Ambrosia*, etymology of 497 identified with honey 496 f. brought by doves to Zeus 975 given by Ganymedes to eagle 981 f. rained by Zeus at birth of Dionysos 477 500
- Amelung, W. 537₁ 689₃ 1036₁ 1060
- Amethyst cameo 851₃ in hail-charm 876
- Amphisbaina* 765₄
- Amphithalés* 1181
- Amulets 538₀ 765 f. 1142

- Ancey, G. 732 1179
 Anchor, leaden, inscribed Zeus Κάσι(ο)s
 Σά[των] 1177
Ancilia 903₅
 Anderson, J. G. C. 1140
 Androgynous deities, Egyptian, Greek,
 Semitic, etc. 1146 Phanes 745 Zeus
 (Zeús ἀρσεν, Zeús θήλυς) 726₆
Ánemos, a synonym of the Devil 164
 Angelini, C. 351
 Animal names given to priests and priest-
 esses 1082 f.
 Animals dreaded and appeased after death
 600₍₆₎ formerly neither sacrificed nor
 eaten 590
 Animal-skin as cloak in peace and shield
 in war 841, cp. 983 retained by anthro-
 pomorphic deity as covering charged
 with animal-virtues 837 worn by
 worshippers 1104 wrapped round effigy
 of Athena 841 (?)
 Animism 227₀ 942 943
Ankh as man's girdle-tie 833₀ as sandal-
 straps 833₀ as sign of procreation
 833₀
Ankylomētes 928₇
 Antefixes with head of Io 635₀ with head
 of Zeus *Ammon* 1076 with horned head
 surmounted by wheel 1074 (?)
 Anthropogony of Hesiod 481 of Orphists
 481 (?)
 Anthropomorphic and theriomorphic
 representations of deity simply juxtaposed 831
 Anthropomorphic conception of Athena
 emerges gradually from ornithomorphic
 conception 794 deity retains old animal-
 skin as covering charged with animal-
 virtues 837
 Anthropomorphic superior to therio-
 morphic representations of deity 962
 Antithetic grouping of animal figures in
 Mesopotamian, Cretan, and later art
 1122
 Ants transformed into men (Myrmidones)
 608₂
 -aos, -aus, as suffix in Illyrian names 364₃
Aparchē of young potter 787
Aparchai due to Demeter *Chlōe* at Athens
 178₀ stored in underground granaries
 at Eleusis 301₀₍₄₎ See also First-fruits
Aphlaston 159₀ 1177
Aplestos pithos, the holed jar in Hades
 into which the souls of the uninitiated
 must empty their broken pitchers 399₆
 Apotheosis by caldron 1080 1104 by eagle
 1097 by lightning 1080 1114 by water
 137₀ 298 1076
Apotropaia 158₇ 158₈ 255₀ f. 538₀ 765 f.
 802 ff. 822 835 846 921 1119
 Apple as love-gift 269, as 'orb of dominion'
 1067
 Apples, bough of golden, given by Ge to
 Hera 1064 of Hesperides 1019 (See
 also Apple-tree) of immortality 1170 f.
 Apple-juice impregnates Phanuel's thigh
 97₀₍₅₎
 Apple-tree as conventional background
 617₀ in south-European folk-tales 420₀
 of Hesperides 1064 (See also Apples)
 of silver in Celtic mythology 420₀ 421₀
 on Mt Tomori near Berat 1170 f.
Aquaëlicium 432₀
Aquae manale, aquimanile, aquiminarium
 435 1194
 -ar- as suffix in pre-Greek names 1111
 1113
Ara Albani 1060 f. *Borghese* 1057 f. *Capitolina* 933 f.
 Arbois de Jubainville, H. d' 367₀
 Arch, triumphal, its original character
 and purpose 1131 (bibliography)
Argeiphōntes 1132
 Ark inscribed NOË on coins of Apameia
 in Phrygia 528 f.
 Arndt, P. 689₃
Arrhéphoroi 165 ff. route taken by, at
 Athens 168₈
 Art-type of combat modified to express
 litigation 754 presupposes definite
 belief and often definite cult 668
 presupposes some warrant in earlier
 literature or art and may ultimately
 be traced back to remote religious
 conception (e.g. Hellenistic deity in
 chariot drawn by sacred animals,
 Hellenic deity riding on sacred animal,
 Anatolian deity standing on sacred
 animal) 831
 Arvanitopoulos, A. S. 277 279 f. 1080 1114
 1157 1161
 Ashby, T. 435 444₀ 444₂ 444₁ 1172
'Ashērīm in relation to *Maššebhoth* 910 cp.
 1092
 Ashmole, B. 968₃
 Ash-tree of Odhin's steed, Yggdrasil 404₀
 Ash-trees, men of Bronze Age sprung from
 481
 Asphodel 416
 Ass, of Vesta 1062₂₍₁₎ sacrificed to the
 Winds at Tarentum 105 f.
 Asses sacrificed to Apollon among the
 Hyperboreoi 106₁ skins of, made into
 bags to catch wind 105
Astragalomanteia 1157
 Astrology at Alexandria 346₀ cp. 913₁ 914₀
 in early Greece 1112
Athanulus, clay vessel, perhaps fetish of
 Athena 191₅
 Atkinson, B. F. C. 7₂ 8₀ 164₃ 364₈ 748₅ 1173
 Aubrey, J. 738₀
 Audin, A. 896 896₃
 Aust, E. 1155
 'Autocastration' 1174
 Autran, C. 1141
 Avezou, C. 1134 1162
 Axe, double, Mesopotamian prototype of
 1138 of flint 926₃ of bronze 926₃ in
 relation to Labyrinth 1141 (biblio-
 graphy) in post-Cretan times 1138 from

Axe, double (*cont.*)

Athens with Hallstatt decoration 605
1076 1145 f. in mosaic at Olynthos 1073
on coins of Tenedos 789₂ of Daidalos
1111 of Epeios 1141 f. of Hephaistos 125₃
200 235 477 670 729 738 of Ikaros 1111
of Kronos 200 of Prometheus 125₃ 729
of Sethlans 678₍₁₎ of Tereus 1147 of Zeus
604 f. as lineal ancestor of double lance
(*λάβρος* > Georgian *lahvari*) 1141

Axes, double, of amber 1143 of bronze
1143 of bronze with incised designs
1143 ff. of gold 1143 carried by priest
of Bellona 1142 imbedded in columns
1138 on capital of Iberian column
1138

Axe, holy 661

— of the *Bouphónos* at Athens tried and
acquitted 583 ff. of Hermes 661 of
Sopatros 590 of Thaulon 596

— small, from Caister-by-Norwich 1147
of Essene neophytes 1141

Axes of copper 1143 of silver 1143

Axe of stone ending in forepart of panther
1192

Axes backed by a bull 1142 blood-stained,
in hail-charm 878 with animal heads
1142

Axe-hammer of blue or green stone 1142 f.
with Sumerian inscription 926₃

Axe-shaped pendants from Benin etc. 1146

Axe-worship 1070

Axis of universe 946 974

Axones 1183 f.

Aymard, A. 1114

Babelon, E. 802 1092

Bachelors after death bring sand from the
Rhône in holed baskets 426₆

Bachofen, J. J. 89₁ 99₀

Bachtin, N. 1161 1167

Bachtin, Mrs N. 1167

Bacon, Miss J. R. 360₃ 978 1117

Bächtold-Stäubli, H. 503₀

Baethgen, E. 132₂

Bagnani, G. 535₁

Bahrfieldt, M. 802

Bailey, H. W. 916₁ 925₃

Baityloi or *Baitylia* as described by
Damaskios 887 ff. 898 not sacred stones
in general 887 holy stones endowed
with the power of self-motion 887
either smallish meteorites or neolithic
implements believed to have fallen from
heaven 892 identified with meteorites
892₁ invented by Ouranos 887 dedicated
to Kronos, Zeus, Helios, etc. 889
connected with *baïte* (?) 898₁ in relation
to *Bēthēl* (?) 891

Bákchoi 723₀ 724₀

Baker-Penoyre, J. ff. 1155

Balanos, N. 813₃ 814₀ 1196

Baldwin, Miss A. 261₇

Balfour, H. 1137

Bancroft, H. H. 475

Baptism, Christian, compared with Eleu-
sinian bathe 297 f.

Barbazan, É. 501₃

Barbedette, L. 1117

Baring-Gould, S. 98₀₍₆₎ 338₁ 472₃ 523₄ 1013
1102

Barley, gold ears of, from grave near
Syracuse 307₀

Barnes, J. 420₀

Barnett, L. D. 1110

Barnett, R. D. 1068

Base, the Chigi 1122

Bases, distyle, at Delphoi 1131

Basket as cradle of Erichthonios 248 as
cradle of Tithonos 248 Cabiric 993 of
Europe 619₁ 1092

Baskets, ritual, containing sexual emblems
993 (?) ritual, of *Arrhéphoroi* 166₀ (?)
See also *Kálathos*

Bassett, S. E. 261₇

Bates, Oric 1077

Bates, W. N. 1112 1121

Bath, bridal 224₃ (?) 370 ff. 388 f. 392₀ 396
chthonian 393

Bathing in the sea as a rain-charm 1193

Baudrillart, A. 811₁

Bay-branch 99

Bay-tree of Apollon 269₁

Bay-wreath 99 with three medallions 1142

Bayfield, M. A. 1065

Beads, Mesopotamian, in shape of double
axe 1138

Beans represent testicles 1032₀

Bean-field, idol thrown into, at Malta 1031₇

Beanstalk, Jack and the 1117

Bear as substitute for Iphigeneia 233₁ boy
killed by 1124 Candlemas 1130 Megisto
(= Kallisto) metamorphosed into 484 in
myth of Polyphonte 57₂ Springtime 1130

'Bears,' human 1080

Bears' fat in hail-charm 878

Bear-mask 1068

Beazley, J. D. 184₄ 202₀ 668₄ 669 684 f.
686 f. 702 ff. 710 797₄ 807₃ 931₆ 1053
1111 1118 1132

Bechtel, F. 95₀ 283 289₂

Beck, L. 919₄ 923₁ 924₁

Becker, W. A. 49₀

Bee guides hero in folk-tale from Syra 977

Bees as souls 1183 feed Meliteus 246
procreation of, from buried ox 1901
settle on lips of infant Platon 265₀

'Bees,' human 1083

Belemnites regarded as thunderbolts 884₀

Belger, C. 169₀ 1183

Bell, A. W. 475₃

Bellucci, G. 875₁

Belon du Mans, P. 232₁

Belt of Zeus (?) 1167

Bendinelli, G. 136₀ 136₂ 688₄

Benndorf, O. 18₀ 686₁ 813₅

Bent, J. T. 642₁

Benton, Miss S. 1192

Béquignon, Y. 189₁ 277

Berchmans, J. 1141

- Berger, R. 971₀
 Bergk, T. 78₂ 614₃ 729 f.
 Bernays, J. 578₁ 590₄
 Bernhard 358
 Bethé, E. 488 1135
 Betwixt-and-between, *c.g.* a *daimon* neither mortal nor immortal 746
 Beulé, E. 897 f.
 Bevan, E. 1077
 Beyen, H. G. 1151 f.
 Bickel, E. 1115
 Bicknell, C. D. 102₀ 248₁ 375₁ 587₂ 774 f. 797₄ 849₂ 1150
Bidental 1157
 Bidez, J. 1115
 Bieber, M. 734₀ 738₁ 1078 1108
 Bieler, L. 1187
 Biffen, Sir R. H. 307₀
 Birch-broom a symbol of Donar 1072
 Bird of Truth 844 speaking 844 under-standing all languages (Dikjeretto) 844 977
 Birds of fiery colouring appropriate as lightning-carriers 792 ff. of prey held to be full of celestial fire 791 ff. on the sceptres of early kings 67₂
 Birt, T. 1155
 Birth from arm 95₃₍₂₎ from arm-pit 98₀₍₇₎ from feet 98₀₍₇₎ from forehead 97₀₍₄₎ from hand 97₀₍₄₎ cp. 1101 from knee 1101 from leg 98₀₍₆₎ from side 96₀₍₃₎ 97₀₍₄₎ from thigh 79 ff. 95_{3(1f.)} 97₀₍₅₎ from top of head 97₀₍₄₎ 662₁ 731 f. from ground 220 from rock 236₃ from stone 236₃ from father simulated as primitive rite of adoption 89₁ on harvest-field 77₃ of Aphrodite 274 of Athena (See Index I *Athena Types*) of Athena from head of Zeus exemplifies early requirements of royal succession 733 f. of Dionysos 79 ff. 1105 of Erichthonios 220 ff. 236 of iron 1100 f. of Mithras 236₃
 Birthday of Artemis 178₀ of Athena 719 f. of Helios 915₃ of martyr on day of martyrdom 1105
 Bissing, F. W. von 1193
 Bitch suckles infant Zeus 414₀ (?) suckles Kydon s. of Apollon 414₀ (?)
 Black bull sacrificed to Boubrostis 1156 mask with sheep's horns 1156 mediaeval Madonnas 897 pavement at Olympia, aesthetic effect of 958 pavement at Olympia, practical purpose of 967₂ stone of Dousares 907 917 stone of Emesa 900 ff. stone of Pessinous brought to Rome 893 ff. trident 1156
 Blanchet, A. 441₆
 Blegen, C. W. 526₃ 1083
 Blegen, E. P. 813₃ 818₀
 Bleichsteiner, R. 1179
 Blindness of Homer 77 of Stesichoros 77 Blinkenberg, C. 189₁ 355₃
 Bloch, L. 896₀
 Blochet, E. 916₁
 Blood, of Ouranos 481 rain of 478 ff.
 Bloomfield, M. 273₃ 274₀ 410₀ ff.
 Blue globe 441
 Blümel, C. 1003
 Blümel, R. 652₀
 Blümner, H. 922₉ 967 f.
 Blum, G. 1183
 Blumenthal, A. von 106₄
 Boar as form of Sabazios (?) 875₀ in relation to Zeus 1148
 Boat with stag's head as prow 1119
 Boccaccio, G. 501₄
 Bochart, S. 835₂ 937₆
 Boeckh, A. 1127
 Bömer, F. 1194
 Boisacq, E. 497₃ 792₄
 Boll, F. 401₁ 491₂ 492₆ 914₀
 Bolling, G. M. 69₂ 596₆
 Bolte, J. 449 977
 Bones, fossil 3₀
 Boni, G. 435 438
 Bonner, C. 356₃ 357₃ 358 ff. 398₂ 1120
 Bosanquet, R. C. 248₁ 1091
 Bosch, C. 1172
 Bosom-band of Danaë 463 of Nereid 134 fig. 53
 Bossert, H. T. 1146
 Bottles of Notos 335 f.
 Bottle-shaped goddesses on coins of Asia Minor 899
 Bottrell, W. 1142
 Boundary-stones 114 177₁ 441 725₄ 1120 1181
Bouphónos 586 589 656
Boupléx 589 f. 606₃ 661₉
 Bourguet, E. 1131
 Bourke, J. G. 476₁
Boutypos 585 ff. 669
 Bové, N. 760₀
 Bowra, C. M. 1083
 Boyancé, P. 137₀ 1115
 Brakman, C. 1112 f.
 Brandenstein, W. 1105
 Branding of galley on Samian slaves 791₀ of owl on Athenian slaves 790
 Brandis, C. G. 366₄
 Brauchitsch, G. von 574₀
 Braun, E. 183 815₀
 Breast of Hera sucked by Herakles 89₁ 92₀ 94₀ of maiden replaced by one of gold 1124 of Siren beaten in mourning 385₀₍₂₎ of Virgin Mary bared in last appeal 974₀
 Breasts beaten before first corn-ears reaped 302₀₍₆₎, cakes shaped like 580₀ (?) held by mother-goddess 193_(b) of Anahita 'aux seins arrondis' (?) 916₁ of Aphrodite (Astarte?) pressed 1016 of Athena full and prominent 225₁ 807 of St Barbara cut off 472₃ of Chaabou 'Mädchen mit reifer, voller Brust' (?) 914₁ of St Christina cut off by order of Iulianus 1013 of Europe lit up by mysterious glow 625₀ of female figures bared in fifth-century Attic sculpture 698₆ of Helene bared in last appeal

Breasts (*cont.*)

1179 of Hera *Parthénos* displayed 1044₄
(?) of Hera *Teleia* covered 1044₄ (?) of
Hestia virginal but prominent (*πρό-
μαστος*) 1107 of Hittite Mother of the
gods 916₁ of Iphigeneia bared for sac-
rifice 699₀ of Manzan Görmö overflow
and form Milky Way 1098 of Ukko's
daughters overflow and form iron 1101
on model of Mt Argaios 1177 (?) out-
standing on vases 193₀

Brendel, O. 1127 f. 1180

Bride or bridegroom ceremonially married
to men and maidens who have died
unwed 394

Brøndsted, P. O. 712

Broneer, O. 167₅ 169₀ 170 f. 1124

Bronze bull and acrobat from Crete 1091
cast by *cire perdue* method 1110
decorations of Argive *thōloi* 364 dis-
placed by iron in late versions of the
myth of Danaë 473₂ double axe of
Hephaistos 200 477 670 'Ellopiian'
485₀ (?) horse found by Gyges 1114
mace from Willingham Fen 1099 f.
snakes from Pellana in Achaia 1187
statue fished up from sea off Artemision
1151 ff. table as altar 579₅ tree-trunk
(bay?) at Delphoi 1121 underground
chamber made by Akrisios for Danaë
364 455 wings of marble Minerva at
Bulla Regia 825₅ with archaic figures of
Artemis, Zeus, Athena 566₂

Browning, R. 868₅ 952₇ 974 1067

Bruce, J. D. 509₂

Brückner, A. 64₀ 113 132 373

Brugmann, K. 95₀ 792₄ 976 f.

Brunn, H. 718₀₍₅₎

Bucher, P. 1076

Buekler, W. H. 1071 1125 1126 1191

Bucranium in pediment of temple 645₀ on
altar, filleted 759₄ on coins of Athens
1194 on *stèle*, filleted 1148

Bucrania, two, with frontlets, above plough
1160 with festoon on Arretine mould
1003

Budge, Sir E. A. Wallis 345₁ 832₅

Budimir, M. 112₃ 121₁ 123₅ 128 140

Büchler, J. C. H. 164₅

Bugge, S. 259₀ f.

Bulas, K. 1081

Bull and acrobat in bronze from Crete
1091 as animal form of Zeus 615 ff.
628 as animal form of Zeus *Ólbios* 631
as procreative power 945 as substitute
for Iphigeneia 233₁ hung in tree for
Athena at Ilion 283₄ monstrous, sup-
ports earth and causes earthquakes 3₀
of bronze dedicated on the Akropolis
at Athens by council of Areiopagos 612
614 of bronze in bowl surrounded by
millet 1101 of copper in Castle of Cop-
per 1102 f. on coins of Selinous 614₅
ridden by earth-goddess 1125 sacrificed
to Poseidon on pillar in Atlantis 283₁

Bull (*cont.*)

sent up from sea by Poseidon 628₁
solar 1032 1065 white, carries Europe
620₀ 627₀ white, plays with Europe
622₀ 622₍₃₎ white, sacrificed to Zeus
by Bektashi monks on Mt Tomori
near Berat 1171 with crescent moon
on side 1101 with gilded horns 280
with rosette on forehead 1098 with six-
rayed star on side 1101 with three horns
1099 1100 with trefoil marks on body
and round spots (stars of the Great
Wain) on shoulder and leg 1101

Bulls enclosing human victims 1114 sacri-
ficed to Zeus 1110 wooden, in hail-
charm 877

'Bulls,' cup-bearers of Poseidon called
599₍₂₎

Bull-carrying 1091 1114

Bull-cult in Celtic lands 1102 in Iberia
1090 in Sardinia 1110 in Egypt, Meso-
potamia, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine,
Phoinike, Crete, etc. 1101

Bull-fights of Basques 1090 of Cretans
601₀ 1090 f. of Spaniards 1090

Bull-headed furnace at Byzantion 1102

Bull-headed gods from the Haurân 1098

Bull-mask worn by votary or priest in
Kypros 1068 1090

Bull's-hide, black, worn by 'Jack of the
Hammer' 1142 of Argos, watcher of
Io 837 See also Ox-hide

Bull-sports, 'Minoan' 569

Bull-standards of Egyptian nomes 884₀

Bullae of gold foil 88₀ 1110 f. worn by
Dionysos 88₀ worn by Eros 92₀

Bulle, H. 640₀ 710 811₁ 813₃ 819₁ 955₄
1196 f.

Bunbury, E. H. 493₃ 1012 f.

Buonarroti, F. 133

Burckhardt, J. L. 919

Burgon, T. 788

Burial alive by Daunioi 365 palaeo-
lithic 515₆ within the house in
Greece 1181 within the house in Italy
1181

Burial-mounds (*sid*) as underground
palaces 367₃

Burkitt, M. C. 1147

Burney, S. 832

Burton, Sir R. F. 917₅ 918 f. 920₁

Bury, J. B. 181₁

Buschor, E. 768 1027₅ 1029₃ 1029₈ 1049₀
1142 1179

Buttmann, P. 528 727

Buzzard 58₀ (?)

Caclamanos, D. 767₂

Caduceus of unusual form 675

Cahen, E. 1087

Cahier, C. 338₁

Caillemer, E. 790_{1f}

Cakes, *anástatoi* 167 breast-shaped 580₀
pélanos and *pópanon* 578₄ 579₀ phallic (?)
167₅

- Calder, W. M. 1071 1104 f. 1106 f. 1125 1126
- Calderini, G. 330₀
- Caldron of apotheosis 1080 1104
- Caldrons with forty handles 315₂
- Calendar, Babylonian 1135 from Koukounari 115 179₀ 1183 from Mykonos 179₀
- Calendar-frieze of Panagia *Gorgoepekoos* 588 602 604
- Calf, wooden, of Druses 1092
- Calza, G. 823
- Cameron, A. 1160
- Campana, G. P. 456₀
- Cangue (*xílon, kíphon*) 560
- 'Canopi' arranged in rows 346₀ carried by griffin 348₂ confronted 348 in shrine 348 of Isis 346 348₂ 350 of Osiris 346 ff. of other Egyptian deities 346₀ set on cushions 346 upborne by eagle 348
- 'Canopic jars' at first with human heads 345₁ later with heads of the four children of Horos 345₁
- Cantineau, J. 1112
- Canting badge 1002
- Capelle, P. 1115
- Capelle, W. 2 1112
- Capello, A. 341
- Caramia, G. 950₄
- Carcopino, J. 135₈ 136₂ 136₃
- Carmina Burana* 501₄
- Carnoy, A. 1127 1140
- Carolidis, P. 291₀
- Carp with bitter stone in mouth 988 ep. 989
- Carpenter, Rhys 689₃ 689₆ 690₀ 690₁ 705 705₁ 717₂ 718₀₍₉₎
- Carpenter, W. B. 140₇
- Carrington, R. C. 1189
- Carter, H. 305₀
- Cary, M. 1132 1137 1184
- Caryatids, 172₀ 1008 (?)
- Casson, S. 779 f. 1009 1044₄ 1110 1118
- Castle of Copper 1102 f.
- Catalogue of the gods 120 843₀
- Cauer, P. 227₉
- Cave, C. J. P. 1133
- Cave-sanctuaries at Arkalochori near Lyktos 1143 of Aglauros at Athens 169 f. 242 of Apollon *Érsos* at Vari 261₇ of Charis at Vari 261₇ of Eros and Aphrodite at Athens 169 ff. of Ge at Vari 265₀ (?) of Pan and the Nymphs on Mt Parnes 253₀ of Pan and the Nymphs at Vari 261₇ of Zeus *Brontón* at Inönü in Phrygia 1160 (?) on Mt Pelion 1161 (?)
- Ceiling of Babylonian palaces, Egyptian tombs, Mycenaean *thóloi*, Greek temples and porticos, Roman arches, temples, and palaces, etc. imitates sky 445₃ of temple-tomb at Knossos imitates sky 1187 of temple of Zeus at Olympia imitates sky (*supra* i. 751) 965 of Pantheon imitates sky 353₁ 443 f.
- Cerauniae* 887
- Cesnola, A. P. di 560
- Chabas, F. 364
- Chalazophylakes* 878 f.
- Chalcedony 255₀ 853₁
- Chambers, E. K. 1104
- Chandler, R. 238₁ 586
- Chanot, E. de 931₄
- Chapouthier, F. 1121 1196
- Charbonneaux, J. 1192
- Chariot from Trundholm 1076 of Athena drawn by two snakes 769 f. of Dionysos drawn by two panthers or lynxes 306₀₍₈₎ of Kybele and Attis drawn by four lions 1128 of Zeus drawn by four horses 56₀ 306₀₍₈₎ of Zeus drawn by two eagles 1136 solar 1075 f.
- Charlesworth, M. P. 1100
- Charpentier, J. 1115
- Chedanne, G. 443₃
- Chiffet, J. 341
- Childe, V. Gordon 367₆ 368₁
- Christ, W. 78₂
- Christianisation of pagan cave-sanctuary 261₇ of pagan statuary 1195 1196 f. of pagan temples 553₃ 643₀
- Christianity and Dionysiac worship, common features of 953 and the cult of Zeus *Astérios* 954
- Christus Patiens* 953
- Chronique scandaleuse* of Zeus, its real significance 948
- Chrysalis-beads and chrysalis-pendants 252₀₍₃₎
- Chryselephantine doors of Athena's temple at Syracuse 850₆ throne of Solomon 957₀
- Chryselephantine statues of Hera at Argos 65 816₀ of Nike on hand of Zeus *Olympios* 954 of Zeus at Olympia 954 ff.
- Chrysoprase 1194
- Chthonian thunder 21 1143
- Chthonian pair of Hades and Persephone 402 425 of Zeus *Meilichios* and *Pasikrateia* (?) 1188 f.
- Chthonian triad of Zeus *Bouleüs* or *Eubouleüs* grouped with Demeter and Kore 1124 f.
- Ciaceri, E. 175₂
- Cicala badge of an autochthonous Ionian people 250 believed to subsist on dew 250 onomatopoeic names for 257₂ personified 257 regarded as earth-born 250 Tithonos in extreme old age transformed into 247
- Cicalas as rattles 255₀ f. gold, from Bosphoros Kinmerios 253₀ gold, from Ephesos 253₀ gold, from Hungary 253₀ f. gold, from Mt Parnes 253₀ on coins 254₀ f. on gems 255₀ prophylactic 255₀ f.
- Cire perdue* See Bronze
- Cisterns, bottle-shaped, of Melite at Athens 363 early, on Palatine at Rome 366₁ See also *Mundus*, Wells
- City, celestial, partly based on cloudland 51₀

- Clandestine intercourse, a custom of extreme antiquity 1026, still practised by Slavs and Swiss 1026₀ the recognised beginning of married life in Samos, Sparta, etc. 1026 of Zeus and Hera 1025 f.
- Clarke, E. D. 143 145 598₃
- Clemen, C. 189₁ 1122
- Clement, P. 1083
- Clemmensen, M. 1083 1141
- Cleromancy 716
- Clinton, H. Fynes 331₀
- Clothing, interchange of 1186
- Cloud containing Athena is cleft by Zeus in Crete 727 729 containing Metis (masc.) in Orphic theogony 727
- Clouds gathered by Danube 368 imitated by sheep-skins 31 f. 296 personified in cult and myth 68 ff.
- Cloud-charm 288 290 878 f.
- Cloudland, folk-names for 51₀ 52₀
- Cloud-stratum stylised into nebuly 43
- Coal, first mention of, as used in Britain 859₄
- Cock and rain in Palestine 1097 of Leto 1042₀ of Zeus *Velchános* 1043₀ on Egyptian sherd 1174 on helmet of Athena 46₄ once king of Persia 45 prophylactic 132₂ symbol of Himera 614₅ (?)
- Cocks in magic and religion 45₂ 1174 with hen on vase from Rhodes 664₁
- Cock's head as *rhytón* (?) of Keftiu 1173 on Cretan intaglio 1174
- 'Cock,' priest at Hierapolis in Syria called 1097
- Cohen, H. 902₇
- Cokaygne See Land of Cokaygne
- Collart, P. 277
- Collignon, M. 393 718₀₍₇₎ 771₁
- Collingwood, R. G. 846 863 1126
- Colossal statue of Nero 965₃ of Zeus *Olymptos* called 'the blundered colossus' 965 of Zeus *Ómbrios* 557 f.
- 'Colts,' human 1083
- Columba, G. M. 400₂
- Column of Marcus Aurelius 324 332 f. of Trajan 333 spiral 1117 supporting sky 946 1116 f.
- Coman, J. 1073 f.
- Comedy, origin of 1103
- Comet seen in 405 B.C. at Aigos Potamos 886 seen in 373 B.C. at Helike and Boura 1118
- Communion of worshippers devouring sacred flesh 606 610
- Comparetti, D. 419₃ 420₀
- Conception by pomegranates placed in bosom 815₀
- Conington, J. 453
- Constans, L. A. 435 436₁₁
- Contact with sacred object by means of cord or the like 896₂
- Contenau, G. 1112 1135
- Conybeare, E. 1141
- Conybeare, F. C. 887₈
- Conze, A. 149₂ 149₃ 375₆ 380₁ ff. 830₂
- Cook, R. M. 1196
- Cook, S. A. 195₀ 369₁ 416₁ 549₃ 551₀ 889 f. 1072
- Cooke, Miss P. B. Mudie See Tillyard, Mrs E. M. W.
- Coot 52₁
- Coppersmiths 212 f.
- Corn-baby 77₃
- Corn-daughter 301₀₍₃₎ (?)
- Corn-ear reaped in silence and exhibited to mystics at Eleusis 299
- Corn-ears, symbolic, at Ba'albek 1095
- Corn-maiden 306₆ 438₁
- Corn-mother 77₃ 300₀₍₂₎ a differentiated form of earth-mother 289
- Corn-spirit as ox 599₍₃₎
- Corn-totem 300₀₍₂₎ (?)
- Corn-wreath of Ceres 1062_{2(1 f.)} of Triptolemos 402
- Cornford, F. M. 299₀ 301₀₍₄₎ 357₇ 438 454₃
- Cornu copiae* of Agreus 271₃ of Eros 466 fig. 301 of Iupiter *Pantheus* 1129 f. of Plouton 1050₀₍₃₎ fig. 844 1053_{1(1 f.)} double, on coin of Gaza 557 fig. 378
- Cosmogonies, Babylonian 18₁ Egypt 18₁ (?) India 18₁ Japan 18₁ Mandaeon 1179 Norse 98₀₍₇₎ Orphic 745 cp. 746 Palestine 18₁ Phoinike 983
- Coste-Messelière, P. de la 1121
- Couch of Diana 1044₄ of Hera 1044 1044₄ of Iuno *Lucina* 1044₄
- Couissin, P. 404₀ 1140 1142 1192
- Coulon, V. 1196
- Courby, F. 1166 1191 f
- Couvade* 89₁ (?)
- Couve, L. 248₁
- Cow gilded and draped in black to represent Isis or earth 345₀ Lemnian, touched by shadow of Mt Athos 1102 lunar 1032 1065 totem of the Basita 1193 wooden, of Pasiphae 1092
- Cox, C. W. M. 1160
- Cozzo, G. 444₀
- Crab as divine attribute or emblem 1146 attacks Herakles 797
- Crayfish (*kárabos*) 1146
- Crickets in China viewed as incarnations of great warriors 257₁
- Crocodile-skin in hail-charm 877
- Crooke, W. 1090 f.
- Cross at Gosforth 1128 immersed as rain-charm at Epiphany 294 incised on forehead of bearded herm at Karlsruhe 1196 f.
- Cross-roads, family-ghosts at 119 Lares *Compitales* at 119 Tritopatores at 119
- Crow in folklore 1138 as informer 238₁ lame, helps hero in folk-tale from Epeiros 977 on altar of Athena 782₄ held by Athena at Korone 782 Koronis transformed into, by Athena 782₄
- Crows avoid the Akropolis at Athens 238
- 'Crows,' human 1083 (?)

- Crowfoot, J. W. 1197
 Crown of palm-leaves 996 f. 1008 of reeds
 1008 with three peaks worn by Kronos
 1140 with three peaks worn by stone of
 Elagabalos 906
 Cuckoo an ominous bird throughout
 Europe 64₀ 65₀ as form of Donar or Frô
 (?) 65₀ as form of Zeus 1043 as form
 of Zywe 64₀ as king of Egypt and
 Phoinike 46 67₂ of St Gertrude 65₀
 on sceptre of Hera at Argos 65 67
 venerated in the Old Slavonic area 64₀
 Cuckoo-spit 277₀
 Cumont, F. 136₂ 136₃ 900₄ 902 911 912₂
 914₀ 914₁ 982 1115 1117 1134 1163
 1194
 Cup of Amphitryon an heirloom of divine
 origin 507 507₅
 Cupids of modern sentimentalism 1025
 Curtis, C. D. 136₃ 137₄
 Curtius, E. 576₀
 Curtius, G. 181₁
 Curtius, L. 640₀ 1164 1179
 Cycladic statuette of mother and daughter
 730 f.
 Cylinders, neo-Babylonian 891
 Cypress marks sanctuary at Palmyra 1159
 white, beside water of Lethe 420₀ 421₀
 Dactylic metre changes *Trítópátores* to
Trítópátreis 112₃
 Daebritz 773₁
 Dagger-god of Hittites 1140 (bibliography)
 Daicoviciu, C. 1162
 Dalberg, F. v. 917 937₆
 Dalman, G. 1072
 Dance called *καλαθίσκος* 990 of goat-like
 dancers on Greek vases 1106 of horned
 dancers at Abbots Bromley 1087 of
 Kouretes and Korybantes 1070 of
 masked performers on 'island-stones'
 1068 of men wearing bulls' horns and
 hoofs (?) in Iberia 1090 of reeds called
οι κάλαθοι (? *κάλαμοι*) 989 f. of reeds in
 Gygaia Limne 989 f. representing birth
 of Zeus 935₃ representing Kronos
 devouring his children 935₃ represent-
 ing Labyrinth 1086 1087 representing
 reeds and grasses bent by wind 993
 representing story of Thyestes 935₃
 Dances, lists of various 990 996
 Dance, Miss E. M. 236₃
 Danoff, C. M. 1157
 Daressy, G. 1077
 Daubeny, C. 493₂
 Davenport, C. 853₀
 Davis, F. 832 832₄
 Davison, C. 1
 Dawkins, R. M. 248₁ 286₁ 294 1067 1111
 Dawson, W. R. 345₁
 Dead associated in cult with Eumenides
 and with Zeus *Μετitchios* 1188 called
Δημήτρειοι 302₀(₅) divinity of, in
 Egyptian belief 395 divinity of, in
 Greek belief 395 identified with Osiris
 Dead (*cont.*)
 302₀(₅) 344 395 judges of the 402₁
 represented as chthonian Zeus 309₄(₂)
 watch over growth of crops 437
 Deas, H. T. 1077
 Decapitation 273₃ 846₆
 Dedications combined with epitaphs 1160
 Deedes, C. N. 1087 1130
 Deer as substitute for Iphigeneia 233₁ the
 running of the 1068
 Deer-worship 1068
Deikeliktai, ritual origin of 560
 Deissmann, A. 1134 1174
 Delatte, A. 1127
 Della Seta, A. 1148
 Delta as womb of mother-goddess 1097
 Demangel, R. 1121
 De Minicis, G. 537₁
 Dennis, G. 1013 f.
 Deonna, W. 402₅ 441₆ 488₅ 580₀ 730 827
 1091 1108 1119 1141 f.
 Desrousseaux, A. M. 1189
 Detscev, D. 1126 1182
 Detschew, D. See Detscev, D.
 Deubner, L. 430₀ 578₂ 583₁ 584₀ 589₃ 589₄
 590₄ 590₅ 592 597 598₀ 599 599(₂) 600₀ 601₀
 605₀ 982 1047 1105
 Devil conceived as wind 164
 Dew a gentler form of rain 180 at Athens,
 modern meteorological records of 241
 carried for Erse 166 caught on fleece
 500₁ gathered on May Day or Mid-
 summer Day 165 of Hephaistos 237
 of Ouranos 274 of Zeus 236 265₁ the
 means by which sky-father impregnates
 earth-mother 180 944 thickest at full
 moon 179 upon Grass totem of the
 Basia 1193
 Dexter, T. F. G. 941₁ 1194
 Dhorme, F. P. 1136
 Diamonds 217₀
 Diana-pillars 1119 f.
 Dibbelt, H. 593₆
 Dickens, G. 699₂ 712 712₆ 768 f.
 Dickins, Mrs G. 290 292 294
 Diels, H. 1121
 Dieterich, A. 425 f.
Diipetés 893₉ 901₁ See also *Diopetés*
Dike 949
 Dikjeretto See Bird
 Dilthey, C. 846
 Dimitrov, D. P. 1072
Dióbletos 946
Diopetés 1174 See also *Diipetés*
Diosemla 23 943
 Dirlmeier, F. 1189
 Dirr, A. 236₃
 Discovery of *baitylia* 887 of clothing made
 from animal-skins 983 of crops 608₂
 of fire 983 of fire and forging of arms
 235₂ of huts made from reeds, grasses,
 and papyrus 983 of iron 922 of marriage
 1060₇ of plough 608₂ 608₃ of ploughing
 with yoked oxen 606 608 of thrice-
 ploughed field 607 f. of religion 315₀

- Discovery (*cont.*)
 of sea-faring 983 of shield 650₀ of ship 355₂ of star fallen from sky 892 917 of trumpet 729₃
- Disk, solar, in pediment 863 in relation to Kronos (?) 936 on head of Apis 1082
- Disks, magic, from Corinth 1074 magic, from Vulci 1074 of terra cotta from Tarentum 1119 1136
- Dithyramb, origin and etymology of 1104f.
- Dittenberger, W. 212₂
- Divination by barley 1115 by Delphic tripod 1120 by divining-glass 1122 by finger-nails 1122 by flour 1115 by knuckle-bones 1157 by lamp 1122 by lots 716₆ 717 by meal 1115 by mirror 1122 by sieve 336 ff.
- Divining-glass See *Lekanomanteia*
- Dobschütz, E. von 971₀ 972₀
- Dobson, Mrs D. P. 862₂ 863₈
- Döhring, A. 1134
- Dölger, F. J. 972₀ 1118 1193
- Doer of a deed best able to undo the same 592
- Dörpfeld, W. 370₅ 1171
- Dog in myth of Hyperochos and Phemios 1105 leads Diomos to Kynosarges 594 See also Hound
- Dogs entering market-place at Argos during days called *ἀρνηίδες* are killed 243₅ in war 683₁ not allowed on the Akropolis at Athens 243₅ 749 f. must not be touched nor mentioned by *flamen Dialis* 243₅ tear to pieces Linos 243₅ will not enter the island Sygaros 243₅ will not enter the temple of Hercules at Rome 243₅
- 'Dogs,' human 1083 (?)
- Dog-mask 1068 (?)
- 'Dog-skin' cap (*κυνέη*) made of bull's-hide (*ταυπέη*) or weasel-skin (*κτιδέη*) or goat-skin (*αίγυέη*) 838₁
- Dohan, Mrs E. H. 197₀ 681 681₄
- Dolls from Myrina 1009
- Dolphin as attribute of Poseidon 1060 on rock carried by Poseidon 18₀ bears Aphrodite to Kypros 274 on mace from Willingham Fen 1100
- Dolphins in classical literature and art 1122 in Poseidon's sea at Athens 753
- Dolphin-skin 107
- Domaszewski, A. von 119₅ 328₀ 329₀ 330₀ 904₂ 1131
- Doorway to Otherworld formed by clashing mountain-walls 976 987
- Dornseiff, F. 1121 1135
- Dottin, G. 1116
- Double axe See Axe, double
- Douglas, Miss E. M. See Van Buren, Mrs A. W.
- Dove on head of Cnossian goddess 827 as embodiment of Aphrodite 175₂ as attribute of Aphrodite 175₂ 1057 on finger of Aphrodite 638₀ in relation to Dove (*cont.*)
 Aphrodite 275₀₍₁₎ (?) sacrifice to 1103 as soul of Ktesylla 269₁ fiery, ignites the *Carro* at Florence 791₆ sent out by Noah 529
- Doves bring *ambrosia* to Zeus 975 flying about Aphrodite (Astarte?) 1016 of Aphrodite in Kypros 1112
- 'Doves,' human 1082 (?)
- Dowsers 1074
- Dragendorff, H. 1003
- Dream, 'Behinderungstraum' 401₁ occasioned by paralysing fear 403₀ of Klytaimestra 239₁ of Kroisos 522 See also Nightmare
- Dreams, divinatory, at the Marneion in Gaza 552
- Dressler, F. R. 132₃
- Drew, C. D. 1098
- Drexler, W. 183
- Drinking-horn 1091
- Droop, J. P. 871₁
- Ducati, P. 710
- Duchesne, L. 328₀
- Duck 52₂ 1075
- Dümmmler, F. 559 729
- Dugas, C. 1141
- Duhn, F. von 103₂ 1181
- Du Jardin, L. 430₀
- Dumézil, G. 1141
- Dumont, A. 788
- Dunham, M. E. 261₇
- Duplication and triplication as early efforts at multiplication 410₀
- Dussaud, R. 912₄ 1095 f. 1163
- Dutilh, E. D. J. 1078
- Dýnamis* as equivalent of *mana* 873₂ of Zeus 873₂ of Zeus *Keraīnios* 873₂
- Dyson, G. W. 1085
- E at Delphoi 1121
- Eagle as attribute of Hermes 1071 as attribute of Jupiter 41 as symbol of sun (See solar) beneath throne of Zeus 694 charged with intense heat 792 expectant 37₆ funerary, in Syria 1097 helps hero in folk-tale from Epeiros 977 in pediment 694 of apotheosis 1097 of Im-dugud 1155 of Zeus 1155 on altar of Zeus 782₄ on column 1163 on globe 1100 on head of Zeus 46 on pyramidal structures 1097 on sacred stone 982 on sceptre of Zeus 954 saves life of Valeria Luperca by dropping sword on heifer and leaving mallet for intended victim to use 802₅ solar 901 ff. 982
- Eagles, six species of 802₅ two, draw chariot of Zeus 324 830 1136 two, in pediment 1070
- Earth as a ship 18 believed to rest upon water 18 19₄ fructified by sun 120 'the body of Isis' 351
- Earth-goddess has many names 948 rides bull 1125 sometimes fades into heroine 948

- Earth-mother, contact with 1174 in relation to sky-father 289 represented by little girl in bridal veil 292
- Earthquakes 1 ff. as viewed by modern Greek peasants 29 attributed to Christians by pagans 26₂ attributed to pagans by Christians 26₃ cp. 27₂ attributed to Zeus or to Poseidon, a specialised form of Zeus 943 called *brasmatae* or *brastae* 985 called *brástai* 483 due to a concourse of the dead 2₅ due to God nodding his head and shaking his hair 20₆ due to movements of a subterranean monster or giant or god 2₅ due to nether thunders 21 due to unknown god or goddess 24 ff. due to Zeus nodding his head and shaking his hair 20₃ due to waves of nether sea 18 19₅ personified by Chrysostom 27₃ personified by Goethe 29 personified by Raphael 27 ff. votive inscriptions for escape from 1163
- Ebony 955 955₅ (?)
- Eckels, R. P. 1135
- Eckhel, J. 981
- Eckstein 1193
- Edheim Bey 628₃ 630₁ ff. 880₃
- Edmonds, J. M. 831₂
- Egg, cosmic, in Orphic and quasi-Orphic theogonies 745 f. 1179 in Easter Island rite 1137 in folk-usage and folk-belief 1179 of Leda cracked by Hephaistos 738 f. (*Osterei*) packed in first or last sheaf 1137
- Eggeling, J. 544₅
- Egger, R. 1183
- Ehrenberg, C. G. 480₁
- Ehrlich, H. 94₂
- Eichler, F. 955₅
- Eight Bes-like musicians 1001 Phoenician Kabeiroi 1001
- Eight years, interval of 987
- Eilmann, R. 1087
- Eiraphiotes* 94₂
- Eisler, R. 50₁ 51₀ 334₁ 445₃ 914₁ 915₂ 916₁ 983 1121 1139 1141
- Eissfeldt, O. 889 1076 1172 f. 1177
- Eitrem, S. 124 413₀ 515₆ 634₁ 634₂ 1092 1130
- Elderkin, G. W. 562₂ 562₃ 607₅
- Electrum *statēr* of Ionian revolt 820₂
- Elephant as attribute of Zeus 545 f. as theriomorphic storm-god 547 of Indra (*Airāvata*, *Airāvāna*) 546 f.
- Elworthy, F. T. 549₂ 846
- Elfsion* 946 1115
- Emerald of Herakles 892 on golden olive of Pygmalion 983
- ene as suffix in pre-Greek place-names 224
- Enelgsios* 946
- Engelbrecht, A. 1112
- Engelmann, R. 510 518 631₃ 631₄ 634₁ 795₃ f.
- Enmann, A. 1042₅
- Enthronement, ritual 1161
- Ephesia grāmata* 1134
- Epinetron* or *ónos* 389₀₍₁₎
- Epiphany of Dionysos 1118 of Ge 203₀ 205₀ of Pandora 205₀ of Tages 203₀ of Zeus 476 f. 507
- Epitaphs combined with dedications 1160
- Era, Arabian 907₈ 911₃ of Boşra 1080 Seleucid 905₃ 1159
- Erman, A. 345₁
- Ernout, A. 434₀
- Errhephóroi* 944 See *Arrhephóroi*
- Escher, J. See Escher-Bürkli, J.
- Escher-Bürkli, J. 128₄ 315₀
- Essen, C. C. van 1074 f.
- Eunuchs, Greek 1174 Hittite 1174 Phrygian 1174
- Euphemistic titles of the dead 116 (?) of the Devil 164 of Hades 850₆
- Evans, Sir A. J. 200₀ 252₀₍₃₎ 317 403₁ 404₀ 405₀ 569₄ 664₀ 737₂ 738₀ 790₁ 887 937₃ 937₄ 1090 1120 1187
- Evans, Miss Joan 920₆ ff. 921₁
- Evil eye See Eye, evil
- Evocation of earth-goddess 203₀ 205₀ 350 of earth-powers 202₀
- Ewen, C. L'Estrange 1192
- Expurgation in Homer 627₁ (?) 975
- Eye, evil 933₇ of Dike 950₄ of God 473 of Zeus 1071
- Eyes of archaistic *kóre* in diamond 216₇ of Athena glaucous 216 of Athena *Parthénos* in precious stone 216₇ of marble lion in *smaragdus* 217₀ of Poseidon glaucous 216 of Poseidon in garnet 217₀
- Face-urns 193₀
- Fäh, A. 164₅
- Fairbanks, A. 774
- Falcon 1076
- Falconnet 918
- Farnell, L. R. 89₁ 179₀ 223₁ 225₁ 227 268 299 306₀₍₈₎ 650₆ 708 710 f. 729 841₃ 1064₇
- Farrington, O. C. 881₃ 885₇ 924₁
- Fates still invoked at Athens 721₅
- Father manifesting himself anew in his own son 952
- Fawn of Artemis 640₀ of Diana 1062₂₍₁₎ sacrificed at Pedachthoē 1134
- Fawns of Artemis 1064₄
- Fear that sky may fall 1116
- Feathered head-dress 1074 1119
- Fehrle, E. 124₀ 223₉ 224₃ 875 876₃ ff. 877₃ 877₅ 1140
- Ferri, S. 115 1160 1188
- Fertility-charm by water-carrying 396 1193 f.
- Festoons 1003 1006
- Fetish of Athena 191₈ of natural stones 937₄
- Pick, A. 94₂ 191₀ 227 233₁ 237₂ 275₀ 1131 1196
- Fiesel, Eva 1090
- Fifty Aigyptiadae 355 Danaïdes 355 357 daughters of Endymion and Selene 357 daughters of Thestios 357 moons of Olympic cycle 357 (?) sons of Priam 360₁ weeks of the year 357 (?)

- Fig-leaf, original significance of 1184
 Figure-heads 159₀
 Finger of Attis 1174 of Harpokrates 1174
 Fire and forging of arms discovered in Lemnos 235₂ at centre and circumference of universe 19₀ conceived as stolen or fallen from heaven 228 crackling called Hephaistos or Hestia laughing (or threatening) 228 sacred, struck from flints 791₀ springing from ground and worshipped in Lykia 228 terrestrial derived from fire celestial 235
 Fire-auger as father of Moon and Sun 1075
 Fire-boards of Chuckchees 1075
 Fire-drill in relation to Prometheus(?) 1075
 First-fruits dedicated to Zeus *Meilichios* 1188 See also *Aparché*, *Aparchai*
 Firth, C. M. 1187
 Fish attracted by flute-player in Lydia 988 ff. dug out of ground at Aquae Salsulae (?) 1015 sacred to Artemis in Boiotia 990 sacred to Artemis (?) in Lydia 989 f.
 Fish-skin worn by Triton named Boreios 129
 Fishermen catch Epeios' statue of Hermes *Perpheraios* in net 1137
 Five as Babylonian number of planets 341₃ as Babylonian symbol of divine and royal supremacy 341₃ as Pythagorean cosmic number 341₃ 'Lebenssterne' of the Egyptians 914₀
 Flacelière, R. 1121
 Fleece of Zeus 1081
 Fleeces spread to catch dew 500₁ 602₇
 Flickinger, R. C. 1106
 Flight, ritual, of the *Bouphónos* at Athens 583 ff.
 Floating fen in Delta of Danube 1015
 Floating islands 106 140 975 ff. (Append. P) bibliography of 975 975₁ 1015 not drifting clouds 1015 viewed by Greeks and Romans with peculiar veneration 1015
 Flogging of boy at Gaza 554₁ of Hera threatened by Zeus 924 of schoolboy on gem 1179 of slave at Chaironeia 1031₅ of those who ran round the altar at Delos 1087 of young men at altar of Artemis *Orthia* 1031₅ 1134
 Flood drained off at Athens 169₀ seeds found with Iasion after 774 commemorated by Hydrophoria 603 f.
 — legends of, at Argos 1165 at Megara 1165 in Phrygia 527 ff.
 Flute-player 988 f. 996 f. 1096
 Fly, Periklymenos transformed into 744₁
 Flies avoid temple of Aphrodite in Paphos 238₁
 Foam as clan-totem 274 as seed of the sky-god 274 personified 276₁ used as thunderbolt 273
 Förster, R. 691₂ 1028 1034₁
 Folk-tales, types of: 'Brüderchen und Schwesterchen' 74 the clashing rocks 975 ff. 'La Dame au fuseau' 1116 'the Death of Pan' 1131 'Einäuglein, Zweiäuglein und Dreiäuglein' 74 'Expulsion' 420₀ 1187 the floating coffer 456 471 the golden rain 456 'Hop o' my Thumb' 359 the immobilised hero 402₅ Jack and the Beanstalk 1117 'Meister Pfriem' 448 f. 'Melusine' 73 74 'No-man' stratagem 1075 'Ram with golden fleece' 1080 'Rotkäppchen' 936₁ 'Schwester- oder Mutter-Verrath oder Skyllaformel' 977 shape-shifting 745 'Sonnenmotiv' 1124 the unnatural parent who eats his children 936 f. 'weibliche Künlichkeit' 73 'The Well of the World's End' 450
 Foot, motif of supported 187₃ 622₀ 638₀ 640₀ 706 f. 931₇
 Feet unshod 993
 Fore-finger of Indra sucked by Mādhātṛ 97₀
 Formulae at chthonian bath *ὑμῖν ἀπόνιμμα οἷς χορὴ καὶ οἷς θεοῖς* 393₄ before marriage 123 divinatory 336₅ 337₀ *εἰς θεός* 346₀ *ἐνήστευστα*, *ἐπιον τὸν κυκεῶνα*, *ἐλαβον ἐκ κίστης*, *ἐργασάμενος ἀπεθέμην εἰς κάλαθον καὶ ἐκ καλάθου εἰς κίστην* 990 Gnostic 1137 f. *ἡ παρθένος ἔτεκεν· αὐξὶ φῶς* 915₃ *ἱερὸν ἔτεκε πότνια κοῦρον Βριμὺ Βριμόν* 300₀₍₁₎ 913₁ Hittite 'the gods and the dead' 1125 *κόγξ, ὀμπαξ* 298 1193 liturgical on Christian lamps 145₂ magical 4₀ 5₀ 106 298 f. *μῶξ, πάξ, ρπξ* 1193 Orphic *ἐριφος ἐς γὰλ' ἔπειον* 1118 Orphic *θεὸς ἐγένον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων* 395₅ Orphic *ἄλβιε καὶ μακαριστέ, θεὸς δ' ἔσσι ἀντὶ βροτοῖο* 395₅ Phrygian, of execration 1125 *pueri ingenui patrimi et matrimi* 1182 Sarcenic 'Ἀλλὰ οὐὰ Κουβάρ 918₀ *si deus, si dea* 25₁ *ταύτη τῇ ὥρᾳ σήμερον ἡ Κόρη ἐγέννησε τὸν Αἰῶνα* 912₀ *ἔε, κύε* 299 307 454 *ἔε, κύε, ὑπέρχυε* 308
 Fornari, F. 136
 Forrer, E. 111₄
 Forrer, R. 345₁
 Forsdyke, Sir E. J. 807₁ 830₂ 1191
 Forster, E. S. 939 1011
 Fossils regarded as thunderbolts 884₀
 Foucart, G. 944₂₁
 Foucart, P. 302₀₍₆₎
 Fountain of Life 421₀
 Fountains of Death (Forgetfulness) and Life (Memory) 421₀
 Fowler, W. Warde 437
 Fox 14₀ 977
 Fränkel, Miss C. 560₆
 Frankfort, H. 832₂ 1102 1110 1196
 Fraser, A. D. 112₂
 Frazer, Sir J. G. 73 77₃ 103₃ 106₂ 108 111₁ 122₆ 177₀ 274 287 289 305₀₍₇₎ 368₃ 369₇ 371₀ 393 420₀ 433₀ 473 583₃ 591₁ 599₍₃₎ 651₀ 733 837₁ 874 938 945₀ 978 988 1092 1116
 Fredrich, C. 231 ff.

- Freshfield, D. W. 1164 1165 f.
 Frickenhaus, A. 574₂ 725₅
 Friedländer, L. 556
 Friedländer, P. 417₀
 Fries, C. 1121
 Fritze, H. von 248₁ 794₁
 Frobenius, L. 956₁ 957₀
 Froehde, F. 94₂
 Fröhner, W. 1150 f.
 Frog, helpful 450
 Frothingham, A. L. 435 438₇
 Furious Host See Wild Hunt
 Furlani, G. 1140 1141 1156 f.
 Furtwängler, A. 102₀ 139 f. 149₃ 205₃ 372₆
 375₁₍₂₎ 400₃ 401₁ 422 581₀ 601₂ 636₀ 675₁
 675₅ 689₇ 690₁ 696 696₅ 705 707 709 719₁
 720₃ 722 781₁ 813₅₍₂₎ 850 933₂ 972 f.
 1003 1008 1157
 Gàbrici, E. 400₂ 1136 1188
 Gadfly personified 1156
 Gaedechens, G. R. 845
 Gaerte, W. 1091
Gaiéochos 13₃
 Galley branded on Samian slaves 791₀
 Gallig, K. 580₀
 Gallop, R. 1130
Gállos 1174
 Galt, J. 721₅₍₁₎
 Gaming board inscribed with name of Zeus
 Bouleüs etc. 1124
 Ganszyniec, R. 1114 1141
 Garden of the gods 1064₁ of Hera 1064
 of Hesperides 404₀ 1064 of Okeanos
 1064₄ of Zeus 746 1062
 Gardiner, E. N. 1155
 Gardner, E. A. 169₀ 216₁ 694 695₃ 705 771₁
 1187
 Gardner, P. 68₂ 202₀ 375₆ 705₀ 770₁
 'Garland' 1133 See also May-garland
 Garment of Athena worn by *basileús* (?) 1186
 of Pandrosos worn by her priestess 245
 of Pandrosos' priestess transferred to
 man slaying victim 245
 Garnets 217₀ 765₄
 Garrucci, R. 971₁
 Garstang, J. 1197
 Gaster, M. 977
 Gateways in Indo-European cult 1114
 Gecko 665₃
 Geffcken, J. 330₀ f.
 Gell, Sir W. 493₂
Geoponika 876₁
 Gerard, E. 286
 Gerhard, E. 456₂ 456₆ 515 515₈ 612 614 713
 762 763₁ 803₅ f. 839 845
 Gerogiannes, K. 846
Gesichtsurnen See Face-urns
 Gestures aiding childbirth 663₂ 669 673 ff.
 676₍₃₎ delaying childbirth 663₂ of
 affection 1033 of alarm 931 of amaze-
 ment 931 of ἀποσκοπεύων 602₁₀ 1019
 of appeal 974₀ of benediction or command
 543₁ (?) 549 (?) of bride 1039 1053 of
 conversation 1039 of Eileithyia copied
 Gestures (cont.)
 by Zeus 663₂ 676₍₃₎ of gratitude 529 of
 greeting 687 of Hebe 704 of ὑπερέχειν
 χείρα or χεῖρας 1074 of invocation 630
 of longing desire 152 963 of love 1053₁₍₂₎
 of prayer 151 1078 of prophylaxis 549
 of respect 181 of salutation 546 of serene
 meditation 946 of supplication 1121
 unexplained (hands raised, one palm
 outwards, the other in profile) 1138
 Ghislanzoni, E. 535₁
 Giannopoulos, N. I. 271 f. 282 1161 1167
 Gigantomachy in art 140 55₅ 56₀ 57₀ 306₀₍₈₎
 534 in literature 792₂ 842 966
 Gilbert, O. 433₀ 1194
 Gilded bronze statues 862 862₄
 Giles, P. 141₃ 797
 Gilles, P. 143
 Girard, P. 650₀
 Glass plaques from Dendra represent
 Europe (?) 623₁ 1194 *tesserae* in mosaic
 from Aquileia represent blue water
 627₍₃₎
 Globe as footstool of Christ enthroned 948
 as footstool of Zeus enthroned 948
 1067 (?) as seat of God the Father 948
 as seat of God the Son 948 as seat of
 infant Zeus 948 blue 1067 the Farnese
 488 in hand of Zeus 1112 origin and
 usage of, in antiquity 1066
 Glotz, G. 137₀ 298 850
 Glueck, N. 1097
 Goat as attribute of Hermes 1060 first
 killed at Ikaria 594 image of, stamped
 on Lemnian earth 229 on rock carried
 by Poseidon 14₀ (?) 18₀ ridden by infant
 Dionysos 1109 sacrifice of she-goat to
 Zeus in Crete 1110 taboo on the
 Akropolis at Athens, yet once a year
 driven up there for solemn sacrifice
 841
 Goats must not be touched nor mentioned
 by *flamen Dialis* 243₅ substituted for
 girl-victims to Artemis *Mounychia* and
 probably also to Lemnos 233₁
 'Goats,' human 1082 f. (?)
 Goatish dancers assimilated in s. iv B.C. to
 Pan 1106
 Goat-men on 'Minoan' gems and sealings
 from Kato Zakro 840₀ 1106
 Goat-skin of Dionysos *Melinaigis* 837 of
 Iuno *Sospita* 837
 Goebel, A. 8₀
 Gold apples 1064 basket of Europe 1092
 breast 1124 *bullae* 88₀ 1110 f. cicalas
 from Bosphoros Kimmerios 253₀ cicala
 from Ephesos 253₀ cicalas from Hungary
 253₀ f. cicala from Mt Parnes 253₀ cicalas
 worn by Ionians 250₃ 251₀ cow used in
 Hindu rite of rebirth 1092 double axes
 from Arkalochori Cave 1143 eagle on
 stone of Elagabalos 901 f. earring of
 s. iv-iii B.C. with bull's head 1098 earring
 of s. iv B.C. with *kalathiskos*-dancer 1009
 ears of barley from grave near Syracuse

Gold (cont.)

307₀ foil of Etruscan work with relief of Tithonos tended by Heos (Eos) 247 glasses 948 hair of the Beauty of the Earth 412₀ harvest sent by Metapontines to Delphoi 307₀ hound of Crete 1110 idol thrown into bean-field at Malta 1031₇ *tynges* 1073 jewellery of s. vi and s. v B.C. scarce 766 f. lioness-head from Mykenai 1174 medallions from Abukir 779₀ model of mountain (?) from Arkalochori Cave 1143 olive of Pygmalion 983 pendant representing Aphrodite with two Erotes 1020 plant on Mt Tomori near Berat 1171 plaques from Mykenai representing Aphrodite (Astarte?) 1016 rain 455 ff. 473 ff. rings from Knossos 650₀ rings from Mykenai 650₀ ring from 'Mycenaean' tomb at Athens 1090 ring from Thisbe 681₂ ring of c. 400 B.C. 782₄ seat in south-European folk-tales 420₀ showered down on Rhodes by Zeus 477₃ snow 477 507 670 statues 862₄ strap-buckle of La Tène period with bull's head 1098 tablets of Orphists 395₅ 396 419₅ f. thunderbolt of Adad 1095 tresses stolen from head of Zeus *Olympios* 969 cp. 966 wings of Athena *Nike* (?) 811₃ wings of Nike on hand of Athena *Parthénos* 811₃ See also Gilded

Goldby, F. 772₅

Goldmann 433₀

Goldziher, I. 334₁

Gomme, A. W. 866₈

Gorgóneion as Orphic name for moon (*Gorgónion*) 805₄ as sun 863 assimilated to Phobos (?) 863 assimilated to Sol 863 bearded in early Greek and late Roman art 865 evolution of, from lower to higher forms 848 ff. illustrated by sequence of Greek and Roman coin-types 853 ff. in pediment 769 862 ff. of Athena 837 ff. of Sulis *Minerva* at Bath 862 ff. on *aigis* of Athena gradually converted from demon to angel 857 f. on gems 803_{0(4, 7, 8)} on handle of thunderbolt 1156 on Hellenistic relief-ware 200₀₍₄₎ on shield of Athena 830 on shield of winged Athena 820 on shield of winged *Minerva* 823 on steatite seal-stones from Crete 845 1196 on tickets of Athenian dikasts 789₃ owl tantamount to 776₆ perhaps came from north Africa 847

Gow, A. S. F. 1071 1073 1103

Grabphalli 1067 1183 (?)

Gräber, F. 371₀

Graef, B. 672₀

Graefe, C. F. 531

Graindor, P. 129₆

Granger, F. 444₀ 965₃

Grassmann, H. 925₇

Greasy Bowsprit 505₆ Pole 505 f.

'Green Man' 1133

Green quartz or 'plasma' as rain-charm 313

Grégoire, H. 879 1141

Gressmann, H. 1103 1132 1180

Griffin carries 'Canopus' of Isis 348₂

Griffins draw chariot of Dionysos 842₂

draw chariot of Nemeseis 842₂ draw

chariot of Rhea (?) 842₂

Griffin's head on shield of Athena 839

Griffith, F. Ll. 346₀ 882₂ 1187

Grimm, J. 64₀ 164 164₅ 277₀ 446₅ 505₅ 1026₆

Grimm, W. 505₅ 1026₆

Grimme 887₅

Grisar, P. H. 328₀

Grose, S. W. 695₅

Growth, praeternatural rapidity of, characteristic of gods, heroes, etc. 929₂

Grünwedel, A. 401₁

Gruppe, O. 605₍₆₎ 108 f. 179 260 260₈ 267₇

275₀₍₄₎ 369 401₂ 411₀ 421₀ 567₀ 608₃

610 729 762₂ 763₄ 782₁ 791 811₁ 938₃

941₁ 984 987 1031₄ 1070 1082

Guarducci, M. 1183 f.

Gubernatis, A. de 257₁ 846 1032₁

Güntert, H. 308₁ 497₄ 1078 1114 1141 1174

Guild of Zeus *Hypsistos* in Egypt, regulations for 1163 f.

Guillon, P. 1181

Gull as bird form of Athena 782 f. as bird form of Leukothea 783₁ as bird form of sea-nymphs 783₁

Gundel, W. 76₁ 76₂ 475₁ 882₀

Guthrie, W. K. C. 402₁ 1068 1070 1103 1104 1179

Hackl, R. 351₄

Haematite 313₀₍₅₎

Hahn, J. G. von 977

Haigh, A. E. 574₃

Hail in ancient folk-lore 875 ff. in modern folk-lore 875₁

Hail-charm by amethyst 876 by anointing iron tools with bears' fat 878 by covering meal with russet cloth 878 by crocodile-skin 877 by dedicating picture of grapes in vineyard 877 by hippopotamus-hide 877 by hyaena-skin 877 by keys 877 by mirror 876 by owl nailed up 793 878 by seal-skin 876 f. by surrounding garden with white vines 878 by threatening sky with blood-stained axes 878 by tortoise 877 by woman in her courses 876 by wooden bulls 877

Hail-clouds chased away by magicians 33

Hair, dedicated at puberty 1066 golden, of the Beauty of the Earth 412₀ in lightning-spell 433₀

Hair-offering, bibliography of 1066

Haley, J. B. 76₁

Hall, Miss E. H. See Dohan, Mrs E. H.

Hall, H. R. 926₃ 1106 1122

Halley des Fontaines, J. 1146

Halliday, W. R. 1067 1105 1146 1160 1186

Hamilton, Miss M. See Dickins, Mrs G.

Hamman 1092

Hammer of Charon 927₃ of Thor 926 1142
thrown to ratify acquisition of property
1147

Hammond, N. G. L. 1173

Hanauer, J. E. 772₇

Hands uplifted 1162

Hanell, K. 1136

Hansen, C. 581₀

Harcum, Miss C. G. 172₀

Hardie, Miss M. See Hasluck, Mrs F. W.

Hare 977

Harland, J. P. 1164

Harmonism, scholiastic 125₃

Harnack, A. 327₂

Harp. Sumerian 1102

Hárpe 843

Harrie, I. 1181

Harris, J. Rendel 714 293 f. 345₁ 368₈ 369₃
506₇ 1103 1116 1128 1134 1135 1136 f.

Harrison, E. 1141

Harrison, Miss J. E. 108 166₀ 202₀ 240
241₄ 244₃ 248₁ 313 400₃ 402₁ 417₀ 576₀
614 f. 630₁ 724₀ 763 770 811₄ 846

Hart, H. St J. 891

Hartland, E. S. 506₇ 1194

Hartmann, A. 1106

Hartwig, P. 389_{0(b)}

Hasluck, F. W. 231 628₄ 880₃ 886₅ 1071
1171

Hasluck, Mrs F. W. 630₁

Hatzfeld, J. 1066

Hauser, F. 252₀₍₂₎ 515₃ 659₀ 716 1118

Haussoullier, B. 563 f.

Hauvette-Besnault, A. 154₂

Haverfield, F. 863

Hawes, H. Boyd 197₀

Hawk as attribute of Apollon 1073 as bird
form of Athena 781 of Jehovah (?) 558
on head of Apollon 46

Hawk-headed deity 5₀

Head-asseat of the soul 737₀ 1126 f. of Aulus
dug up on Capitol 441 of St Christina
swims about Lake Bolsiniensis 1013 of
Orpheus oracular 99 ff. 441₆

Heads hanging on palace-wall 1066

Head, B. V. 529₀ 529₅ 898

Head-dress elaborate, of dolls from Myrina
1009 of bovine horns worn by Mesopo-
tavian deities 832 832₄ of rushes or
basket-work worn by *kalathiskos*-
dancers 996 ff. of two fishes worn by
Atargatis 1097

Heberdey, R. 161₉ 309₄₍₃₎ 312₀ 642₁ 768 f.

Hedgehog 14₀

Hédna 507

Heichelheim, F. M. 859₃ 1074 1083 1099 f.
1183

Hekler, A. 1108

Helbig, W. 251₉₍₁₎ 627₀

Helmbold, J. 1115

Helmet of cock's skin 804 with crest like
animal's head 862 with features of
Sokrates, Silenos, etc. 804₁ with head
and wing of Medousa 541 with horn

Helmet (*cont.*)

and ear of bull 541 with wheel 1072
with wings 820₂

Hemlock 918₄

Henning, R. 164₅

Henry, N. E. 1074

Henry, V. 358 362₃

Henzen, G. 375_{1(a)}

Heraldic arrangement See Antithetic
grouping

Herbst, R. 1187

Herkenrath, E. 1068

Herm, early and later types of 725₅ of
Aphrodite 722 of Hermes 830

Hermes, Janiform 1132 used to separate
scenes in relief 85₀₍₂₎

Hermann, G. 728

Hermann, K. F. 600₍₅₎

Heroes as faded gods (?) 650₀ (Aias,
Teukros)

Hero-feast 309₄₍₂₎

Herôion containing acanthus-plant 307₀
containing bay-branch 307₀ containing
wheat 306_{0(s)} of Pandion ii at Megara

783₁

Héros on sepulchral *stélai* from Odessos
1160

Herrmann, P. 463₁ 641₄ 1033₂ 1033₅ 1033₀

Herter, H. 1073 1183

Herzfeld, E. 642₁ 651₀

Herzog, A. 372₆

Herzog, R. 364₁

Hexameters, buried 100₅ (?) 263₀ dropped
for prose in later oracles of Apollon
100₅ endings 322₀ restored 122₁ 237₂
would-be 395₅ 628₄

Heydemann, H. 400₂ 601₂ 1181

Hicks, E. L. 586₁ 642₁

Hierôdoulô 176₀ 177₀ 648₀

Hierophântes at Eleusis rendered sterile
by use of hemlock 300₀₍₁₎ 913₄ of
Persephone pronounces Orphic verse
395₅

Hierôs gámos at Argos 1043 ff. at Athens
1047 ff. at Elymion (Elymnia) 1041
at Hermione 1043 at Knossos 1032 1092
at Samos 1027 ff. in the cave of Achilleus
1043 in the far west 1062 1064 of
Athena 224₃ of Zeus and Europe
(Hellotis) 1092 of Zeus and Hera 948₁₆
949₀ 1025 ff. on Mt Ide in Phrygia
1032 ff. on Mt Kithairon 1042 on Mt
Oche 1041 of comparatively late
introduction 1065 bibliography of 1026₇

Highbarger, E. L. 1165

Hildebrandt, R. 781₃ 783₁
Hill like a recumbent man (Antaios) 372₅
cp. 1173

Hill, Mrs B. H. 261₇

Hill, Sir G. F. 88₀ 216₁ 550 550₁₃ 557 698₁₁
892 893₃ 982 f.

Hiller von Gaertringen, F. 167₈ 266₄ 267₇
283 1070 1173

Hippopotamus-hide in hail-charm 877

Hirschfeld, G. 530

- Hirst, Miss G. M. 653₁ 655₀
 Hirt, H. 651₀
 Hirzel, R. 49₀ 78₂
 Höfer, O. 102₁ 1111
 Hoffmann, C. G. 450₄
 Hoffmann, E. 746₆
 Hoffmann, O. 289₂
 Hogarth, D. G. 253₀ 840₀
 Holed bucket in German folk-tale 448 f.
 'Dipylon' vases 200₀ 373 *loutrophoroi* of black-figured or red-figured style 373 vase of fluted red ware from Kypros 375₅ vessels in Italy 427 f. vessels elsewhere 445 ff.
 Holland, L. B. 195₀ 354₆ 360 363 1074 1120 1184
 Holleaux, M. 118
 Holmberg, U. 405₀ 1116 f. 1192
 Holtzmann, H. 971₀ 972₂ 973₀
 Holweck, F. G. 472₃
 'Holy-mawle' used by son to knock his father on the head 738₀
 Homeric poems originate in Aeolian Thessaly 141 (?) put together at Chios 141 (?)
 Hommel, E. 1086
 Hommel, F. 275₀₍₂₎ 276₀ 334₁ 341₃ 984 1103
 Homolle, T. 1009 1122
 Honey as celestial diet 496 as dew from the sky 246 250 496 as libation to Zeus *Endendros* 1173 as libation to Zeus *Ikmaios* 267 as rain-charm 335₃ as water of life 981 from ash-trees 498₃ from lime-trees 499₁ from oak-trees 498₂ from reeds 499₂ identified with *ambrosia* and *néktar* 496 f.
 Honey-cake 772
 Honey-dew 246 261₁ 498 ff. caught on skins 500₁
 Hooke, S. H. 1121
 Hoopoe 44 45₀
 Hopfner, T. 887₈
 Hopkins, C. 1163
 Hopkins, E. W. 546₁
 Hoplatry 313₃ (?)
 Hoppin, J. C. 1142
 Horn as drinking-vessel 1091 set behind Elagabalus 902₇ set behind Kabeiros 902₇
 Horns, altar of, at Delos 1087 altar of, at Dreros 1087 as ritual furniture 1091 of Io progressively minimised 637₃ prophylactic use of 549₂
 'Horns of consecration' as andirons (?) 1091 as conventional representation of *hucranium* (?) 1091 as merely decorative (?) 1091 as mountain-symbol (?) 1091 on head of 'Minoan' goddess 818₀
 Horned altars in Delos etc. 1091 dancers at Abbots Bromley 1087 human figures on early seal-stones 1106 imp on signet from Mochlos 845 king of Spain 1111 tiger 1106
 Horse in combination with wheel 1076 in cult of the dead 1179 St Irene bound
 Horse (*cont.*)
 to wild 472₃ of bronze found by Gyges 1114 of Poseidon painted white 753₂ Trojan 1179
 Horses of Zeus 1064₁ tombs of 1187
 Horse-sacrifice in antiquity 1070 1179
 Horse-shaped deities (chthonian god and goddess with the Erinyes as their twin offspring) 1182
 Horse's head on hand of Poseidon 217₀
 Horse-worship of 'Indogermanen' 1179 of Greeks 1075 in Germany etc. 1179 in east Kent ('The Hooden Horse') 1179 bibliography of 1179
 Horsfield, H. 1197
 Hound, chthonian 413₀ golden 1110 of Ares 683 See also Dog
 Hounds, baying of supernatural 1066 of Yama 410₀ ff.
 Housman, A. E. 268₃ 1026₄
 Hubaux, J. 136₂
 Hubbell, H. M. 1070 1179
 Hudson, E. C. 1125
 Hülsen, C. 444₄ 445₀ 904₂
 Human sacrifice offered by Elagabalus 526₃ of king or king's son in famine 1080 ep. 267 to Agrauros or Diomedes at Salamis in Kypros commuted to sacrifice of ox 653₀ to Artemis commuted to sacrifice of deer or bear or bull 233₁ to Artemis *Mounychia* commuted to sacrifice of she-goat in girl's clothing 233₁ to Dis commuted 433₀ to Iupiter *Elicius* commuted 433₀ to Iupiter *Hospes* (Zeus *Xénios*) at Amathous in Kypros 653₀ to Kronos 937 to Lemnos 191₀ to Lemnos probably commuted to sacrifice of goats 233₁ to Mania commuted 433₀ to Saturn commuted 433₀ to Zeus by Bousiris, king of Egypt 653₀ to Zeus in Kypros 652₀ to Zeus at Lyttos 525 to Zeus *Atabýrios* in Rhodes and Sicily 525 to Zeus *Ithomátas* in Messene 525 to Zeus *Kretagenés* (Marnas) at Gaza 554 f. to Zeus *Laphýstios* in Thessaly and Boiotia 525 to Zeus *Lýkaios* in Arkadia 267 525 1068 to Zeus *Ómbrios* at Elis 267 525 f.
 Humborg 1141
 Humped oxen 991
 Hunt, H. 1171
 Huth, O. 1130
 Hutton, Miss C. A. 841₁ 842₁
 Hyaena-skin in hail-charm 877
 Hyde, W. W. 583₄ 591₁
 Hydromancy 292
 Hylén, J. E. 416₁
Hypothymis 309₄₍₂₎
 Hysterolite 918₄
 Iambic tags 842₂ (?)
 Iambic, would-be 1130
Iaspis as rain-charm 313₅
 Icebergs 140₇ 977 f.
 Idolatry, Dion Chrysostomos' plea for 963₁

- ikós* an exceptional termination of divine appellatives 560₆
- Ilberg, J. 55₅
- Iliffe, J. H. 1137
- Imhoof-Blumer, F. 530 802 1140
- Immisch, O. 369₃
- Impregnation by blood of Ouranos 481 by dewdrop 475₃ by the eye of God 473 by falling star 474 f. by golden snow 477 507 by rain 475 f. by the sun 473
- Incendiaria avis* 791
- Index deorum* See Catalogue of the gods
- Ingots in shape of ox-hide 1146
- Initiations of Cyprian 775 1046
- Iron, birth of 1100 f. discovery of 922 displaces bronze in late versions of myth of Danaë 473₂ early use of meteoric 922 f. in Egypt called *ba-n-pet*, 'the metal of heaven' 923₀ cp. 923₂ oxide used to paint bones 515₈
- Irrigation of Argos by Danaos or the Danaïdes 361 f. practised by Danaoi and Daunioi (?) 366
- Isabelle, C. E. 444₁
- Island of ghosts 984 of souls 109 112 975
- Islands of the Blest 162 turning or floating, haunted by Harpies 987 See also Floating islands
- 'Island-stones' 1068 1106
- Ithyphallic figure (*baskánion*) protects potter's oven 799
- Ivory preserved by damp air of *ádyton* 238₃ preserved by use of oil made from pitch 967 f. repairing of, now a lost art 968₄ seal from Mesará 790₀ seals from Pherai (*Velestino*) 278 shoulder of Pelops 1124 See also Chryselephantine
- Ivy-leaves at ends of garlands 1146 on handles of *thýrsoi* 1007
- Ivy-wreath 675 685₂ 1133
- Iynx* 313 1103
- Iynges* of gold 1073
- 'Jack-in-the-Green' 1133
- Jacob, G. 1171
- Jacobs, J. 450₂
- Jacobsthal, P. 102₀ 182₁ 1147
- Jacoby, F. 519₆ 928₁ 928₈ 1085
- Jacopi, G. 664₁ 1187
- Jade 925₈
- Jahn, O. 223₀ 570 573 573₄ 590₄ 602 614₅ 627₍₃₎ 846
- Jameson, R. 820₂
- Jamot, P. 218
- Janiewitsch, O. 369₃
- Janiform deities, conspectus of 1130 head on coins of Tenedos 789₂ head on sceptre of Zeus 686 herms 1132 masks in springtime festivals of the Pyrenees 1130
- Jar of evils in Hesiod 108 of good things in Babrios 108
- Jars of Artemis *Kalliste* 1181 of rains and winds 107 of Zeus 1181
- Jardé, A. 1187
- Jenkins, R. J. H. 416₁ f. 1068 1155
- Jeremias, A. 341₃ 933₇
- Jessen, O. 66₂ 880₀ 976 978
- Jet cools eagle's nest 792
- Jevons, F. B. 122₆ 300₀₍₂₎
- Johansen, K. F. 1142
- Jokl, N. 1125 1168 1196
- Jolliffe, Miss N. 135₈ 136₂ 137₀ 298
- Jones, H. Stuart 262₀ 322₀ 585₄ 781₇ 863 925₅ 933 f. 939₇ 954₇
- Jonston, J. 277₀ 503₀ 1031₅
- Jordan, H. 444₄
- Judeich, W. 260₆ 1155
- Judges of the dead 402₁
- Judgment of Paris, Athena's toilet before 814₀ Helen v. Athena in 770 Hera successful in 67 f. on coin of Skepsis 517₀ on *kratér* at Petrograd 702 ff.
- Jülg 976
- Jüthner, J. 1153
- Junker, H. 914₀
- 'Jupiter-columns' 1100 1117 1191
- Kahle, P. 979
- Kaibel, G. 673₄ 1083
- Kaiser Wilhelm ii. 845₉
- Kakridis, J. T. 250₄
- Kalathiskos*, dance called 990
- Kalathiskos*-dancers on vases 996 ff. in limestone reliefs at Trysa 1000 ff. on coins of Abdera 1002 f. in marble reliefs of later Attic school 1003 in neo-Attic reliefs 1006 ff. of Arretine ware 1003 1006 of Roman mural reliefs in terra cotta 1006 1008 assimilated to Nikai 1008 on gold earring 1009 'in the round' 1009 on terra-cotta plaques of Hellenistic date 1011 on gems of imperial date 1011
- Kalathiskos*-runners 1012
- Kálathos*, ritual basket called 990 ff. adorned with rape of Persephone 991 containing corn-ears and poppy-heads 991 drawn by *biga* of humped oxen 991 drawn by *quadriga* of horses 991 drawn by two winged snakes 991 flanked by two torches 991 on column between two winged snakes 991 f. of Artemis 992 f. of Sarapis 1148
- Kalinka, E. 189₁ 1140 1162
- Kappótas*, etymology of 941 f.
- Karo, G. 681 1073 1091 1141
- Karouzos, Ch. 1151 f.
- Kathédra* in cult of the dead 1140
- Katsarov, G. I. 1125 1159
- Kaufmann, C. M. 145₂ 971₀ 972₀
- Kazarow, G. I. See Katsarov, G. I.
- Keil, B. 271 271₀
- Keil, J. 642₁ 1078 1174
- Kekulé von Stradonitz, R. 710 1003
- Kelainephés* 33 f.
- Keller, O. 132₂ 324₁ 683₁ 802
- Kennett, Mrs D. K. 845₀
- Kennett, R. H. 771₈

- Kent, C. F. 167₅
 Keramopoulos, A. D. 1187
 Kerényi, K. 1119 1183
 Kern, O. 60₅₍₆₎ 189₁ 422₀ 730 914₀ 949₁₀ 1128
Kérnos 248₁ 724₀
 Keune 1142
 Keyes, C. W. 823₁₁ 825₀
 Keys in hail-charm 877
Kibotol of Demeter and Persephone 712 on coins of Apameia in Phrygia 530
 'Kid,' Orphic votary as 1118
 'Kids,' Dionysos-worshippers as 1104
 Kieseritzky, G. 76₁
Kiltgang See Clandestine intercourse
 King, essential features of old-world 420₀ put to death at first symptom of physical decline 733 divinity of, quits body in form of bird 733 responsible for crops 74 hence king or king's son sacrificed in time of famine 74 as human Zeus 269 269₇ 733 becomes Osiris 1131
 Kings, rule of succession for primitive 177₀ 733 of Aeolians personate Zeus 141 of early Greeks honoured as embodiments of Zeus 733 of Baganda reborn as lions 957₀ of the Kābul valley emergent from, or seated on, clouds 42 f.
 'King of May' 1133
 King, J. E. 122₆
 King, Miss L. S. 261₇
Kiškanû-tree 1136
Kiste 990
 Kite a bird of ill omen in Hellas 45 f. 46₁ or shearwater, as bird form of Athena 781
Kithāra of Apollon 683 684 of Orpheus 419
 Kjellberg, L. 252₀
 Klein, W. 183 706₆
 Klinz, A. 1026₇
 Kluge, F. 501₅
 Kluge, K. 1110 1122
 Knaack, G. 954₁
 Knees of the gods 717
Knielauf, sub-'Minoan' or sub-'Mycenaean' on gem from Melos 1138 archaic type of, used to represent Engonasin or Ingeniculus in Ionic art of s. vi b.c. 488 archaic type of, used to represent Herakles in early art 488 archaic type of, modified to represent Theseus raising the rock 485₁₂
 Knife used in *bouphonia* at Athens tried, condemned, and cast into sea 583 ff.
 Knight, W. F. J. 1087
 Knox, A. D. 1114
 Köchly, H. 531
 Köhler, R. 977
 Köhler, U. 114
 Körte, A. 318 560₂ 560₆
 Kolbe, W. 939
 Kolf, Miss van der 1110
 Koppers, W. 1179
Koskinomanteia 336 ff.
Kóttabos-stand 1000
 Koujeas, S. 1147
 Kourouniotes, K. 248₁ 315₂
 Kraeling, C. H. 1179
 Krahe, H. 1184 1189
 Kranz, W. 746₃
 Krappe, A. H. 74 336₅ 404₀ 447₆ 730 933₇ 936₁ 986 f. 1076 1078 1080 1116 1134 1135 1182 1184 1187
 Kretschmer, P. 14₀ 76₁ 112₃ 191₈ 226 275₀₍₃₎ 608₁ 1090 1106 1113 1131 1141 1155 1187
 Kroll, W. 248₁ 371₀ 421₀ 430₀ 993 1081 1174
 Krumbacher, K. 953₆
 Kruse, gr. 248₁ 762₂ 1111 1172
Kteis in ritual basket 993 (?) of Astarte or Astaroth (?) 918₃ of Mother of the gods (?) 918₃ on black stone of Emesa 906 916₁ on black stone of Mecca 918 on black stone of Pessinous (?) 898 916₁ on neolithic celt 1143 votive in marble 1143 votive in terra cotta 1143
 Kubitschek, J. W. 271
Kudurru 892₀ 1135
 Künstle, K. 1147
 Küster, E. 239₁ 767₂
 Kugler, F. X. 341₃
 Kuhn, A. 95_{3(1f.)} 498₃ 793₆
 Kuhnert, E. 402₁ 601₂ 967₁
 Kunze, F. 1072
Kýrbeis and *áxones* of Solon as the voice of Zeus 949 bibliography of 1183 f.
Lab 1072 f.
Labarum derived from *labrys* 1141 derived from *laureatum* (?) 1141 in relation to *labrys* 946
 Labour, symbols of fruitless 449
Labrys re-shaped into *labarum* 946 survives as Georgian *lahvari* 1141 See Axe, double
 Labyrinth See Index I
Labýrinthos, etymology of 1141
 Lackeit, C. 914₀
 Lacoste, H. 1120 f.
 Ladder as celestial ascent 946 as Egyptian amulet 946 as soul-path 1118 in gilded wood with two silver snakes twined about it 1119 in Thracian and Orphic beliefs 946 of Jacob 884₀ 891 1118 f. of Salvation 946
 La Fuye, Allotte de 1193
 Laistner, L. 358 f. 1160
 Lajard, F. 420₀ f.
 Lake, E. F. Coote 1156
 Lamb, golden 1080
 Lamb, Miss D. 810₃
 Lamb, Miss W. 217₀ 670₃
 Lamps, Christian 145₂ 261₇, Roman 41 948 981
 Lanciani, R. 136₂
 Land of Cokaygne 500 ff. 504₁
 Landerer, X. 179₂
 Lane, E. W. 916₁
 Langdon, S. 550₀ 1098 1136

- Lange, K. 187₃
Lapis lazuli, Mesopotamian inlay of 1066 1102
 Lark 44 45₀
Lárnar from Miletos in Crete 650₀
 Last, H. 315₀
 Latte, K. 116 992 f. 1127 1192
 Lattermann, H. 1070
 Lauer, J. F. 729 846
 Laufer, B. 257₁
 Laughter of divine derision 969₁ of Zeus in late Homeric *theomachia* 969₁ of Zeus at post-Homeric pranks of Hermes 969₁ of Zeus *Olympios* at Caligula's sacrilege 969
 Laum, B. 599₍₂₎ 606₃ 611
 Launay, L. de 923₁
 Launay, R. de 1086
 Laurent, M. 1187
 Lawrence, A. W. 353₁ 425₃ 839
 Lawson, H. 900₃
 Lawson, J. C. 164₁ 284 287 289 369₃ 394 f. 412₀ 721₅₍₂₎
 Layard, J. 1087
 Lead 'figurines d'envoûtement' 1162
 Leaf, W. 924 1065
 Leake, W. M. 713 939 1027₁
 Leap, Leucadian 136₃ 1076
 Leaven 167₅
 Le Bas, P. 939
 Lechat, H. 251₀₍₁₎ 718_{0(s)} 720₃ 768
 Leclercq, H. 528₃ 529₁
 Le Coq, A. von 1020
 Legerlotz, G. 94₂
 Legrain, L. 833₀
 Le Grand, M. A. 501₃
 Legs, crossed 1108
 Lehmann-Hartleben, K. 225₁ 1188
 Lehrs, K. 49₀
 Leipoldt, J. 1132
Lekanomanteia 1122
 Leland, C. G. 259₀
 Lemerle, P. 1196
 Lemnian earth 229 ff.
 Lenormant, C. 300₀ 529₁ 601₂ 734₀ 802
 Lenormant, F. 884₀ 1194
 Lenz, H. O. 759₅
 Leonard 248₁
 Leonardos, B. 1181
 Leonine gods 1095 looks of Alexander the Great 957₀
 Leopard-skin 57₀
 Leopold, R. 136₂
 Lerat, L. 937₅
 Leroux, G. 116 152₆
 Leskien, A. 976 f.
 Lesky, A. 1092
 Lethaby, W. R. 711 1184 f.
 Letter-box for persons consulting Jupiter *Heliopolitanus* 1095
 'Leucadian Leap,' 136₃ 1076
 Levi, Miss A. 1128
 Levy, Miss G. R. 1136
 Lewis, C. B. 509₂
 Lewy, H. 1115
 Libation-funnels in use at Ras Shamra 1193 f.
 Libertini, G. 107₃
 'Libyans,' black pitchers set upon tombs of the unmarried 372
 Licht, H. 1000 1134 1143
 Lictor, axe of, as iron model in tomb at Vetulonia 1192
 Lictors, axes of, in Roman reliefs 1192
 Lidzbarski, M. 889₅
 Liebrecht, F. 95₀ 99₀
 Lietzmann, H. 136₂
 Life of Athena manifested by flora and fauna of Akropolis 749 831 837 866
 Life-trees at Athens 760 762 at Megara 762 in general 760₁
 Light, pillar of 1115 f.
 Lightning as a double axe 943 as a fork 943 as a spear 943 as a sword 943 as a triple fork 1150(?) as a weapon 1137 as a whip 1160 as destructive glance of Zeus 943 as irresistible weapon of Zeus 943 strikes statue of Julian at Kaisareia Paneas 972₀ strikes statue of Zeus *Olympios* 968 strikes temple of Zeus *Olympios* 958 1196
 Lightning-lore learnt by Numa from Iupiter *Elcinius* 433₀
 Lightning-spell with onions, hair, and sprats 433₀
Liknon as basket-cradle of Tithonos 247 bibliography of 248₁
 Lily-flowers 955
 Lily-sceptre 92₀
 Lily-wreath 88₀
 Lindsay, W. M. 1105
 Lion as arm-rest of throne 1052₍₆₎ as mount of Iuno *Caelestis* 1045 as symbol of royalty 957₀ as totem of Baganda kings 957₀ Hittite mother-goddess standing on 834 horned, as attribute of Aion 1180 with star on shoulder 1112 See also Leonine
 Lions as decoration of divine or royal thrones 956₂ 957₀ Sumerian Lilit(?) standing on 832 834
 Lioness-heads from Knossos, Delphoi, and Mykenai 1174
 Lion-footed stool 904 957₀
 Lion-god of Hittites 837
 Lion-legged throne 957₀
 'Lion-seat' of Vikrama 957₀
 Lion's head as fountain 272₅ 561 as sign of Gennaïos 1095
 Lion-skin of Porphyron 57₀
 Lion-skins of Hittite lion-god 837
 Lippold, G. 121₁ 123₃ 123₅ 123₆ 570₅ 807₃ 1108 1155
 Litholatriy in myth of Hyperochos and Phemios 1105 of Greeks and Romans 887₁ of Levantines 936 of Saracens 915₂
Lithophôroi 888₁
 Lloyd, A. H. 307₀ 614₅ 982 1122
 Lobeck, C. A. 120 166₀ 298₉ 590₇ 1130

- Locative forms give rise to new nominatives 224 748
- Lods, A. 910₅
- Loeff, A. R. van der 223₉
- Loeschcke, G. 605₍₆₎ 670 4130 711
- Löwy, E. 2070 1131 1179
- Lones, T. E. 1193
- Loom-weights from Tarentum 795
- Lorimer, Miss H. L. 394
- Lots 716₆ 717
- Loutrophóros*, nuptial, boy or girl who carried the bridal bath 371 f. pitcher carried by girl in bridal procession and set beside *lébetes* for bath 388 f.
- Loutrophóros*, sepulchral, pitcher placed over tomb of the unmarried 372 ff. 603 carried by girl in funeral procession and set up on grave-mound 387 carved on *stèle* 392 f.
- Loutrophóroi*, sepulchral, reducible to nuptial 396 cp. 427 three-handled 375 388₂
- Love in relation to Zeus 1189
- Lucas, A. 968₄
- Lucas, C. W. 781₃
- 'Ludovisi Throne' and its Boston pendant 1044₄ (?)
- Ludwich, A. 531
- Lullies, R. 1132
- Lycanthropy See Were-wolves
- Lychnomanteta* 1122
- Lycian symbol 1074
- Lydekker, R. 499₃
- Maas, P. 115
- Maass, E. 990 209₄ 237₂ 4160 5670 594₆ 1067 1128
- Macalister, R. A. S. 145₂ 1115 f.
- MacCulloch, J. A. 119₄ 367₂ f. 549₂ 1067 f. 1124
- Macdonald, Sir G. 789 898₁
- Macdonald, Miss L. 40
- Macdonell, A. A. 273₂ 362₃
- Mace, bronze, from Willingham Fen 1099 f.
- Mach, E. von 706₆
- Macler, F. 293₂
- Macpherson, S. C. 446
- Macurdy, Miss G. H. 1114 1137 1140 1174
- Madden, F. W. 5290 529₄
- Maffei, F. S. 8960
- Magic combined with prayer 315 316 distrust of 428 mimetic, in Naxian custom 1026₄ mimetic, in Swedish custom 1026₄ See also Cloud-charm, Hail-charm, Lightning-spell, Rain-charm, Rain-magic
- Magical circle 1073 herbs used by birds 53₁ horse 1169 1171 marks on amulets 340 ff. papyri 3220 332₃ texts (late Greek) 332₃ throne made by Hephaistos for Hera 222
- Magician, Chaldaean (Iulianus) 332 Egyptian (Arnouphis) 325 f. 332 Zeus as 31
- Magnusen, F. 404₀ f.
- Magpie 1138
- Mair, A. W. 268₃
- Maiuri, A. 1034 1036₁
- Malachite 5380 9337 1194
- Mallet used by Valeria Luperca to tap sick folk and recover them of their sickness 802₅
- Mallowan, M. E. L. 1138
- Malten, L. 181₁ 1907 221 227₈ 228 6050 1101 1176 1179
- Manalis lapis* as portal of Orcus 432 1194 as rain charm 432 434 1194 at Rome 429 ff. 1194 etymology of 432 1194
- Manales lapides* or *petrae* 434 f. 1194
- Manna 495 f.
- Mannhardt, W. 650 235₂ 289 334₂ 599₍₃₎
- Man-slayer, attitude of Zeus towards 951 f.
- Marcellus, Count de 531
- Maresch, G. 1113 1134
- Margoliouth, D. S. 919₃
- Mariani, L. 535₁
- Marinatos, S. 189₁ 1066 1087 1143 1150
- Marine *cortège* escorts souls to Islands of the Blest 133
- Marionettes by Heron of Alexandria 868
- Mariti, G. 591₁
- Marmorstein, A. 446₂
- Marót, K. 1103
- Marriage and mysteries analogous 425 f. ceremonial, of hierophant (Zeus) and priestess (Demeter) 3010₍₃₎ endogamic, in family of Aiolos Hippotades 110 endogamic, of Danaïdes and Aigyptiadaí 369 endogamic, among Thessalians 110 endogamic, of Ptolemies 111 of brother and sister 110 f. of Danaïdes and Aigyptiadaí as fertility-charm 369 426 of Dionysos and *Baslinna* 1105 of Earth and Sky 289 1092 of Earth and Sky the first of all marriages 454 of Sun and Moon in Crete 1092 of Zeus and Hera 111 (See also *Hierós gámos*)
- Marriage *post mortem* 393 ff. traces of in Scandinavia, Germany, Russia, Greece 394 with god or goddess of the Under-world 395 f. 1189
- Marriage-preparations on *pyxis* 388_{3(a)}
- Marriage-procession on vases 388 ff.
- Marriage-test of Penelope explained by parallel from the Mundas of Chota Nagpur 1147
- Marshall, F. H. 4050 822
- Marshall, Sir J. 1087 1106 1156
- Marzell, H. 1105
- Masks, black, with sheep's horns 1156 foliate in church architecture 1133 of early La Tène art 863 on Dionysiac pillar 1103 Satyric 559₄ worn by flute-players at Rome 8560
- Massēbhoth* 891 910 983 in relation to 'āshērīm 910 prehistory of 910₅ shaped into quasi-human form 910₅ 9110
- Mât de cognac* 505
- Matrilinear descent, transition from, to patrilinear descent 89₁
- Matthews, R. 1169 ff.
- Mattingly, H. 886₂ 906₂ 946₁₆ 1074

- Matz, F. 812₁ 1154 f.
 Mau, A. 444₂
 Mayer, M. 387₂ 797 842₂ 897₃ 931₁ 935₁ 941 f.
 May-garland 1076 See also 'Garland'
 Maylam, P. 1179
 McKay, J. G. 1068
 Meadow of Hera 1064₄
 Meadows of Selene and Aphrodite 1064₄
 Méautis, G. 1131
 Megas, G. A. 358
 Meier, H. 501₄ 502₀
 Meillet, A. 94₂ 434₀
 Meister, R. 94₂ 289₂
 'Melian' reliefs 181 f. 414_{0(a)}
Mēlon on coins of Melos a pomegranate, not an apple 817₀
 Mendel, G. 557₇ 558 630₁ ff. 1155 1160 1181
Menhirs-sculptés 910₅
 Mercklin, L. 1111
 Merry, W. W. 140₇ 978
 Meteoric iron, early use of 922 f.
 Meteorite as luck of Kyzikos 886₅ as stone of Kronos (?) 938 as Zeus *Kappótas* (?) 942 figured as star (?) 886₂ regarded as a babe 920 922 927 regarded as a mother 920 represented by *omphalós* (?) 885₀
 Meteorites a sign of downfall and ill-luck 882 distinguished in popular belief from shooting-stars 882 identified with *baityloi* or *baitylia* 892 892₁ 938 identified with Homeric *ákmones* 924 f. in relation to Kybele 893 ff.
 Metonymy 227₇
 Meyer, E. 360₄ 900₁ 914₁
 Meyer, E. H. 51₀ 277₀ 446₅ 793₆
 Meyer, G. 276₀
 Meyer, L. 274₀₍₁₎
 Meyer, R. M. 447₀
 Meyer-Lübke, W. 434₀
 Michaelis, A. 583₂ 702₀ 713 718₀₍₃₎ 718₂ 720₃
 Miers, H. A. 881₃
 Milchhöfer, A. 373 402₁
 Milk in Orphic rites 1118
 Millingen, J. 144
 Milne, H. J. M. 1134 1137
 Milne, J. G. 346₀
 Miltner, F. 145₂
 Minervini, G. 100
 Minns, E. H. 155₃ 654₀ 655₀ 822 978 1173
 Miracle of the Quadi 324 ff. of Zeus *Panámaros* 1066
 Mirror in hail-charm 876 of Aphrodite 94₀ 622₍₃₎ of Eros 622₍₃₎
 Mirrors, Etruscan 86₀₍₅₎ 89₁ 259 677₀ ff. 806 815₀ 839 1090 1112 Greek 618₍₃₎
 Mirror-cases of early imperial date 981 f.
 Mirror-stands, Greek 1016 ff.
 Mischkowski, H. 177₁ 579₅₍₃₎
 Mitford, T. B. 1187
Mjölnir 1140
 Mogk, E. 447₀ 1179
 Mommsen, A. 104₀ 241₀ 576₁ 584₀ 584₁ 585 586₂ 597 719 1047 1047₃ 1140
 Mommsen, Th. 329₀ 444
 Monier-Williams, Sir M. 925₇ 957₀
 Monster in literature and art made more monstrous still 403₁
 Montelius, O. 1128
 Montessus de Ballore, Count de 1
 Montet, P. 1076
 Months, gods of the 1055 *Ἀνθεστηριών* 179₀ 604₂ 1105 *Ἀπελλαῖος* 551₃ *Ἀδδυναῖος* 552 *Ἄφροδιος* 271 *Ἀφροδισίος* 653₀ *Athyra* 345₀ *Βατρόμιος* 564₂ 566₂ *Βοηδρομιών* 598₃ *Γαμηλιών* 95₀ 1047 *Δῖος* 551₃ 1163 *Εἰραφιών* 95₀ *Ἐκατομβαιών* 720 *Ζυμίνθιος* 1124 *Θαργηλιών* 178₀ 241 *Ianuarius* 1067 *Κάρνειος* 567 *Ληραιών* 95₀ *Μαιμακτηριών* 321₀ *Maius* 321₀ *Μαχανεύς* or *Μαχάνειος* 567₀ *Πεδαγέτιος* 567 *Περλίτιος* 1159 *Ποσειδεών* 179₀ *Πυανασιών* 166₀ 211 *Σκυροφοριών* 115 165 241 576 598₃ 599₍₃₎ 602 720, 1183
 Moon called *Gorgónion* 805₄ 845 face in the 805₄ 845
 Moon, Miss N. See Oakeshott, Mrs W. F.
 Moore, G. F. 887 887₈ 892 937₆
 Moral stability of Zeus 948 f.
 Mordtmann, J. H. 1163
 Moret, A. 305₀ 306₀
 Morgan, M. H. 315 322₀
Moriai offshoots from the *ἀστή ἐλαία* on the Akropolis at Athens 187₂
 Moritz, B. 914₁
 Mosaics 129 626₍₂₎ 627₍₃₎ 948
 Mother-and-child *motifs* 681 681₂ 685₂ 730 f.
 Mother-of-pearl 1102
 Mother-right in early Greece 89₁ (?)
 Mountain identified with rain-god 321₀
 Mountains, conventional design for 834
 Mountain-worship 963 1068
 Mouse in folklore and religion 1081 f.
 Mouterde, R. 1080 1163
 Mowat, R. 779₀
 Mud, sinners sunk in 398₅
 Mühlestein, H. 1192
 Müller, F. Max 273₂
 Müller, H. D. 111
 Müller, K. O. 436
 Müller, S. 367₅
 Müller, V. 1138
 Münter, F. 917 925 937₀ 938₃
 Muir, Sir W. 919₄
 Muller, F. 439₂
 Mummy represented on black-figured *lékythos* 351₄
 Munch, P. A. 447₀
Mundus as gate of Underworld 431 f. as prehistoric tomb 440 f. as reservoir of water 438 ff. as subterranean granary for seed-corn 437 f. at Capua 429₁ at Rome 429 ff. etymology of 430₀ 431₂ 439 f.
 Munro, H. A. J. 453
 Munro, J. A. R. 648₀ 649₀
 Mural crown of winged Minerva 825₅

- Mural reliefs in marble, *kalathiskos*-dancers 1003 1007 f.
- Mural reliefs in terra cotta, Athena and Argo 778₁ 779₀ Athena (Palladion) between *kalathiskos*-dancers 820₂ 1006 Theseus raising the rock 485₁₂
- Murray, A. S. 517₀ 633₀ 711 718₂ 720₃ 815₀
- Murray, G. 1065 1068
- Murray, Miss M. A. 1139 1192 1193
- Mushrooms as parents of men 478 as wombs 478₂
- Mjddros* 924
- Mylonas, G. E. 1181 1191
- Myres, J. L. 736₃ 923₀ 1066
- Myrrh 70
- Myrtle-boughs covering *xóanon* of Hermes 725₅
- Myrtle-wreath of Hekate 272₃ of initiates at Eleusis 418₃ of Orphist 418 f.
- Mysteries and marriage analogous 425 f. at Agra 722 724 724₀ in Crete 953 at Eleusis 598 724₀ at Eleusis derived from, or influenced by, Egyptian beliefs 302₀(5 f.) at Eleusis perhaps alluded to by Christ 307₀ at Mytilene 167 in Samothrace 133 135 of Demeter at Theira 992 of Men at Theira 992 water-carrying in 397 ff.
- Mysticism, growth of, in Greece from c. 600 B.C. 395
- Myths arising from art-forms misunderstood 732 (?) 732₃ 767₂ arising from facts misunderstood 418₀ (?) arising from historical events 893 arising from literary allusions misunderstood 823, arising from metaphor 984 giving rise to would-be history 893 of accommodation 735
- Nachod, H. 372₆ 372₈ 373
- Nail of the sky 1116
- Name of Prousius i crowned by Athena 820 of Thothmes iii as a name of power 848₀
- Names, clipped 271 289₂ 594₆ diminutive of affection euphemistic 586 723₀ for owl commonly onomatopoeic 797₄ cp. 799₀ of animals borne by priests and priestesses 1082 f. of certain birds derived from their fiery nature 791 f. of Danaïdes and Aigyptiadaï 357₂ of dead avoided 157 of most mountains pre-Greek 730₁ of rivers Danube, Dnieper, Dniester, Don, etc. 366 of priests well-omened 61₁ 645₀ 888₅ 1162 of ships well-omened 896₀ of Silenoi significant 513₁ theophoric 269 859₂ two (popular and official), applied to one god (?) 941 well-omened 270 526 535₁ 563₄ 564₀
- Nárthex* 88₀
- Navarro, J. M. de 1136
- Navel-string of king in Uganda regarded as 'twin' and kept in special house 833₀
- Nebuly 43
- Negro's head as Cretan amulet 848₀
- Nehring, A. 1103 1128
- Neil, R. A. 875₀
- Néktar* identified with honey 496 f. etymology of 497 Poros drunk with 746 drawn from fore-finger of Indra 97₀
- Nékyia* in Polygnotos' fresco at Delphoi 397 f. 712₄ on black-figured *amphora* at Munich 399 f. on black-figured *lékythos* at Palermo 400 f. See also Underworld
- Neo-Attic reliefs 659₀ 660₀ 689₃ 716₄ 1006 ff.
- Neolithic celts regarded as curative 941₁ celts with incised designs 1143 celts inscribed 1137 celts sliced and inscribed 1138 implements believed to have fallen from heaven 892 899 f. pounder faceted and inlaid with tin to serve as idol (?) 898 ff. 925₆
- Nephodióktai* 33 878
- Neter* 1139
- Neuburger, A. 923₀ 968₄
- Neugebauer, K. A. 1078 1182 1186 f.
- Neumann, C. 179₂ 760₀
- Newberry, P. E. 884₀ 1091
- Newell, E. T. 869₂
- Newton, J. 1074
- Nicklin, T. 1103
- Night of Herakles' conception more and more protracted 508₃
- Nightjar as spinner 795₆
- Nightmare personified as Gorgon 846 (?) personified as nude woman with bird's wings and claws (Siren?) 834₃ personified as Oknos 401₁ (?)
- Nile-water as the seed of Osiris has fertilising virtues 344₃ 344₆ the equivalent of snow and rain 348 the sanctity of 1193
- Nilsson, M. P. 63₆ 76₁ 141₃ 189₁ 312₀(4) 404₀ 578₂ 599₍₃₎ 603₁₂ 650₀ 825 866₈ 993 1045 1124 f. 1131 1138 1150 1183 1189 1191
- Ninbus of Aion, radiate 913₄ of Parthenos = Virgo, blue with golden rays 823 of Zeus, whitish 36 bibliography of 72₁
- Ninck, M. 421₀ 743₃
- Nine days' celebration (*novendiale sacrum*) 492 days' observance (*feriae per novem dies*) 492 nights of Herakles' conception 509₀ years' concealment of Hephaistos 228
- Nipples of Zeus (?) 1167
- Nissen, H. 719
- Nock, A. D. 5₀ 63₄ 225₁ 1080 1117 1131 1161 1163 f. 1182 1184
- Nöldeke, T. 1163
- Norden, E. 25₁ 473₄ 914₀
- Nordström, V. 1122
- North star called 'The golden pillar', 'The iron pillar', 'The lone post', 'The golden post' 1116 f.
- Norwood, G. 4₀
- Nudipedalia* 433₀

- Nudity of Aphrodite 698₈ 834 1016 of Astarte 834 1016 (?) of Athena (?) 868₈ of Charites 1070 of Hittite mother-goddess 834 of Ištar 834 of Lilit (1016) 832 ff.
- Nurses of Bakchos or Iakchos 225₁ of Dionysos 228₈ of Zeus 225₁
- Oak, Great, as Finnish conception of Milky Way 1192
- Oak-branch used in rain-magic 267
- Oak-leaves springing from eyes, nose, and ears of foliate mask 1133
- Oak-tree of Zeus 568 569 880 (?)
- Oak-trees produce bees and honey 498₃
- Oak-wreath of Zeus 36 537 f. 1033 (?) 1191
- Oakeshott, Mrs W. F. 998 f.
- Oath by Agraules 245 by the beast 49₀ by cabbage 47₅ by caper-plant 47₅ by dog 47₅ by goat 47₅ by goose 46 47₅ by oak-tree 47₅ by Pandrosos 245 by plane-tree 47₅ by poppy 49₀ by ram 47₅ by the sap 49₀ by swan 47₅ by Mt Tomori near Berat 1169 1171 by vegetables 47₅ by wine (?) 47₅ liable to euphemistic alteration 49₀ 50₀ of *épheboi* in precinct of Aglauros 242 of Euripides 47₅ of Rhadamanthys 47₅ of Sokrates 47₅
- Oaths in relation to Zeus 1148 list of deities witnessing 245₁₀ taken under open sky 1148
- Obelisk twined about with snake 1127 1128
- Oberhammer, E. 970₂
- Oeconomus, G. P. 373₈ 387₃ See also Oikonomos, G. P.
- Oepke, A. 1181
- Oesterreich, T. K. 1122
- Ohnefalsch-Richter, M. 648₀
- Oikonomos, G. P. 113 1184 See also Oeconomus, G. P.
- Oikouròs óphis* 772₄
- Oil used as unguent before bath in the Herkyna 1182 used to preserve statues in ivory or wood 967 f.
- Okǵthoǵn* 1064₄
- Olive-branch filleted 823
- Olive-leaves on Athena's helmet 181
- Olive-sprig held by suppliant 1078
- Olive-tree called 'Athena' 763₄ (?) called 'Athena-tree' 763 of Athena called 'the Stunted or Writhen Olive' and 'the Citizen Olive' 187₅ 760 of Athena on the Akropolis at Athens 187₂ 243 749 ff. 831 of Pygmalion at Gadeira 983 on Ambrosiai Petrai 978 f.
- Olive-trees as life-trees at Athens and Megara 760 762 called *moriai* furnish oil for Panathenaic victors 187₂ 760 of immemorial age 759₅ 760₀
- Olive-wreath of Dionysiac Zeus 685₂ (?) of Zeus *Olympios* 954
- Oliverio, G. 116₀
- Omophagy, Athenian substitute for dramatic 1105 f. bovine 610 f. human 611 f. (?)
- Omphalós* at Delphoi 1120 f. 1191 f. amended inscription on Delphic 1120 f. at Knossos (?) 1120 in Egypt (?) 1122 or ovoid stone with snake twined round it on coins of Tyre 982 as navel of earth 1122 as 'rain-gathering' stone (?) 320₄ as tomb of Dionysos (?) 724₀ 885₀ 1122 representing meteorite (?) 885₀ representing mound of earth 885₀ 1121 representing mountain (?) 885₀ 1121 representing thunderbolt (?) 885₀
- Onians, R. B. 1073
- Onions in lightning-spell 433₀
- Onyx 39 ff. 851₂ 948
- Opitz, D. 832₂
- Oppermann, H. 1066
- Oracles of Apollon 242₈ of Apollon at Branchidai 520₄ of Apollon at Delphoi (Pytho) 455 520 590 593 f. 609 of Apollon at Hybla 1029 of *baitylos* 888 f. of Leto at Bouto (Boutos, Boutoi) 983 f. of Orpheus' head in Lesbos 99 ff. 441₆ of Sibylline books 895 896₄ of Sun-tree and Moon-tree in Prasiakē 420₀ f. of Zeus *Ammon* 914₀ of Zeus at Dodona 1012
- Ordeal, trial by, among Greeks and Romans 428₁ by carrying water in sieve 428 by immersion in sea 298 by towing ship up the Tiber 895 f.
- Oreites* See *Siderites*
- Oriental influence in Mediterranean c. 600 B.C. 395
- Orlandos, A. C. See Orlandos, A. K.
- Orlandos, A. K. 1073 1166
- Ornithomorphic conception of Athena passes gradually into anthropomorphic conception 794
- Orth, F. 132₂ 413₀ 683₁
- Otherworld, doorway to, formed by clashing mountain-walls 976 987 island 109 135 landscape as described on gold tablets from Eleuthernai 420₀ landscape as described on gold tablet from Petelia 420₀ landscape in Celtic mythology 420₀ landscape in south-European folk-tales 420₀ landscape in *The Revelation of St John* 420₀ visit 112
- Overbeck, J. 469₃ 537₁ 572₃ 573 587₂ 631₃ 634₂ 669 711 954₇
- Owl as attribute of Athena 558 776 ff. as attribute of Minerva 41 as attribute of Zeus 794 as bird form of Athena 781 784 ff. 831 f. as omen of victory 784 f. 819 as bird of ill-omen 835₂ as lightning-bird 792 ff. as shield-sign 806₅ as spinner 795 795₆ between two sprigs of olive as town-arms of Athens 785 ff. branded on Athenian slaves 790 colossal, of white marble found on Akropolis 776 ff. double-bodied, on Athenian diobols 789₃ double-bodied, on tickets of Athenian dikasts 789₃ folk-lore of the 785₁ hung on crosses and roof-tops to avert bad

Owl (*cont.*)

- weather 793 nailed up to avert hail
793 878 nailed up to avert lightning
793 of Athena equivalent to eagle of
Zeus 793 on altar of Athena 782₄ on
head of Athena 46 825 827 on helmet
of Athena 47₀ 827 on wing of Athena
809 on column 387₃ 778₁ 779₀ on
sceptre of Zeus 734₁ on wrist of Zeus
734₁ on thunderbolt 794 on tickets
and tokens of Athenian dikasts 789 f.
Polyphonte transformed into 57₂ with
helmeted head of Athena 801 f.
Owls draw chariot of Athena 830 war on
crows 238₁
Ox as embodiment of Zeus *Polieús* 606
enters church of St George ready
for sacrifice 1194 first killed by
Prometheus 661 first sacrificed by
Thaulon 597 flayed, stuffed with hay,
and yoked to plough in the *Dipolieia* at
Athens 583 605 f. ploughing, must not
be eaten 591₁ 600₍₅₎ treated as sacro-
sanct 591 591₁ 600₍₅₎ 605 f.
Ox-head garlanded 628 on shield of Athena
670 670₂
Ox-hide cape of Argos 634₁ See also Bull's-
hide
Ox-murder 576₃ 605 f.

- Pagenstecher, R. 387₃
Palládion 313₃ (?) 650₀ (?) 770 896 903₅
Palm-tree 1078
Pandríon 913
Pankarptia 1180
Panofka, T. 400₂ 614₅
Pan-pipes 640₀
Pansa, G. 888₉
Pantheistic types, Iupiter 1129 Zeus 745
1129
Panther of Hera *Argeta* 67 of Zeus *Kários*
569₅
Panther-skin of Argos 638₀ of Dionysos
713 721
Papadakes, A. 1070
Papadopoulos, A. A. 1161
Pappadakis, N. G. 1165 1166
Paraskeuáides, S. G. 1184
Parasols protecting stone of Elagabalos
902₀ 905 f.
Páredros of mother-goddess, at once her
husband and her child 952
Parke, H. W. 1124
Partridge 1111
Parsch, J. 1 179₂ 760₀
Pascal, C. 605₍₇₎
Paternity, a primitive notion of, implied
by birth of Athena from head of Zeus
731 f.
Paton, J. M. 213₃ 758₃ 771₁ 772₂
Paton, W. R. 152₃
Patroni, G. 1131
Pauli, C. 260₀ 680₍₄₎
Payne, E. J. 476₁

- Payne, H. G. G. 189₁ 560₂ 560₆ 670₃ 671₀
1131 1150
Peacock as attribute of Iuno 41
Pearson, A. C. 79₀ 1102
Peck, E. S. 232₂
Peck, W. 1187
Peeters, F. 1182
Pélanos 578₄
Pélekys in relation to *balag* (?) 1141
Pempóbolon 1156
Pendlebury, J. D. S. 189₁ 1070 1122 1143
Pentagram 341₃ 1193
Pentalpha See Pentagram
Pépos given by Athena to Herakles 1186
in the Parthenon frieze 1186 of Athena
worn by *basileús* (?) 1186
Perdicium 1111
Perdrizet, P. 132₂ 540₁ 785₁ 795₃ 795₅ 1036₁
Peridérita 765
Pernice, E. 248₁ 373 798₀
Perrot, G. 1023
Personification of dew (Herse) 245 of cicala
(Tithonos) 257 257₁ of clouds (Nephelai)
68 ff. of earthquake 27 ff. of rain-storm
on column of Marcus Aurelius 333
Perspective, above = beyond 515 of footstool
etc. seen from above 89₁ of throne etc.
seen from below 92₀ 693₀
Persson, A. W. 623₁ 1181
Pestle called *ákmon* 925 personified as
Thyestes the storm-god (?) 899₄ See also
Pounder
Petersen, E. 133 223₀ 252₀₍₂₎ 327₂ 329₀ 330₀
713 718₀₍₄₎ 719₁ 720₃ 722
Petrikovits, H. 1131
Pettazzoni, R. 190₇ 944₂₁
Pézard, M. 911₀
Pfister, F. 401₂ 730 873₂ 1103
Pfuhl, E. 400₃ 689₃ 690 691₃
Phaidryntai 967
Phálara 822
Phallic deities 1083 1183
Phallós as magic instrument 321₀ as
Pelagian god 191₀ (?) hooded as Genius
Cucullatus in Romano-Celtic area 1182 f.
in Herzegovina etc. 1105 in ritual basket
993 (?) of Devil 1078 of Hermes tipped
with ram's head 1082 made of island
marble 170 set upright in mortar 170
Phantom made of cloud substituted for
goddess 74 of Aeneas 102 f. of Aineias
103 of Demeter wooed by Iasion 75 ff.
of Dionysos 79 of Eurydike 99 f. 102 of
Helene 78 f. of Hera wooed by Endymion
74 of Hera wooed by Ixion 74 f. of
Klytimestra 102
Pharmakoi 321₀
Philadelphus, A. 1124 1181
Philos, D. 248₁ 309₄₍₃₎ 698₄
Philippart, H. 102₀
Philippson, A. 2
Phillips, F. C. 898₄
Phillipotts, Miss B. S. (Dame Bertha) 1104
Philosophy a refinement upon folk-belief
454

- Phlegjās* 791
Phlévis 791
Phljakes 734₀ 738 f.
 Phoenix 791₆ with radiate *nimbus* 913₄
 Physical foundations of the cult of Zeus 943 f.
 'Physical' interpretations of mythology 728 f.
 Picard, C. 188₁ 598₁ 688₄ 825 1122 1124 1134 1135 1137 1138 1140 1146 f. 1155 f. 1159 1161 1162 1166 1173 f. 1174 1184 1191 f. 1196
 Pick, B. 898₁
 Pickard-Cambridge, A. W. 1103 1106 1112
 Pig as form of Attis (?) 874₁₅ first killed by Klymene 593 sacrifice to 1103 sacrificed to Aphrodite 320₁ sacrificed to Zeus *Heraios* 1047
 Pigeon as bird form of Athena 781
 Pigeons set free in Armenian rite 293
 Pillar of Apollon inscribed KAPNEIOΣ 996 of fire 1118 of light 1115 f. 1118 of Poseidon inscribed with laws in Atlantis 1184 of Prometheus 1115 of the world 1116 surmounted by oval stone 938 surmounted by owl 778 778₁ 779₀ with Dionysiac mask or masks 1103
 Pillars bear up Delos 984 of Atlas 1115 of Herakles 978 983
 Pillar-cults rife in Mediterranean area 937
 Pillet, M. 1163
 Pine-wreath 1133
 Piper, F. 29₃ 466₈
 Pirates 152 153
 Pisani, V. 79₀
Pistric 380₄
Pithos of Danaïdes 425 of Eurystheus 408₀ riddled with holes 422
Pithoi of Artemis *Kalliste* 1181 of Zeus 1181
 See also Jar, Jars
 Plane-tree in votive relief at Munich 1036₁ of Agamemnon at Delphoi 1122
 Planets, Byzantine list of metals, plants, and animals assigned to 1098
 Plassart, A. 1162 1172 1184 1187
 Plates of Iupiter *Dolichenus* 1098 of Minerva 1098 f.
 Platner, S. B. 444₁
 Plough of Bouzyges dedicated on Akropolis at Athens 606 of Triptolemos 607
 Ploughings *ἐπὶ παιδῶν τεκνῶσει* 606₄ three sacred (Skiron, Raria, Athens) 178₀ 606 610
 Poerner, J. 1070
 Pohlenz, M. 933₇
 Points of the compass 718₂
 Poisson, G. 416₁
 Pokorny, J. 367₀ 439₂ 497₃
 Polaschek, E. 1167 f.
 Polites, N. G. 257₁ 335₁ 475₁ 721₅₍₂₎ 767₂
 Polivka, G. 449 977
 Polycephalism 403₁ 1135
 Polyp 14₀ 18₀
 Pomegranate as food for the dead 815₀ 816₀ as fruit from the Tree of Life 816₀ as

Pomegranate (cont.)

- head-decoration of 'Minoan' goddess 818₀ held by priest of Attis 815₀ in bosom of Nana makes her conceive 815₀ in hand of Athena *Nike* 811 ff. in hand of Hera *Argeia* 68 in spell against sterility of women 814₀ of Persephone 815₀ 816₀ on coins of Side 813₂ on tomb of Eteokles and Polyneikes 815₀ planted by Aphrodite in Kypros 817₀ prince transforms himself into 818₀ sprung from blood of Dionysos 815₀ sprung from severed member of Agdistis 815₀ suggests blood by its red fruit 814₀ suggests fertility by its many seeds (?) 814₀ symbolises renewal of life after death 815₀ taboo at Athenian Haloia, at Eleusinian mysteries, and in Arcadian temple of Despoina 815₀
 Pomegranate-pips falling on ground must not be eaten by women celebrating Thesmophoria 815₀ of Hades eaten by Persephone 815₀
 Pomegranate-twigs held by priest of Attis 815₀ (?)
 Pomtow, H. 1009
Pópanon 579₀
 Possession of the *Pythia* etc. 1122
 Postgate, J. P. 403₁ 410₀
 Pottier, E. 375₁₍₂₎ 559₄ 584₀ 739₃ 782₀ 931₄
 Pot-Zeuses 1114
 Poulsen, F. 392₁ 1135
 Pounder, neolithic, faceted and inlaid with tin to serve as idol (?) 898 ff. 925₀
 Pouqueville, F. C. H. L. 721₅₍₂₎
 Powell, B. 240₂ 241₄
 Powell, F. York 1075
 Praetorius, J. 337₀ 1174
 Prandtl, A. 691
 Praschmiker, C. 1009
 Prawn 18₀ (?)
 Prayer, attitudes of, in antiquity 151₄ combined with magic 315 316
 Prayers of Christians ('Thundering' Legion) call down deluge of rain 326 331 to Zeus for rain 317 ff.
 'Praying boy' on shore of Bosporos 149 ff.
 Pre-Homeric tags in dactylic metre 7₂ 31₁ 781 834 866
 Preisendanz, K. 549₃ 1127
 Preller, L. 357 359 1046
 Prellwitz, W. 94₂ 497₃ 664₁ 665₀
 Premierstein, A. von 79₀ 103₂
 Prenuptial custom in Naxos 1026₄ free love in Lydia 1026₄
 Preuner, E. 1187
 Pridik, A. 266₄
 Priests and priestesses with animal names 1082 f.
 Priesthoods, sale of, at Erythrai in Ionia 1187
 Pringsheim, H. G. 248₁
 Protz, H. von 225₁ 576₁ 578₂ 579₅₍₂₎ 584₀ 584₁ 584₂ 585₁ 585₅ 589₃ 593₂ 593₄ 595₀ 597₇ 599₍₂₎ 600₀ 611 1047 1047₁₁

Proverbs: *ab Iove principium* 947₁₀ 947₁₂

"Αθως καλύπτει πλευρά Λημνίας βοός 1102 αίγης περί πόλιν 841₃ βοός ἐν πόλει 612 γλαῦκ' Ἀθήναζε 776₃ γλαῦξ ἐν πόλει 776₅ γλαῦξ ἔπτατο 784₅ 785₂ Διὸς ψήφος 600₍₄₎ ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα 947₇ f. Happy is the bride the sun shines on 474₀ If the sky should fall, we should all catch larks 1116 κῆν τὰ Ναννάκου κλαύσω 527 κοσκίνω ὕδωρ ἀντλεῖς 427₁₀ πάντα γυναῖκες ἴσαντι, καὶ ὡς Ζεὺς ἡγάγεθ' "Ἡρην 1026₁ παρὰ δικτύοις ὕδωρ κομίζει 427₁₀ *Wasser schöpfen mit einem Siebe* 449 *Wenn's Krotten hagelt* 503₀

Pryce, F. N. 353 460, 1184

Psychostasia, bibliography of 1148 f.

Puech, A. 1134

Punishments, religious origin of 1072

Purple gallinule 55, sheep 1080

Puteal Albani 1057 1059 at Madrid 657 ff. 689 689₃ 716 f. in Palazzo Doria 1008 now lost 694₂

Putti of Renaissance art 1025

Pyramids as tombs for horses at Agri-gentum 1187 on tomb of Porsenna at Clusium 956₁

Pyre of SS. Adrian, Natalia, etc. 523₄ of Britannicus 524 of Dryas 523 of Habrokomes 524 of Kroisos 518 ff. of St Thekla 524

Qadesh 1092

Quails 495

Quibell, J. E. 305₀ 1187

Quincunx of columns in Sardinian model of sky 956₁ of pillars supporting throne of Zeus *Olympios* (?) 956₁ of pyramids on tomb of Porsenna at Clusium 956₁

Radermacher, L. 112₃ 121₁ 123₅ 474 f.

Raglan, Lady 1133

Rain as means by which sky-father impregnates earth-mother 180 396 452 ff. 944 as seminal fluid of sky-god 322₀ as child of Zeus 322 333 as seed of Zeus 451 ff. as tears of Aither 323 as tears of Zeus 322 f. 333 as urine of Billutschei 334₁ as urine of Hobal 334₁ as urine of Kuzah 334₁ as urine of St Margaret (of Scotland) 335₀ as urine of St (Mary) Magdalen 335₀ as urine of St Médard 334₂ as urine of God passed through sieve 335₁ as urine of Zeus passed through sieve 333 as water falling from hand of Zeus 323 ff. 333 as water poured through a holed vessel in Egypt 338 ff. as water poured through a holed vessel in Greece 354 ff. as water poured through a holed vessel in Italy 427 ff. as water poured through a holed vessel elsewhere 445 ff. as water strained by God through sieve-like sky 336 as Zeus-drops 451 as Zeus-water 322₀ 451 of blood 323 478 ff. of blood as classical

Rain (cont.)

portent 479₃ of blood as mediaeval prodigy 479₄ of blood as modern scientific phenomenon 480_{1f.} of fish 502₂ 503₀ of flesh 504₀₍₁₎ of food 495 ff. of frogs 502₂ 503₀ of iron 924₁ of milk 504₀₍₂₎ of oil 504₀₍₃₎ of stones 482 ff. of stones, ashes, etc. attributed to divine agency 495₁ ominous, sent by Zeus 478 ff. on Ascension Day sacred and curative 1193 pyre-extinguishing 506 ff.

Rainbow above Alkmene on pyre 512 above Zeus 37 as robe of Billutschei 334₁ as urine of she-fox 334₁ earliest naturalistic representation of 512₁

Rain-charm at Krannon 296 f. 316 by bathing in sea 1193 by burying heads near spring or dropping them into spring 369 by carrying water in holed vessel 396 by dragging *manalis lapis* into Rome 432 by drawing *manales petrae* round boundaries 434 f. by means of strainer filled with Nile-water 344 by offering of honey 335₃ by opening grave of buried king 372₃ 440 by passing *soma* through strainer 335₃ by pouring water over axe and knife 604 f. by pouring water over corpses or parts of corpses 345₁ by pouring water through sieve 336 (?) 427 f. (?) by sinking axe at sea 605 by spinning *tynx* 313 by wearing 'plasma' 313 by wholesale mutual drenching 292 f. See also Rain-magic, Rain-maker, Rain-making

Rain-god identified with mountain 321₀

Rain-magic in Armenia 293 f. in the Balkans 285 ff. cp. 317 in ancient Greece 296 ff. 314 ff. 603 f. in modern Greece 284 ff. in Kypros 292 in Megiste (*Kastellorizo*) 292 in Syria 293 in Thera (*Santorini*) 284 in the cult of Zeus 314 ff. 944 See also Rain-charm, Rain-maker, Rain-making

Rain-maker, Etruscan *aquilex* as 433₀ (?) priest of Zeus *Lýkaïos* as 525 f.

Rain-making 31 f. 34₁ 267 296 313 (?)

Rain-storm personified on column of Marcus Aurelius 333

Ralston, W. R. S. 289 976 f.

Ram as procreative power 945 golden 1080 must not be eaten 591₁

Rams, sixty, sacrificed to Zeus *Machaneús* in Kos 566₂

Ram's head on *phallós* of Hermes 1082 on sceptre of Zeus 665₁

Ram-skin of Zeus *Thebaieús* 837

Ramsay, J. A. 764₁

Ramsay, Sir W. M. 529₀ 529₅ 652₀ 781₆ 1082 1103 1126 1162

Rapp, A. 223₃ 931 935₁

Rapson, E. J. 543₁

Rattles 313₃ (?)

Raven, helpful, in tale from Epeiros 977 sent out by Noah 529

- Ravens, iron-beaked, in tale from Ukraine 977 on bronze car at Krannon 297 316₁
 Raven, E. J. P. 189₁ 618₀ 1150
 Rebirth, Hindu rite of 1092 See also Reincarnation
 Red colour a surrogate for blood 515₆ in Greek and Roman cult 1138
 Reed as phallic symbol(?) 1011 f. saluted as 'king' by Lydians 989 f.
 Reeds, Tritones wreathed with 132(?)
 Reed-deceit of Beni Hasan 993 of Gygaia Limne 989 f.
 Reflection of *Gorgóneion* in well 843
 Regling, K. 1146
 Rehm, A. 483₄
Reimwortbildung: *mundus* and *fundus* 439 f.
 Reinach, A. J. 650₀ 1194 1196
 Reinach, S. 100₆ 188₁ 300₀ 301₀₍₃₎ 418₀ 512₅ 668 671 939₄ 1134 1174
 Reincarnation of ancestors in descendants 122₆ See also Rebirth
 Reisch, E. 207₀ 213₇ 215 216₂ 216₆
 Reiss, E. 1073
 Reitzenstein, F. von 396₄
 Rhomaios, C. A. 1120
Rhombos 1103 1161
 Richard, M. 1130
 Richardson, Miss H. 18₃
 Richmond, I. A. 1131
 Richmond, O. L. 435 436₀
 Richter, Miss G. M. A. 217₀ 931₆ 933₂ 933₄ 959₀ 1155
 Ridder, A. de 809₂
 Rider-god accompanied by snake 1125 brandishing double axe 1146 three-headed 1125 superseded by St George 1125
 Ridgeway, Sir W. 841₁ 900₃ 923₁ 1068
 Ring falls from clouds 288 f. 'of Nestor' 403₁ (?) of Prometheus 1029₁₀ See also Gold, Wedding-ring
 Ritter, E. J. 1176
 Rivers of Pleasure and Pain 421₀
 River-god as horned head with long rough hair 655₀ (Hypanis? Borysthenes?)
 River-gods, sacrifice of *ἐνορχα μῆλα* to 396₃
 River-lead 274₀
 River-water held sacred by ancients 396
 River-worship of Egyptians (See Nile-water and Index I Neilos) of Persians 907₆
 Road of Zeus 51₀ 946 cp. 974
 Robe, starry, worn by Isis 350
 Robert, C. 102₀ 183 202₀ 203₀ 221 357₂ 358 398 578₂ 602 695₃ 729 753₂ 753₄ 757₂ 758₁ 770₃ 782₂ 823₃ 842₁
 Robert, L. 1187
 Roberts, C. 1163
 Robertson, D. S. 444₀ 1073 1194
 'Robin Hood' 1133
 Robinson, D. M. 607 607₃ ff. 1073 1162 1191
 Robinson, E. S. G. 1122 1156
 Rochette, R. 351 456₆
 Rochholz, C. L. 65₀
 Rock at Troizen under which Theseus found sword of Aigeus 484₁₁ hanging on gold chains between heaven and earth above Tantalos 417₀
 Rock-crystal 1136
 Rock-cut altar on Mt Kynthos 1172 carvings in Italian Alps 1147 carvings in Scandinavia 1147 carvings in Yorkshire 1147 carving of Cernunnos in Val Camonica 1147 carving of hafted axe near Loch Lomond 1147 carvings of sword-bearers in south-east Sweden 1139 carvings of the 'Vogelfels' near Amastris 1162 f. carvings of Hittites at Boghaz-Keui 1097 effigy and *omphalos* at Vari 263₀ ff. inscription of Zeus *Terástios* at Gythion 939 inscriptions at and near Kyrene 1188 precinct of Zeus *Hýpsistos* at Athens 939₄ precinct of Zeus *Terástios* at Gythion 939 f. relief in quarry at Ferzol 1095 steps of Helladic fortress at Athens 721₃ steps through cave of Aglauros 169₀ f. 721 throne, double, on Findos Tepe 1070 throne near Stymphalos 1070 throne of Geryones at Temenothyrai 1070
 Rocky ground characteristic of Cretan art 1144
 Rods dedicated to Pyr and Pneuma 983
 Roes, Miss A. 624₀ 1076
 Röth, E. 275₀₍₁₎
 Rogers, B. B. 58₁ 61 f. 69₂ 163₂
 Rohde, E. 122₅ 425 f.
 Rojdestvensky, Olga 1070
Rolandsäulen 1117
 Rolland, E. 52₄
 Ronchaud, L. de 718₀₍₂₎
 Ronzevalle, S. 982 1074 1095 1098
 Roof, in folk-lore 1148
 Roscher, W. H. 133 246 496 498₃ 729 846 1044 1045₂ 1062₀ 1121
 Roscoe, J. 957₀ 1193
 Roses burnt on tomb 1134
 Rose, H. J. 89₁ 181₁ 189₁ 267₇ 315₀ 358₄ 426₁ 430₀ 435₈ 509₂ 735₁ 751₃ 781₃ 846 1111 1114 1116 1122 1141 1143 1180 1189
 Ross, L. 364₁ 581₀ 702₀ 778 985 f.
 Rostovtzeff, M. 1163
 Rostrup, E. 1106
 Roth, R. 925
 Roulez, J. 515₃ 716 806₄
 Rouse, W. H. D. 273₃
 Roussel, P. 118 119₃ 154₂ 1066 1124 1181 1192
 Rowe, A. 195₀
 Rubensohn, O. 248₁ 1119 1172
 Rückert, E. 728
 Ruge, W. 1125
 Rush as phallic symbol(?) 1012
 Rutherford, W. G. 784₃
 Sacrifice by, or with, strangulation 283₁ of animals that indicate their willingness to die 565 565₁ 566 568 569 581 ff.

Sacrifice (*cont.*)

594 605 of asses originally Cretan (?)
 1136 of bull to Iupiter *contra morem*
 1110 of bull to Poseidon on pillar in
 Atlantis 283₁ of bull to Zeus 969₁ of
 four fine bulls to Zeus 1110 of white
 bull to Zeus by Bektashi monks on Mt
 Tomori near Berat 1171 of bullock
 (not bull) to Iupiter 1110 of *ἐβορχα*
μηλα to Poseidon and to river-gods 396₃
 of fawn at Pedachthoë 1134 of goats to
 Zeus 1110 of king or king's son in time
 of famine 74 of ox to Athena 782₄ of ox
 to Zeus *Σωρίη* 22 of pig to Aphrodite
 320₄ of pig to Zeus *Heraios* 1047 of
 pregnant sheep to Damateres 1124 of
 pregnant sow to (Demeter) *Eleusinia*
 and to Demeter *Chlōe* 179₀ of pregnant
 sow to Ceres, Iuno *Moneta*, Maia,
 Tellus, Terra Mater 23 of ram to Athena
 782₄ of ram to Demeter *Chlōe* 178₀ of
 she-goat to Zeus in Crete 1110 of sheep
 to Zeus *Hōrios* 1183 of surrogate for
 man 433₀ 599₍₂₎ to dove 1103 to person-
 ified Dogs (?) 1083 1156 to personi-
 fied Gadfly 1156 to pig 1103 to stone
siderites or *oreites* 922 to stone with
 which Phemios slew Hyperochos 1105

Saintyves, P. 224₃ 814₀ 882₀ 887₈

Salač, A. 1129

Sampo 1116

Samter, E. 119₅

Sanctis, G. de 116₀

Sandal of Aphrodite 1020

Sandys, Sir J. E. 420₀ 953₆ 960₆

Sapphire 925₈

Sarcophagi, of child 85₀₍₂₎ 86₀ of Innius
 Bassus 1067 of priest of Kybele and
 Attis 1128 painted, from Hagia Triada
 1138 white-figured, from Klazomenai
 807 fragmentary 86₀ subjects suitable
 to 935₂ Eros on early Christian 1180
 copy of the Kaisareia Paneas bronze on
 971₁ Ganymedes feeding eagle on 982
 marriage of Peleus and Thetis on 207
 myth of Oinomaos on 1066 rape of
 Kore on 601₂ Tritones on 132

Sardonyx 537₂ 538₀ 756 756_{4(2f.)} 1124

Sartori, P. 1148

Sauer, B. 215 581₀ 689 690₁ 691 691₃ 694
 697 697₆ 701 755₂

Sauer, J. 971₁ 972₀ 972₁

Savignoni, L. 807₇

Sayce, A. H. 349 988 1101 1125 1128 1140
 1174

Scales held by Zeus 1150

Scaliger, J. C. 1031₅

Scarth, H. M. 859₄

Sceptre, origin of the 1068 of early kings
 surmounted by birds 67₂ of tragedy-
 kings surmounted by birds 46 of Hera
 surmounted by lily 92₀ of Hera sur-
 mounted by palmette 1039 of Hera
Argeia surmounted by cuckoo 65 67₂
 1044 of priestess of Hera *Argeia* sur-

Sceptre (*cont.*)

mounted by poppy 633₀ of Zeus
 surmounted by eagle 954 1040 1048₄
 1052₍₆₎ 1057 1060 of Zeus surmounted
 by forepart of winged horse 665₃ of Zeus
 surmounted by Janiform head 686 of
 Zeus surmounted by ram's head 665₁ of
 Zeus claimed by woodpecker 45 of Zeus
 held by Minos 1184 of Zeus from s. vi
 B.C. onwards begins to supersede
 thunderbolt 946

Sceptre-worship 1184

Schachermeyr, F. 651₀

Schaeffer, C. F. A. 1156 1193 f.

Scharf, G. 863

Schaubert, E. 581₀

Schede, M. 768 1078

Scheftelowitz, I. 549₂ 914₀

Scheuer, W. 416₁ 417₀

Schlachter, A. 1066

Schlawaffenland 501₅ 502₀ 504₁

Schliemann, H. 193₀

Schmid, W. 634₂ 1137

Schmidt, B. 163₄ 287₄ 289 335₁ 412₀ 721₅
 1143

Schmidt, C. 472₃

Schmidt, E. 488₁₁ 587₂ 1055 1057₈

Schmidt, H. 979

Schmidt, J. 593₂ 1183

Schmidt, Johanna 1196

Schmidt, J. F. Julius 1 759₅ 1115

Schmidt, M. 98_{0(s)} 597₇

Schmidt, W. 945₀

Schmitz, O. 873₂

Schnabel, H. 560

Schneider, R. See Schneider, R. von

Schneider, R. von 662₁ 689 689₇ 695 1072

Schoeffer, V. von 212 213₁

Schoemann, G. F. 600₍₅₎ 602

Schrader, H. 769 830₃ 1155

Schrader, O. 335₃ 366 394 f. 411₀ 923₂

Schreiber, T. 388₁ 834₃

Schröder, B. 710 1019 f.

Schroeder, L. von 274₍₂₎

Schubart, H. C. 967 f.

Schuchardt, H. 433₀ 434₀

Schuhl, P. M. 1116

Schulten, A. 1090 1179

Schultze, V. 529₃ 970₇ 971₀ 972₃

Schwartz, F. L. W. 164₃ 223₉ 335₂ 729 846
 1015

Schwartz, W. 360 362₁

Schweitzer, B. 122₅ 140 605₀ 606₃ 1073 1138

Schwenck, K. 357

Schwenn, F. 525 578₂ 600₍₆₎ 604₇ 615 651₀
 653₀ 928₁ 1068

Schwerzek, K. 689₄ 691 693 694 696₅ 701
 705 707

Schwyzer, E. 1073

Scorpion 14₀ 18₀

Scott, J. A. 1075

Scott, K. 1115 1134 f.

Scott, R. D. 1174

'Sea' of Poseidon in the Erechtheion 750
 758 758₃

- Sea-gull 52₃
 Sea-water purificatory 1031 1031₄
 Seager, R. B. 193_(b) 197₀
 Seal, bronze, of Marnas (?) 549₃
 Sébillot, P. 277₀ 1074
 Séchan, L. 518₃
 Seligmann, S. 132₂
 Sellers, Miss E. See Strong, Mrs A.
 Seltman, C. T. 102 102₂ 132₂ 188₃ 522 569₅
 607₁ 617₍₃₎ 789₃ 794₇ 812₃ 833₀ 853₅
 856₀ 868₅ 869₂ 872₁ 1068 1074 1076 1111
 1118 1137 1146 1153 1156 1157 1174
 1184
 Seltman, E. J. 1157
 Semper, M. 1087 1090 1119
 Sepulchral basins (*labella*) from Athens
 380 pillars (*columellae*) from Athens
 380 *stélai* from Athens 373 380 382 386
 392 f. *stélai* from Selinous 1188 f. 1190
 stélai from Sparta 507₃ 815₀ tables
 (*mensae*) from Athens 380
 Seure, G. 1129 1182
 Seven as ritual number 1135 gods of the
 week 210 444 f. 938 heavens 925₈ 1119
 Seven-branched candlestick in stylised
 form on lamps 145₂
 Seyrig, H. A. 1158
 Shaft-graves at Mykenai 1016 of the
 Achaioi (?) 362
 Shape-shifting of Metis 744 f. of Thetis
 745
 Shark 297
 Shear, Mrs J. P. 754₄ 1194
 Shear, T. L. 132₃ 189₁ 1090
 Shears used with sieve in divination 336₅
 337₀ 338₀
 Sheep first killed by Episkopos 593 f.
 with golden fleece 1080 with purple
 fleece 1080
 Sheep-skins worn to imitate clouds 31 f.
 68 f. 296 317
 Sheppard, J. T. 60₅ (8) 61₀
 Shew-bread 908 (?)
 Shield of Achilles 596 f. of Athena 830 843
 868 ff. of Diomedes 224₃ of winged
 Minerva 823 of Sulis Minerva 862 ff.
 on altar 313₃ (?)
 Shield-worship, evolution of 650₀
 Ship, cosmic 18₃ first devised by Athena
 for Danaos 355₂ first devised by Danaos
 355 (*Navis Salvia*) brings black stone
 of Pessinous to Rome 895 f. of stone
 dedicated by Agamemnon 1171
 Shooting-stars, superstitions about 475₁
 usually a good omen 882 cp. 22
 Shorey, P. 949₆
 Sickle of Kronos 1135 of Zeus 1135
Siderites or *orettes*, three varieties of 921
 924
 Sieve among Finns 446 446₄ among Khonds
 446 as attribute of Christian saints 338₁
 connected with witch as rain-maker 450
 emptying pool with, as impossible task
 449 f. in Rabbinic literature and Jewish
 custom 446₂ of Borrás 335 of Erato-
 sthenes 336₂ of God 335 of Pidzu Pennu
 446 used in divination 336 ff. 427 used
 in rain-charm 336 (?) 427 f. (?) 446 451
 water carried in, as ordeal 428
 Sieves of Notos 335 f.
 Sieve-superstitions in general 1193
 Sievers, E. 164₅
 Significance of the cult of Zeus in the
 history of religion 973 f.
 Sikes, E. E. 811₁
 Silence, holy 1114 of Eleusinian mystics
 299
Silphion first sprang from shower of pitch
 at Kyrene 353 f.
 Silver a favourite metal of Hittites 1101
 axes from Arkalochori Cave 1143 black stone
 of Mecca set in 920 black stone
 of Pessinous set in 897 f. *bratteae* from
 London and Barkway 1126 bust of
 Jupiter 1155 1160 effigy of Men 992
 kálathos of Demeter 992 Etruscan
 bronze statuette washed in 1066 *patera*
 from Parabiago 1127 f. ring at Boston
 representing Danaë 470 shrine of
 Hercules 1155 *sinpulum* from Wettin-
 gen 938
 Siret, L. 846 1075
 Sittl, C. 37₆ 40₂ 151₄
 Sittl, K. See Sittl, C.
 Six, J. 689, 845₀ 847₁
 Sjöqvist, E. 1090
 Sjövall, H. 1091 1180 1183 1189
Skambha 1116
 Skeat, T. C. 1163 f.
 Skias, A. N. 253₀ 370₅ 722₇
Skiros, a white clay used as manure 241
 Skull trepanned 738₀ winged 804
 Sky called *ákmon* 925 composed of stones
 and liable to collapse 418₀ has a hole
 in it, according to Libyans 353 has a
 hole in it, according to Virgil's co-
 nundrum 353 imitated by ceiling of
 palace, temple, tomb, etc. (See Ceiling)
 made of jade 925₃ made of stone 925 f.
 942 needing visible support 418₀ 1116 f.
 resting on column 946 1116 f. resting
 on goat 1116 resting on tree 1116 six-
 teen regions of, in Etruscan lore 156
 Sky-god conceived as a bull 606 conceived
 as double-faced 1134 conceived as pair
 of contrasted deities 1134
 Sky-props 1116 f.
 Sky-worship always an elevating and
 widening force 944 f.
 Slaves, emancipation of 618₀ 1167 1184
 Slawik, A. 1179
 Sleeman, C. M. 1166 1167 1176
 Smith, A. H. 696₅ 700₂ 701₈ 711 721
 Smith, Sir C. H. 183 692 753 787
 Smith, G. C. Moore 1080
 Smith, G. Elliot 345₁
 Smith, K. F. 119₄
 Smith, W. Robertson 369₁ 576₃ 598₆ (11)
 841₃

- Smith, S. 832 834 ff. 1101 1110
 Smyly, J. G. 1179
 Snake arises from spinal cord of dead man
 772 as animal form of Athena 776 (?)
 837 (?) as divinised soul of Herakleides
 Pontikos 773₁ as soul of buried king 773
 bearded 773 biting its own tail 1137
 born and suckled by Klytaimestra 239,
 burnt by St Hilarion 1182 connected
 with solar eagle 982 consorts with Atia
 in temple of Apollo 473₄ guards apple-
 tree of Hesperides 1064 in tale of
 Caradoc 1124 instinct with vitality of
 Athena 775 f. 831 made of sedge by
 Ainu and used in snake-worship 833₀
 nameless, lives in Erechtheion 771 f.
 of Asklepios recalled by tale of St
 Hilarion 1182 on rock carried by
 Poseidon 14₀ 18₀ phallic 1078 twined
 round egg 982 twined round obelisk
 1127 1128 twined round olive-tree 753
 Snakes akin to infants in ancient and
 modern belief 767₂ as bracelets 765 as
 children of Mother Earth 764 as ear-
 rings 765 as finger-rings 765 f. as
 prophylactic amulets 765 guard Erich-
 thonios 238 f. 764 f. in painted *póros*
 from pediment at Athens 767 ff. in
 pediment a decorative feature copied
 from Egypt 769 in pediment flank
 solar device (disk, *phidle*, *Gorgóneion*)
 769 in wall-paintings of *lararia* at
 Pompeii 773₂ male and female, as souls
 of ancestral couple 773 of Athena 764 ff.
 strangled by infant Herakles 767₂ two,
 as attributes of Zeus *Meilichios* 1184
 winged 991 f.
 'Snakes and Ladders' 1119
 Snake-heads of Hydra 403₁ of Kerberos
 403₁ of Typhoeus 403₁
 Sneeze of Zeus 662₁ (?) 732 (?) regarded by
 Greeks as a deity 732
 Snijder, G. A. S. 382₅ 1136
 Snow of gold 477 507 670
 Snyder, G. A. See Snijder, G. A. S.
 Sofiano, A. G. 1102
 Solmsen, F. 94₂ 283 942 1106 1112
 Soma as rain-charm 335₃ the source of
 Indra's sweat 273₃
 Son conceived as rebirth of his own father
 952
Sondergötter 1176 1180 (?)
 Sonne, W. 94₂
 -sos or -ssos as prehistoric suffix 76₁
 191₈
 Soul as bird sent forth from hand of
 goddess 830 as butterfly 1146 as dove
 269₁ as Eros on arm of Aphrodite 830
 as hound 413₀ as small running figure
 on arm of god 830 as wind 109₁ of
 divine king escapes as bird 1184 resides
 in the head 1126 f.
 Souls as bees 1183 as winds 122 as winged
 water-carriers 399 on the banks of
 Acheron 152 thirsty 369₃
 Soul-bird helps Herakles in rape of Delphic
 tripod 799₁ of Prokris 73₅ on column
 387₃
 Soul-birds at birth of Athena 683 734₁
 Sow, sacrifice of pregnant 23 179₀
 'Sows,' human 1082 (?)
 Sparrow-hawk as form of Horos 1073
 Spear hurled as symbolic action 754₂ (?) of
 Centumviral court 754₂ of Peleus 209₂
 of Zeus 1147 two-pronged 1141
 Spears, magic 1132 yoke of 1132
Spielbein, head in fourth-century sculpture
 looks toward 705₀ See also *Standbein*
 Spindle of Ananke 1116
 Spinner, Fate as 716
Spinturnix 792
 Spon, J. 145
 Sprats in lightning-spell 433₀
 Spring, double, near Salamis in Kypros 561
 Springs causing death from laughter and
 restoration to health in Fortunatae
 Insulae 421₀ hot and curative at Aquae
 Sulis 858 ff. of Weeping and Laughing
 near Kelainai in Phrygia 421₀ other
 miraculous 421₀ sacred, in Sardinia
 1110
 Squire, C. 367₂ f.
 Stählin, F. 871₁
 Stählin, O. 720₁
 Staes, B. 248₁ 712₆
 Stags of Artemis (Ma, Anaïtis, etc.) 1134
 'Stags,' human 1067
 Stag's head as prow of votive bronze boat
 1119
 Stag-mask worn by votary in Kypros 1068
 Stag-mummers in south Gaul 1067
Standbein, head in fifth-century sculpture
 looks toward 705₀ See also *Spielbein*
 Star, fallen, found by Astarte 892 shooting,
 a sign of Zeus' approval 22 six-rayed
 1078
 Stars as decoration of Danaë's coffer 458
 as decoration of Danaë's vault 458 as
 flowers 1098 shooting (See Shooting-
 stars)
 Statue of Zeus *Olympios*, description of
 954 ff. of Zeus *Olympios*, vicissitudes
 experienced by 967 ff.
 Statues sweating 344₅ weeping 344₅
 Stegemann, V. 480₂ 875₁ 881₂ 882₀ 882₁
 1115 1160
 Steiger, H. 79₀
 Stein, Sir Aurel 872₁
 Stein, P. 1115
 Steinmetz, H. 129 130₁
 Steinmeyer, E. 164₅
Stélai of Pyr and Pneuma 983 See also
 Sepulchral
 Steller, G. W. 334₁
 Steller 1179
 Stengel, P. 244₆ 576₃ 578₂ 578₄ 579₅₍₁₎ 584₁
 592 592₀ 593₁ 600₀ 600₍₄₎
Stéphane 67 92₀ 1057 1060 1062₂₍₂₎
 Stephani, L. 151 252₀₍₃₎ 253₀ 620₀ 756₅ 822
 1034₁

- Sterry, Lady 1092
 Steuding, H. 135
Stibádes or *Stibádeia* 61₁
 Stoll, H. W. 1111
 Stone at Thyateira inscribed Διὸς Κεραυνίου
θύραις 873₂ *autóglyphos* found in river
 Sagaris 918₃ of Dousares 907 ff. of
 Elagabalos 900 ff. of Jacob at Bethel
 891 f. of Kronos 889₂ 927 ff. 944 of
 Kronos called *abaddir* 936 of Kronos
 called *baitylos* 936 of Kronos called
diskos 936 of Kybele at Pessinous 893 ff.
 903 of Zeus *Kappótas* at Gythion 939 ff.
siderites or *oreites* 920 ff. 927 941₁ sky
 made of 925 f. 942
 Stones, curative 941₁ holy, assembled at
 Rome by Elagabalus 903 holy, connected
 with Orestes 939 941₁ holy, endowed
 with the power of self-motion, known
 as *baityloi* or *baitylia* 887 in Homer
 comparable with *Agyieús*-blocks 1120
 natural, treated as divinities 937 shape-
 less, worshipped by barbarians 963 triad
 of, in rock-cut niches 909 f. triad of, on
 stepped base 909 triad of, surmounted
 by flat disks (? shew-bread) and set on
 plinth 908 See also Litholatry
 Stone-throwing, ritual 612₀
 Storax-trees of Eleuthernai 421₀ of Selge
 645₀
 Stork 977
 Stranger as such can claim divine protection
 592 is under protection of divine escort
 951 may even himself be a god in
 disguise 952
 Stratification of cults on Akropolis at
 Athens 736
 Strong, Mrs A. 82₃ 132₂ 135₇ 135₈ 136₂ 137₀
 298 825 904₂ 971₀ 982 1142
 Studniczka, F. 251₉₍₁₎ 253₀ 712 722 754
 904₂
 Sturtevant, E. H. 1072
Styliskos inscribed Ζ[ε]ὺς Σωτήρ 1177
 Sukenik, E. L. 1072
 Sun, ability to stare at 1124 as disk 863 as
 dotted disk 1118 as eye 858₈ as glow-
 ing mass of metal 418₀ as *Gorgóneion*
 845 863 as wheel 1072 legs of 1074
 Sundial, Pantheon as 444₀ (?) presented to
 Zeus Helios at Sedasa 1071
 Sun, moon, and stars rightly worshipped
 as affording a distant view of the gods
 962
 Sun-worship of Aurelian probably fused
 several oriental *Ba'alim* (Elagabalos,
 etc.) 907 of Nabataioi 912₄
 Superannuation of Zeus 739 ff.
 Surrogates for human sacrifice 433₀ 599 (2)
 611 653₀
 Survival of Zeus-cult on Mt Tomori near
 Berat 1170 f.
 Svoronos, J. N. 207₀ 248₃ 309₄₍₃₎ 312₀ 413₀ f.
 659₀ 660₀ 693₁ 695 695₄ 696₄ 705 759₄
 776₇ 778₁ 790 (1 f.) 869 1044₄
 Swainson, C. 52₄ 277₀ 793 795₆
 Swallow in Thracian myth 57₂ (?) as bird
 form of Athena 782
 Swans draw car of Apollon 830
Swastika in monastery at Eretria 1087 on
 coins of Knossos 1087 in mosaic at
 Olynthos 1073
 Sweating statues 344₅
 Swire, J. 1168 f.
 Sword of Aigeus left beneath rock at
 Troizen 484₁₁ of Peleus made by
 Hephaistos 209₁
 Sword-worship of Hittites 1140 of Quadi
 1139 of prehistoric Scandinavians 1139
 of Scythians 907₆
Sykophántes 1127
 Symbolism 307₀ 357 393 426₅ 729 754 (?)
 814₀ 832₅ 935 946 956₁ 1012 (?) 1098
 1119 1136 (?) 1163
 Symons, G. J. 1015
 Syncretism 804 (?) 914₀ 1162 1171 1180
 Systematisers of mythology, ancient 223₉
 Tabeling, E. 1189
 Table as altar (Egyptian, Assyrian, Syro-
 Phoenician, Persian, Hittite) 580₀ as
 altar for vegetable offerings (τράπεζα)
 distinguished from solid altar for burnt-
 sacrifice (βωμός) 579₅₍₄₎ evolution of, as
 altar 580₀ of Demeter *Chlōe* 177₁ of
 Hercules 1044₄ of Tritopatreis 115
 sacrificial, in Greek and Roman religion
 1139 votive, from Theban Kabeirion
 580₀
 Taboo on activities of soldiers, ships, and
 marriages while *mundus* is open 431 f.
 on eating plough-ox and ram 591₁ 600 (5)
 on seeing sacred tree felled 1146 f. on
 'the half-married' 426₁ (?)
Tabula Peutingeriana 142 f.
 Täubler, E. 429₁
 Talbot, P. Amaury 1146
 Tamarisk-droppings 495
 Tamaro, B. 584₀ 604₇
 Tambornino, J. 775₁
 Taramelli, A. 1110
 Tarn, W. W. 871₄
 Tattooing in Ptolemaic cult of Dionysos,
 in Thracian cult of Dionysos, in Syrian
 cult of Atargatis, etc. 1118 of Thracian
 women on vases 1118
Taurokathápsia 1091
 Taylor, A. 456₇ 793₈ 1131
 Taylor, A. J. 862 f. 862₁ 862₂ 863₁
 Taylor, Lily Ross 1186
 Taylor, Miss M. V. 1126
 Technau, W. 1125 1128 1194
Teknophagia of Kronos as pantomime 935
 Temples, circular, of Leukathea at Larissa
 1080 Romano-Celtic, at Maiden Castle
 1098 subterranean, in Sardinia 1110
 See also Index I under names of
 individual deities and places
 Temple-key 633₀
Téras 1115
Terra Lemnia See Lemnian earth

- Terremare villages, quadrangular *templa* of 430₀ 431₀ ritual pits of 429₁ 430₀
- Terzaghi, N. 1034₁
- Testicles of Indra 1078 represented by beans in Maltese custom 1032₀
- Tétix* See Cicala
- Thallon, Miss I. C. See Hill, Mrs B. H.
- Thémistes* 949
- Theogamy of Sun and Moon 1092
- Theogonies, Hesiodic 743 f. 928 f. Orphic 745 cp. 746 1177 ff.
- Theomachy 969₁
- Theta* as magical and mystical symbol 343₁
- Theuer, M. 1174
- Thiele, G. 488₁₀ 1112
- Thiersch, H. 1091 1133
- Thólos*-tombs in Greece and Italy regarded as *thesauroi* 440 440₆ of Danaoi (?) 363 of Daunioi (?) 365 of Palatine king (?) 431₀ 440
- Thomas, E. J. 957₀
- Thompson, D'Arcy W. 238₁ 781₆ ff. 783₁ 791₅ 1146 1174
- Thompson, H. A. 1186
- Thompson, M. S. 871₁ 1128
- Thompson, R. Campbell 835
- Thomsen, A. 1031₅
- Thomsen, P. 910₅
- Thomson, G. 1102
- Thomson, J. A. K. 506₆ 1105
- Three as a typical plurality 124 742₃
- Three-sided bases with *kalathiskos*-dancers etc. 1006 with Twelve Gods etc. 1057
- Throne in the Magnaura at Constantinople 957₀ of Apollon at Amyklai 220 631₄ 1109 f. of Dionysos 1036₁ of Epiktesis 1036₁ of Geryones 1070 of Solomon 957₀ of Tut-ankh-Amen 957₀ of Zeus at Olympia, its construction and decoration 956₁ of Zeus in Rhodian reliefs 1034 ff. of Zeus in vase-paintings characterised by decorative supports 1049₀ of Zeus and Hekate on Chalke, rock-cut 544₃ with back ending in ram's head 681 with back ending in swan's head 667₂ 669 670₃ (?) 673 680 with leonine legs or claws 669 673 680 with lion as arm-rest 1052₍₆₎ with Sphinxes as arm-rests 1034 1035 1036₁ 1049₀ 1053 with swans as arm-rests 1040 with seat resting on pair of wrestlers 1049₀ with seat resting on small draped male 667₂ 684 with seat resting on small Nike 681
- Thrones, marble, in theatre at Athens 574₃
- Throne-legs 1155
- Thrónos* 1161
- Thulin, C. O. 156₂
- 'Thumb of Knowledge' 1174
- Thunder as trumpet of Zeus 729₄ chthonian 21 1143
- Thunderbolt as spear of Ba'al 1156 as spear of Zeus 1147 as token of divine approval 958 bipartite fork with zig-zags 1156 boiled in saucepan to make 'essence of Thunderbolt' (*cont.*)
- thunder' 941₁ called *ákmon* (?) 925 double lotiform 36 erect on throne at Diokaisareia 645₀ lotiform 669 670₃ 681 modifications in shape of 1156 of Adad 1095 of Ba'al 1156 of Indra 273₃ of Zeus 945 f. of Zeus from s. vi B.C. onwards begins to be superseded by sceptre 946 of Zeus survives as symbol of omnipotence or continuous divine activity 946 of Zeus transferred to Athena 867 ff. omitted in Pheidias' statue of Zeus at Olympia 965 f. originally a stone missile 926 shaped like fly 1156 'star-flung' 1118 winged 465 1040 wingless before s. v B.C. 942 with *Gorgóneion* on handle 1156
- 'Thundering' Legion 325₃
- Thurneysen, R. 937₆
- Thymiatérion* 348 979
- Thyreatikoi* 996 f. 1008
- Thýrsos* as sceptre of Zeus 685₂
- Thyrsoi* with handles ending in ivy-leaves 1007
- Tillyard, E. M. W. 1106
- Tillyard, Mrs E. M. W. 36₃
- Tin used for *ánthemon* of Athena's shield 215
- Tin-inlay of Achilles' shield 899 of Asteropaios' corselet 899 of neolithic pounder 898 of pottery from Swiss pile-dwellings 898
- Tip-toe stance of deities, heroes, priestesses, etc. in archaïsing hieratic reliefs 582₂
- Titanomachy 478₀ 839
- Tittel, K. 868₃
- Toad buried to safeguard crops 1047
- Toads presage rain 105₀ spring from rain-drops 105₀
- Todesco, A. 63₄
- Töpffer, J. 104₃ 240₈ 585 585₇ 586₂ 589₃ 592 594 595₁ 610
- Tolkien, J. R. R. 858₅
- Tomaschek, W. 283
- Tomb of Eteokles and Polyneikes at Thebes (?) 815₀ of Hyperoche and Laodike in Delos 1172 of Kekrops (Kekropion) at Athens 771₁ of 'the Lictor' at Vetulonia 1192 of Menoikeus at Thebes 815₀ of Neoptolemos at Delphoi 938 of Olvmpos the teacher of Zeus in Crete 1173 of Opis and Arge in Delos 1172 of Pandion ii at Megara 783₁ of Pelasgos at Argos 566₂ of Zeus in Crete 1173
- Tombs of Kadmos and Harmonia near the Ceraunian Mts 978
- Torch, cross-topped, of Artemis 638₀ cross-topped, of Persephone 402 of Ceres 1062₂(1 f.) of Demeter 712 on coins of Hephai-stia in Lemnos 234₀
- Torches of Dionysos (*Διός φώς*) 685₂ of Hekate 272₅ 403
- Torr, C. 986
- Tortoise in hail-charm 877
- Totemism 598₍₁₁₎ (?) 1193
- Totenhochzeit* See Marriage *post mortem*

- Tower of St Barbara 472₃ 473₀ of St Irene 472₃ 473₀ of Kronos 1115
 Town-pillars 1116 f.
 Tragedy, etymology of 1106 origin of 1103 1105 f.
 Transition from Aegean to Achaean worship 866₈
 Trautmann, E. 1147
 Tree of Life 404₀ 405₀ 420₀ 816₀ 1116
 Tree 'of life' and 'tree of the gate of heaven' in Babylonian belief c. 2600 B.C. 1136 'of Paradise' described in Cretan poem c. 1500 A.D. 404₀ f. sacred, becomes successively leafless tree, bare trunk, conventional post or pole, permanent stone pillar (?) 910₅ with twelve manner of fruits 421₀
 Trees of Sun and Moon in Prasiakē 420₀ f. oldest of all existing 1028 f. on Epiphany Eve bow down to Christ 295 on graves as vehicles for souls (?) 1105 with golden leaves and flowers 1080
 Tree-trunks worshipped by barbarians 963
 Trendall, A. D. 82₀(5f.) 94₀ 618₍₃₎ 665₂ 667₁ 673₁ 781₁ 843₂ 843₃ 996 ff. 1072
 Trepanning of neolithic skulls 738₀
 Trident originally a lightning-fork 202 943 1156 as *insigne* of priesthood 123 black, in Carnival at Cattaro 1156 derived from bull's horns and central spike (?) 1156
 Trieteric rites 179₀
Trieteris 115
 Tripod, Plataean 1122 with snake twined about it 1007
Triskelēs 643₀ 645₀ 1074
Tritogēneia 125 139
Tritogenēs 123
Tritokoûre 123
Trito-names confused with *Trīto*-names 124 f. 128
Tritopátor 121₁ 123 125
 Triumph of Attis 1127 f.
 Triumphal arch See Arch, triumphal
 Troje, L. 914₀
 Trumpet of Zeus (thunder) 729₄ Tyrsenian, venerated as voice of Athena 729₃
 Tubbs, H. A. 648₀ 649₀
 Tucker, T. G. 320₄
 Tümpel, K. 109 140₇ 271 320₄ 938₃
 Türk, G. 515₈ 770₁
 Tunny as attribute of Poseidon 671₀
 Twins as rain-makers 368 as sons of divine and human fathers 506 mother of, called *Tilo* 'Sky' 368₈ Akmon and Doias 1196 Boeotian 506 Egyptian (Set and Horos) compared with Greek (Zethos and Amphon) 1135 further bibliography of 1135
 Tylor, E. B. 122₆ 923₂ 976
Tzitzinaina 844
 Ulrichs, H. N. 987 f.
 Umbilical cord 1122 (?)
 Umbrella of Prometheus 57 68
 Unbaptised child called *δράκος* or the like 239₁
 Underworld, hero descends to 412₀ in comic and satyric drama of s. v B.C. 401₂ 'Minoan' 403₁ (?) *mundus* as gate of 431 f. Polygnotos' fresco of 397 f. See also *Nekyia*, Vases
 Unger, E. 1156
 Ungnad, A. 1110
 Uninitiated in Platon's account of Hades bear water in sieve to holed *píthos* 398 427 in Polygnotos' fresco of Underworld bear water in broken pitchers to *píthos* 397 f. 427
 Urlichs, L. 686₁ f.
 Usener, H. 4₀ 60₅(6) 103₅ 107 108₃ 237₂ 241₄ 246 362₃ 743₀ 874₅ 942 992 1047
 Utopia as described by Pherekrates and Nikophon 500
Vajra 926
 Vallois, R. 1118 1138
 Valmin, N. 1186
 Van Buren, A. W. 1155
 Van Buren, Mrs A. W. 782₄ 832₂ 837₄
 Vases: 'Anesidora' *-kylīx* 201 Apulian (indigenous) 1138 'Apulian' 37 92₀ 94₀ 306₀(8) 307₆ 370 401 ff. 408₃ 423 425 512 619₂(1) 620₍₂₎ 622₍₃₎ 1000 1039 f. 1055 1106 Arretine 1003 'Blacas' *kratér* 718₂ black-figured 14₀ 80₂(2) 205₀ 351₄ 373 389, 392₀ 399 f. 408₀ 581₂ 612 ff. 615₅(2) 617₍₃₎ 631₄ 661₁ 662₁ 663 ff. 668 ff. 675₃(1) 681 ff. 686 700₃ 715 782₄ 784₀ 807 ff. 811 f. 836₃ 1049₁ 1049₂(1) 1110 1122 Boeotian 782₄ 990 1073 'Bottiaean' 1191 bottomless 200₀ 373 375₅ 448 burnt with animal sacrifice and buried in the ashes 1188 'Cabiric' 160 'Caeretan' *hydriai* 408₀ 617₍₁₎(1) Campanian (local imitations of Attic ware) 781₁ 'Campanian' 415₀(c) 1177 'Canopi' of Osiris, Isis, etc. 346 ff. 'Canopic jars' 345 'Chalcidian' 842₂ 1048₃ 1090 1148 'Choenkännchen' 1105 Corinthian 80₂(1) 408₀ 559 f. 795 ff. 799 801 Cretan (c. 700 B.C.) 1150 Cypriote (of Hellenic age) 193₀ 193_(b) (of Hellenistic age) 375₅ 'Dareios' *-kratér* 171₀ Cypromycenaean 1150 'Dipylon' 200₀ 313 373 375 early Ionic 351 Early Iron Age 193₀ Early 'Minoan' iii 193_(b) 1119 early south-Italian 996 f. early yellow-ground *lékythos* 387₂ Egyptian 193_(b) (?) *epinetron* or *ónos* 389_(b) Etruscan 836₃ 853₄ 'Eulenskyphoi' 786 f. 'Europe' *-kylīx* 617₍₅₎ feeding-bottles 193_(b) figure-*oinochôe* 1109 fish-plates 617₍₆₎ fluted red ware from Kypros 375₅ 'François'-vase 1048₂ 1120 'Geometric' 1164 1177 'Gigantomachy' *-amphora* 535₀ Graeco-Egyptian relief-ware 200_(d) *grammatikā ekpómata* 1184 'Gravary Class of Late Helladic iii' 1192 Iberian 1090 1179 Ionian 488₁₁

Vases (cont.)

- 867 'Italiote' 458₂ 1106 Janiform 1132
 'Kertch' 1019 'kleinmeister' *kýlix*
 668 ff. 'Laconian' 488₁ 815₀ late local
 Italian (? Oscan) 351 Late 'Minoan' i
 197₀ 'Libyans' 372 *loutrophóroi* 371 ff.
 'Luncanian' 619₁ 63₀ marble *kratér*
 1007 'Medeia' *kratér* 401₃ 'Megarian'
 bowls 1164 Middle 'Minoan' i 1119
 'Northampton style' 631₄ Paestum
 510 ff. 1000 Panathenaic 778₁ *phiale*
mesómphalos with *téttis* on boss 256₀
phljakes 734₀ 738 f. 1078 f. proto-
 Corinthian 1142 Ptolemaic (blue porce-
 lain) 1120 *pyxis* 388_{3(a)} red-figured 14₀
 56₀ 57₀ 67 f. 73 79₄ 80₂₍₃₎ 99 ff. 173₀
 182 ff. 205₀ 221 248₀ 373 387₃ 388₁ ff.
 408₀ 456 ff. 512 ff. 606 f. 617₍₄₎ 633₀
 637₃ 661₁ 675₃₍₂₎ 676₍₃₎ f. 684 686 ff.
 702 ff. 733₅ 762 f. 764 769 f. 799, 843
 849 929 ff. 996 ff. 1012 1018 1048₄
 1049_{2(2 ff.)} 1053₁ 1072 1106 1107 1111
 1118 1121 f. 1148 1184 reflecting *motifs*
 derived from Parthenon 692 704 706 f.
 709 f. relation between obverse and
 reverse designs 763₁ relief-ware (black)
 853₃ relief-ware (unglazed) 408₀ relief-
 ware from Boiotia 663₃ relief-ware
 (gilded) from Pantikapion 753 re-
 sembling in shape the vases upon
 which they are painted 387₃ 388₂
 Rhodian 1130 *rhytón* 309₄₍₂₎ 1119
 1173 (?) Sosias-*kýlix* 818₀ south-Italian
 82_{0(4 f.)} 380₁ 638₀ 640₀ 849 Trojan 193₀
 tubular 193_(c) 195₀ ff. 'Tyrrhenian'
 673 ff. 680 f. Under-world 370 'Viven-
 zio'-vase 349 ff. with tin-inlay from
 Swiss pile-dwellings 898 with white
 ground 617₍₅₎ 774 812 815₀
 Vase-handles adorned with snakes or snake
 pattern 375
 'Vegetationsdämon' in animal form 599₍₃₎
 Veil of Artemis *Anaitis* 899₅₍₃₎ of Artemis
Eleuthera 899₅₍₂₎ of Hera 636₀ 1028
 1033 1046 of Kronos 933₇ of Zeus 88₀
 1028 1033
 Vendryes, J. 49₀ 440₁
 Venette, N. 1030₇
 Venn, J. A. 900₃
 Venn, Mrs J. A. 900₃
 Verrall, A. W. 4₀ 79₀
 Vestal Claudia Quinta tows ship up the
 Tiber 895 f.
 Vigani, J. F. 232
 Vigfusson, G. 1075
 Villinganus, G. Pictorius 336₅
 Vines, white, in hail-charm 878
 Vine-leaf 57₀
 Vine-stem 685₂
 Vine-wood (?), statue made of 968₁
 Vine-wreath 681 1132
 Vinet, E. 139₂
 Virginity of Athena perhaps recovered
 yearly by washing in the river Inachos
 224₃ 749 835 of Hera recovered yearly

Virginity (cont.)

- by bathing in the spring Kanathos 224₃
 748 1027₁ 1032₃ 1044₄ of Hera renewed
 by bathing in the river Parthenios
 1027₁ (?) 1031 (?) 1032₃ (?) of Hera re-
 newed by bathing in the river Theren
 1032₃ (?)
 Visconti, C. L. 934₁ 935₁
 Visconti, E. Q. 133
 Visconti, P. A. 1060
 Volcanos, Alban Hills as prehistoric and
 possibly historic 493 traces of, in
 Rhodes 986
 Volkmann, H. 1073
 Vollgraff, C. W. 1118 1125
 Vollgraff, W. 566₂ 871₁
 Vorwahl, H. 1184
 Voss, I. 98₀₍₈₎
 Voting-urn 758
 Votive offerings in *bothroi* or *favissae* 278
 in cave 1143
 Voullième, E. 151₄
 Vürtheim, J. J. G. 360₁ 650₀ 651₀ 1173
 1184
 Vulpe, R. 1189
 Vulture as bird form of Athena 781 in
 Thracian myth 57₂
 Wace, A. J. B. 252₀₍₃₎ 290 ff. 363 871₁ 1105
 1128 1192 1197
 Wachsmuth, C. 169₀
 Wackernagel, J. 575₁ 575₉ 576₀
 Waele, F. J. de 1183
 Waggon of Gordios 1162 of Zeus (?) 1162
 Wagner, F. 837₇
 Wainwright, G. A. 882 882₂ 884₀ 885₀ 891
 1077 1140 1142
 Waites, Miss M. C. 119₅ 1070
 Waitz, T. 976
 Walde, A. 434₀ 439₂ 497₃ 792₁
 Waldhauer, O. 1174
 Waldstein, Sir C. See Walston, Sir C.
 Waley, A. 138
 Walls, cosmic 50₁
 Walston, Sir C. 171₀ 698 699₂ 718₀₍₆₎ 720₃
 Walter, O. 1107 f. 1186
 Walters, H. B. 67₄ 183 324 324₁ 352 408₀
 680₍₄₎ 774 807₃ 839₃ 1073 1131
 Walton, F. R. 1083
 Ward, W. H. 891₁₂
 Waser, O. 358 842₂
 Water, importance of, in early religion
 320₄ apotheosis by 137₀ dancing 420₀
 healing and life-giving 976 f. kept in
 jars by Egyptians 345₁ maiden
 drenched with, in rain-charm 285 ff. of
 immortality 977 of life 515₆ 977 979
 981 f. 'speechless' 290₄
 Waters, Blessing of the, in the Greek
 church at Epiphany 294 of life and
 death 976 f.
 Water-carrying a fertility-charm in general
 and a rain-charm in particular 396 in
 connexion with marriage 370 ff. in
 connexion with mysteries 397 ff. in

- Water-carrying (*cont.*)
 myth of Danaïdes 355 ff. 427 in sieve
 as proof of divine power 450 450₁
 Water-powers, supernaturally wise 743
 Water-spirits, believed to bestow offspring
 396₄
 Weber, L. 157 1125 1135
 Weber, W. 344₆
 Webster, T. B. L. 1150
 Wecklein, N. 358 518₃
 Wedd, Mrs N. 635 111₁
 Wedding-ring of Hera 1033 of Zeus 1033
 See also Gold, Ring
 Weege, F. 993 1008
 Week, days of the 210 444 f. 938 1159
 Weekley, E. 49₀
 Weeping statues 344₅
 Wehrli, F. 1042₅
 Weicker, G. 801
 Weickert, C. 663₁
 Weinreich, O. 189, 225₁ 730 913₄ 1055
 1131 1161 1174 f. 1184
 Weinstock, S. 429₁ 1194
 Weiser-Aall, Lily 1068 1116
 Weizsäcker, K. 328₀ f.
 Weizsäcker, P. 893₆
 Welcker, F. G. 135 357 360₁ 456₆ 713 715 f.
 717, (1) 728 737₈ 781₃ 1026₆ 1034₁ 1060
 Weller, C. H. 261₇
 Wells in Marneion at Gaza 555 of Achaioi
 (?) rectangular 363 of Danaoi (?) tholoid
 363 sacred, in Sardinia 1110 See also
 Cisterns, *Mundus*
 Well-spring to left of house of Hades 419
 Wells, J. E. 501₂
 Welter, G. 1164 1189 1196
 Wensinck, A. J. 979
 Were-wolves 1068
 Wernicke, K. 880₁ 1052₀ 1060
 Westermarck, E. 1026₄ 1147
 Weston, Miss J. L. 791₆ 792₀
 Wether-sheep as sacrifice to Jupiter 1078
 Whatmough, J. 1110
 Wheat in *herôion* in place of effigy of the
 dead 306₀ (8)
 Wheaten meal kneaded with honey cast
 into cleft 604₂
 Wheel of Celtic god (Taranis?) 1074 1191
 of Fortuna 1073 of Nemesis 1073 six-
 spoked and radiate 1100 solar 1072 in
 combination with horse 1076
 Wheler, G. 145
 Whip of Zeus 1160
 Whirlwinds in ancient Greece connected
 with Zeus 162 f. in modern Greece
 attributed to Nereids or Nymphs 163 f.
 elsewhere regarded as demons or
 witches or wandering souls 163
 Whisky as water of life 515₆
 White bull sacrificed to Zeus on Mt Tomori
 near Berat 1171 cypress beside water
 of Lethe 420₀ 421₀ garments worn by
 mystics of Zeus *Idaios* 953 horse of
 Poseidon 753₂ oxen draw priestess of
 Hera 1044
 White, Miss R. E. See Wedd, Mrs N.
 Whitehead, R. B. 532₂ 540₃ 541₄ 541₅ 542₁
 542₂ 543₁ 543₃ 546₂
 White-poplar as Borderland tree 421₀
 Wide, S. 160 942
 Wiegand, T. 768 1041₄ 1158
 Wieseler, F. 605₍₄₎ 183 485₁₂ 978
 Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, U. von 62₁ 116₀
 189₁ 227₇ 576₁ 600₍₅₎ 624₀ 729 f. 743₉
 965₃ 984 1135 1177 1188
 Wild Hunt 1117
 Wildridge, T. Tindall 1133
 Wilford, F. 411₀
 Wilhelm, A. 161₉ 642₁
 Wilke, G. 515₆ 1181
 Wilkinson, Sir J. G. 839₂
 Williams, Mrs B. E. 197₀
 Willow-leaves, priests under their couches
 strewn 1030 women at Thesmophoria lie
 on 1030
 Willow-osiers, monks wear girdles of 1030
 Willow-tree of Hera at Samos 1028 ff.
 Willow-wreath of Carians 1029 of Hera
 1053 (?) of Prometheus 1029₁₀ (?) of
 Samians 1030
 Wilpert, J. 971₁
 Wilson, H. H. 96₀
 Wilutzky, P. 1026₅
 Wind caught in bags of asses' skins 105
 conceived as *flatus ventris* 108₂ follow-
 ing aft identified with ancestral spirit
 157 160
 Winds as souls 109 122 as chthonian powers
 (?) 987 bound in bag of dolphin-skin
 107 bound in bag of ox-hide 106 con-
 ceived as horses 110 etesian 142 266
 345₀ men believed to control 103 ff.
 Tower of, at Athens 129 f. Tower of, at
 Tenos 129₆
 Wind-rose of Eratosthenes 130
 Windows of heaven in Semitic belief 353₁
 445
 Wine as surrogate for blood 515₆ used to
 quench ashes 515₆
 'Wine-skin' and 'hatchet' 1147
 Winged figures of Etruscan art 88₀ 259₀
 665₀ 679₀ 680₍₅₎ 805 f.
 Wings on feet of Athena 842 on feet of
 flying god at Melos 843₀ on feet of Nike
 843₀ on feet of Perseus 850₂ (?) on feet
 of running goddess at Mallos in Kilikia
 843₀
 Winnefeld, H. 534₁ 842₂
 Winter, R. 1086 f.
 Wirth, A. 472₃
 Wisdom, supernatural, of water-powers
 743
 Wissowa, G. 434
 Witchcraft of middle ages vindictive 881
 Witch-cult in western Europe 1192
 Witte, J. de 734₀ 931₂ f. 938₄
Wochengötterstein 1117
 Wolf kills bull (Danaos deposes Gelanor)
 355₄ of the Capitol 1135
 Wolves suckle Miletos s. of Apollon 414₀

- 'Wolves,' human 1082 (?)
 Wolf-lore, Greek 1135
 Wolf-mask 1068 (?)
 Wolf-skin 57₀ (?)
 Wolters, P. 307₀ 375_{1(d)} 388₂
 Woman, origin of, in Malagasy tale 98₀₍₆₎
 Women, excluded from initiation of Druses
 1092 rub themselves on rock to obtain
 children 721₅₍₂₎ stylised as 'hour-glass'
 pattern 1138
 Woodpecker claims sceptre of Zeus 45 cp.
 57 popularly held to be a king (?) 45₁
 in Thracian myth 57₂
 Woodward, A. M. 1117 1162
 Wool, unspun, placed on stone of Kronos
 938
 Woolley, C. L. 832₅ 1101
 Wordsworth, C. 265₀ 689₁
 World-nail of Scandinavians 1116
 World-pillars 1116 f.
 World-tree of 'Mincans' 404₀ (?) of
 Scandinavians 404₀ 1116
Wous 797 f.
 Wrede, W. 1103
 Wren 52₄
 Wright, A. 353 445
 Wright, A. R. 1193
 Wright, Miss W. C. 481₂
 Wroth, W. 414₀
 Wünsch, R. 119₄ 1031₇
 Wünsche, A. 977
 Wüst, E. 60₅₍₇₎ 62₁ 63₃
 Wuilleumier, P. 850 1119
 Wunderlich, Eva 515₆
 Wuttke, A. 475₁

 Xanthoudides, S. 248₁
Xóanon, acrolithic, of Aphrodite *Machanitis*

Xóanon (cont.)
 at Megalopolis 567₀ acrolithic, of
 Eileithyia at Aigion 663₂ of Aion at
 Alexandreia 912₆ of Apollon in Delos
 119 of Artemis by Endoios at Ephesos
 968 of Asklepios *Agnitas* at Sparta 1030₄
 of Athena *Nike* at Athens 811 f. of
 Hera by Smilis at Samos 1027 of Hera
 Argeia at Argos 1085 of Hermes at
 Athens 725₅ of Zeus *Oúrios* at Hieron
 on the Thracian Bosphoros 147₁ of Zeus
 Pheidiakós at Olympia 966₂

 'Y.' 1147
 Year, great (=eight years) 72₅
 Yoke of spears 1132
Yoni 1092
 Yorke, E. C. 1194

 Zachariae, T. 1081
 Zacher 1104
 Zahn, R. 182₁ 197₀
 Zammit, Sir T. 1121
 Zebus 1172 cp. 991
 Zell, T. 846
Zénion hýdor 322₀ 451₆ 1193
 Zepf, M. 914₀
 Ziegler, K. 1103
 Ziehen, L. 575₁ 1083 1091
 Zielinski, T. 1174
 Zippe, F. X. M. 922₉
 Zodiac, gods of the 1055 of eleven signs
 1119 round Aion 1127 f. round Iupiter
 1159 round Selene 1085 f. round Zeus
 948 1112
 Zodiacal light 1115 f.
 Zoega, J. G. 1060
 Zschietzschmann, W. 375₁ 1073

CAMBRIDGE: PRINTED BY
W. LEWIS, M.A.
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

BL
820
J8C66
1914
V.3PT.2
C.1
ROBA

